Vice-Prov.Can-Sup.

"AIDS" TO THE STUDY OF THE BIBLE

THE CATHOLIC STUDENT'S "AIDS" TO THE STUDY OF THE BIBLE

BY

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TO THE VERY REV. FATHER HUGH POPE, O.P.

VERY REV. FATHER,

The devoted and filial homage which you have exhibited in humbly presenting to this August See the two volumes you have recently published entitled "The Catholic Student's 'Aids' to the Study of the Bible" has proved peculiarly pleasing and acceptable to the Roman Pontiff.

The deep and varied knowledge of the Bible which you have been able to set forth with remarkable clearness, while, at the same time, condensing it in masterly fashion into a relatively small number of pages; the zeal and care wherewith you have sought to discover, and set out in clear relief the mind of the Church on each question—all combine to make your work one of no small utility, and this especially for those who, whether laymen or ecclesiastics, desire to take up Biblical studies. Even those already well versed in such studies will be glad to have the results of your studies placed at their disposal.

The Holy Father, then, while rejoicing at the favourable reception which these volumes of "Aids" have already met with at the hands of the educated public, warmly congratulates you on this most useful publication and bestows on it his heartfelt blessing. Further, he sincerely hopes that your learned and most opportune work will find its place in people's libraries and will be studied and consulted by all those who desire to make themselves acquainted with the Scriptures and to learn, or at least recall to mind, how to meet the difficulties that may arise, how to interpret a passage, and how to grasp the historical or dogmatic import of each Book of the Bible.

And I myself, to whom falls the pleasant task of communicating to you these kindly words of the Supreme Pontiff, most gladly sign myself with all expressions of esteem for yourself,

Yours most sincerely in Christ,

P. CARD. GASPARRI.

INTRODUCTION

Those acquainted with the immense volume of literature on the Books of the Bible will be merciful and sympathetic critics of this volume; for it would be easy to find fault with every chapter of it, even with every page. The author has often felt tempted ruthlessly to excise passages; he has only been deterred by the conviction that if he once began to do so he would never know where to stop.

The work has necessarily occupied a number of years, whence a danger lest the earlier sections should prove out of date by the time the final pages were penned. For while some other sciences may tend to crystallize and remain stationary, not so the science of the Bible. Year by year the flood of Biblical literature grows; when peace reigns in one department war rages in another. Now it is the Pentateuch that is assailed, now the Historical Books, now the Prophetical writings. "Moses" was dissected and subjected to an analysis without parallel in literary criticism save perhaps in the case of the Synoptic Gospels; the Books that went under his name have been pronounced unhistorical, their component parts assigned to various shadowy authors of different periods and the present welded whole attributed to editors living during or after the Exile. In the same way critics have gone over the Prophecies of Isaias with a comb and parcelled them out among a series of later writers; the same fate has met all the Prophetical writings, those of Osee and Zacharias perhaps more than the rest. The Chronicler has long since been pronounced post-Exilic and untrustworthy; hardly a single Psalm can be attributed to David; it is "uncritical" to attach the

name of Solomon to *Ecclesiastes*, *Proverbs* or the *Canticles of canticles !*

Yet, like the Church and her critics, the Bible still survives. Copies and editions still flow from the printing presses; the missionary who has probably been taught little but destructive criticism of it, still uses it; the devout still find in it their inspiration and "the comfort of the Scriptures"; the very men who maintain that the Bible is unreliable still trust it; those who question its Divine Authorship still base their teachings on it—Why? Because the Book of books compels their allegiance; because the Book itself is the greatest refutation of the pronouncements of its critics.

Yet it would be idle to pretend that modern criticism is not producing deleterious effects. The critical discussions of scholars have a knack of filtering down to the street, and the ordinary man accepts their findings without question. Hence Bible-reading has decayed because those who refuse to believe the Bible—which they have never read—are daily becoming more and more numerous. And it would be a mistake to think that Catholics are exempt from similar misgivings. Their faith indeed remains intact. But this is not because they discover for themselves that its teachings are confirmed by the Bible but because they accept the teachings of their Church, which Church they do discover in the pages of the Bible. Yet none the less they quite naturally feel uneasy at times about Biblical criticism when its echoes reach them. For while content to believe that there is an adequate answer they yet have an uncomfortable feeling that after all there "must be something in it," that so many "competent scholars" cannot be wholly mistaken, etc. And if curiosity should lead them to peruse for themselves the writings of these scholars they are inevitably impressed by the learning displayed and rendered uncomfortable by the very strong case the critics seem to present

for their subversive views. How, they ask, are such ideas to be met?

Possibly they turn to the Bible itself. But then they are apt to find it an uncharted desert, a maze in which they are easily lost. And their difficulties are enhanced by the fact that they are reading what is but a translation of a translation, and they have not the equipment for studying the original text.

Hence the present volumes with their title: *The Catholic Student's "Aids" to the Study of the Bible.* They do not pretend to provide an answer ready-made to the Biblical critics; they are simply meant as a help to the ordinary man in reading the Books of the Divine Library. With this view a brief analysis of each Book is followed by a discussion of its probable date and authorship; the critical views are stated more or less fully so that the reader may see what is currently held; but no detailed examination of such views is attempted. For we feel that the first step in meeting such teachings must lie in obtaining a first-hand familiarity with the text of the Bible. Without this the reader is at the mercy of the critic. He resembles nothing so much as a layman reading a medical handbook and, all unconsciously, reading into his own unhappy anatomy every complaint in the pharmacopœia.

Somewhat reluctantly we have yielded to the demands of reviewers of previous volumes and have added bibliographies to each section. We say "reluctantly" because the modern tendency always is to read about the Bible rather than to read the Bible itself. These bibliographies, then, are intended rather to show something of what has been written on the various Books than to invite the student to read what has thus been written. An asterisk shows who, in the case of the more recent writers, are Catholics. Lest it should be thought idle to specify in detail the writings of the Fathers, as we have done, it should be borne in mind that these giants

were raised up by God as His official exponents of the Revelation enshrined in the Bible. It is not a little significant that the last few decades have witnessed a revived interest in the Fathers of the Church, and though their writings may not be accessible to all in their original form, yet English translations which are generally reliable are readily obtainable.[1]

HUGH POPE, O.P.

BLACKFRIARS,
OXFORD,
The Feast of St. Dominic, August 4, 1930.

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[1] In addition to the invaluable collection of the Greek and Latin Fathers published by Migne, the Latin Fathers are now appearing in the *Vienna Corpus* and the Greek Fathers in the *Berlin Collection.* In English we have *A Library of the Fathers, Anterior to the Division of East and West, translated by Members of the English Church*, 1842 and onwards, and generally known as the Oxford edition of the Fathers; *the Ante-Nicene Christian Library*, edited by Roberts and Donaldson, T. and T. Clark, 1848 and onwards; *A Select Library of the Ante- and Post-Nicene Fathers, second series*, edited by Schaff and Wace, 1890 and onwards. These translations are on the whole most reliable, though they should not be used in discussion without consulting the original, a *caveat* which applies especially to the last-named. For some information regarding the Fathers and their value as interpreters of the Bible, see *Aids*, vol. i. (1926), pp. 46-77.

ABBREVIATIONS

B.M.G., British Museum Guide.
B.S., *Bibliotheca Sacra.*
Driver, L.O.T., *Literature of the Old Testament.*
D.R., *Dublin Review.*
E.B., *Encyclopædia Biblica.*
E.E.F., *Egypt Exploration Fund*, *Reports of the.*
Expos., *Expositor.*
Expos. Times, *Expository Times, The.*
H.D.B., Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible.*
H.E., *Historia Ecclesiastica of Eusebius.*
H.J., *Hibbert Journal.*
Josephus, Ant., *Antiquities of the Jews.*
" *B.J.*, or *War, De Bello Judaico.*
J.E.A., *Journal of Egyptian Archæology.*
J.T.S., *Journal of Theological Studies.*
P.E.F., *Palestine Exploration Fund, Reports of the.*
P.G., *Patrologia Græca* (Migne).
P.L., *Patrologia Latina* (Migne).
P.S.B.A., *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology.*
R.B., *Revue Biblique.*
R.P., *Records of the Past.*
R.P.N.S., or simply *N.S.*, *id. New Series.*
T.S.B.A., *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*

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I. Theme of the Book.

IN Hebrew בְּרֵאשִׁית, *Bereshith*, in Greek, Γένεσις, whence the title nowadays of "Genesis" or the "birth," a peculiarly appropriate title, for the truest account of the book would be "The History of Origins." Yet *Genesis* is not essentially the history of the origins of the world, nor even of the human race, but rather the history of the origins of the Chosen People. The creation of the world is indeed described, but only as man's future habitation; the creation of the animals is described, but only as destined for man's use.

The history of a chosen race necessarily demands the elimination of those portions of the human race not so

chosen,[1] wherein lies the key to *Genesis*. For the author proceeds by a series of eliminations of all who did not fall within the scheme of God's special providence for the Chosen People. These eliminations are indicated by the words, "These are the generations of . . . (תּוֹלְדוֹת or *Toledoth*) . . .," which occur ten times and enable us to divide the book into ten unequal sections:

ii. 4. "These are the generations of the heaven and the earth."
v. 1. "This is the book of the generation of Adam."
vi. 9. "These are the generations of Noe."
x. 1. Of the sons of Noe; xi. 10, of Sem; xi. 27, of Thare; xxv. 12, of Ismael; xxv. 19, of Isaac; xxxvi. 1, of Esau; xxxvii. 2, of Jacob.

In this series of "generations" we pass in succession from the Adamites to the Sethites, the Noachites, the Semites, the Thareites; thence to Isaac as opposed to Ismael, to Jacob as opposed to Esau. An instructive light is thrown on the author's mode of composition in that each series of "generations" is woven into the narrative in such a way as to weld together the otherwise scattered accounts of the Patriarchs. This feature gives unity to the whole; failure to grasp it means losing the key to the book. The author must have had in his hands the genealogical trees as well as the narrative portions, and he has skilfully pieced them into a harmonious whole.

Geographically the book proceeds from east to west: chaps. i-ii deal with man in the Garden of Eden; iv-xi with man in the Euphrates valley; xii-xxxviii with the Chosen People in Canaan; xxxix-l with Israel in Egypt.

[1] An elementary principle, yet too often neglected not only by the crude question: Where did Cain's wife come from? but also by many Biblical critics. St. Augustine states the matter very simply: "I have now to defend the history lest the Bible should be held unbelievable when it says that a city was built by a certain man at a time when there seem to have been only four, or rather three, men on earth after one brother had killed another, and those three the first man, the father of us all, Cain himself, and his son Enoch after whom the city was called. But people who are disturbed by such a question do not realize that the writer of this sacred history had no need to mention all the people who could have been at that time, but only those whom the purpose of his work demanded. For this writer's purpose—and the Holy Spirit acted through him—was to pass through certain successive generations begotten from one man, and so come to Abraham, and then from his stock to the people of God" (*De Civ. Dei*, XV. viii. 1; the whole passage should be read).

Analysis.

(*a*) i-xi. The Creation ; our first parents ; the Patriarchs :

i-ii. The Creation ; man is the climax, for whereas all else had proceeded as the result of an impersonal "fiat" from God, "let there be," "and it was so done," man is described as the result of a personal, deliberate act of God, where note the plural "let us make"—the first hint of a Trinity of Persons in the Godhead. Chap. i had dealt with creation in general, culminating in mankind ; chap. ii deals with man in particular.

iii. The fall of our first parents, with the accompanying promise of a Redeemer, often termed the "Protevangelion" or "First Gospel." The necessity of preserving the memory of this Promise led to the Divine choice of a particular race as its custodian, not chosen, then, for any merits of their own, but solely for the furtherance of God's plans for the ultimate redemption of the entire world from the consequences of Adam's fall.

iv. Cain and Abel ; Lamech, of the stock of Cain, is rejected ; Seth is born to replace Abel.

v-ix. The Sethites ; the entire race, with the exception of the family of Noe, is blotted out by the Deluge. Noe with his sons, Sem, Ham and Japheth, with their wives, are saved in the ark. Canaan, son of Ham, is cursed, and Japheth is set aside, yet with a blessing.

x. The genealogies of the sons of Noe, by whom the earth was repeopled. The table of the nations here given has been persistently criticized, but every archæological discovery serves to establish its accuracy ; thus, contrary to commonly received opinion, the Elamites are now shown in accordance with ver. 22 to have been Semites.

xi. The Tower of Babel and the dispersal of the human race. The "generations" of the Semites, of which stock the Thareites are now the chosen depositories of the Divine Promises. With the mention of Abram we pass from a chosen race to a chosen family.

(*b*) xii-xxiv. Abraham the chosen. God had made covenants with Noe, vi. 18, viii. 21, ix. 1-17 ; He now enters into a peculiarly personal and intimate relationship with Abram :

xii. God calls him from Haran in Mesopotamia ; He appears to him at Moreh, and makes to him the first Promise : "To thy seed will I give this land."

xiii. Abram and Lot agree to separate ; the renewed Promise : "I will make thy seed as the dust of the earth."

xiv. The expedition of the four kings from the East—Amraphel, Arioch, Chedolahomor, and Thadal—against the five kings of the cities of the plain. Abram defeats them ; on his return he pays tithes to Melchisedec, the most mysterious figure in the Old Testament.

xv. The future greatness, as well as the future sufferings of his descendants, is revealed to Abram in a vision : they shall be in bondage in Egypt four hundred years, but shall come out in the fourth generation. The Promise is renewed to him : "Number the stars if

thou canst . . . so shall thy seed be ; Abram believed God, and it was reputed to him unto justice."

xvi. The episode of Agar ; the birth of Ismael.

xvii. Once more the Promise is renewed : "I am, and My covenant is with thee, and thou shalt be the father of many nations"; his name is changed from Abram to Abraham. The Promise is sealed by the sign of circumcision ; Sara is promised a son, "kings of peoples shall spring from him." Abraham believes, but, seeing that this Promise involves the rejection of Ismael, he prays for him.

xviii-xix. The destruction of Sodom. The Promise is renewed to Abraham of a son to Sara, but she laughs, as Abraham had laughed, whence the name of the child "Isaac," or "laughter." Abraham pleads for Sodom, but only Lot is saved. The story of the origin of the Moabites and Ammonites.

xx. Abraham goes to Gerara in the south ; Abimelech, "king of the Palestines," takes Sara into his house, just as Pharao had done, xii. 11-20.

xxi. Isaac is born ; Agar and Ismael are, at the instance of Sara, cast out ; a league is made between Abraham and Abimelech.

xxii. Abraham is bidden to sacrifice Isaac on Mount Moriah, but an Angel forbids him to carry out his intention ; God is only trying his faith. The Promise is once more renewed : "In thy seed shall the nations of the earth be blessed." A genealogy shows us the relation between Abraham and those Thareites who had remained behind at Haran ; we are thus prepared for Isaac's subsequent marriage with Rebecca.

xxiii. Sara dies ; Abraham buys the double cave at Macpelah from the Hittites ; this is, so far, his sole possession in the land promised to him.

xxiv. He sends his steward, Eliezer, to Haran for a wife for Isaac, Rebecca, daughter of Bathuel and sister of Laban.

(*c*) xxv-xxvi. Isaac the chosen :

Abraham's other children by Cetura ; from them sprang the Midianites, etc. Abraham dies and is buried with Sara. The "generations" of Ismael and Isaac follow, also the story of how Esau forfeited his first birthright and consequently the privilege of reckoning the Messias among his descendants. Like Abraham, Isaac goes to Gerara, and Abimelech takes Rebecca into his household as he had taken Sara. The Promise is renewed, this time to Isaac : "In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed."

(*d*) xxvii-l. Jacob the chosen :

xxvii. Jacob obtains his father's blessing in place of Esau.

xxviii. On his way to Haran to escape the wrath of Esau there is vouchsafed him a vision of a ladder stretching up to heaven. The Promise already made to Abraham and Isaac is renewed : "In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed."

xxix-xxxii. Jacob serves Laban seven years for Rachel, but Leah is palmed off upon him and he serves other seven years for Rachel ; sons are born to him and he increases in wealth at the expense of Laban

He therefore flees to the West, and a compact is made between him and Laban. He has a vision of Angels at Mahanaim, wrestles with an Angel at night, and his name is changed to Israel.

xxxiii-xxxvi. He and Esau meet peaceably, and Jacob establishes himself at Sichem, where Simeon and Levi draw on themselves their father's curse for their violent revenge on the Sichemites for the wrong they have done to their sister Dina. Isaac dies; the "generations" of Esau are given. The whole interest now centres on Joseph, not because he was God's chosen out of Jacob's sons, but because in the Divine plan he was the means of securing for the Israelites a place of refuge in Egypt.

xxxvii-xxxviii. Joseph is sold into Egypt, but immediately, as though to point out that the chosen line in which the Messias is to come will pass through Judah and not through Joseph, we are told, apropos of a disgraceful sin on Judah's part, that he had two sons, Phares and Zara; in the direct line of the latter the Messias was to come.

xxxix-xli. Joseph acquires a high position in Egypt.

xlii-xlv. His brethren, driven by the famine Joseph had foretold, come down into Egypt. After a time Joseph reveals himself to them and sends for his father Jacob.

xlvi-l. Israel (Jacob) goes down into Egypt. At this critical point in the history of the chosen line the writer gives in full the catalogue of the family of Jacob who are then settled in Gessen. Jacob blesses the children of Joseph and, by a Divine instinct, puts Ephraim the younger before Manasses the elder, thus repeating in mysterious fashion what he himself had done to his brother Esau. The blessing given to the children of Joseph was his reward for his faithful services; but his was not the chosen line, and his sons were afterwards the chief opponents of the Davidic race.

When dying Jacob prophesies the future of his children, and dwells in mysterious fashion on "the things that shall befall them in the last days." The most glorious promises are reserved for Judah: "The sceptre shall not be taken from Judah, nor a ruler from his thigh, till He come that is to be sent, and He shall be the Expectation of nations." *Genesis* concludes with the death of Joseph who conjures his sons not to leave his body in Egypt when, in the providence of God, they shall go up into the land of their inheritance, Exod. xiii. 19, Jos. xxiv. 32.

Notes.

The following brief notes are not meant to take the place of a commentary; they serve rather to indicate points of interest such as are not generally given in commentaries:

i. 7. On this "firmament" St. Augustine remarks that we can conjecture how this was done, but for the fact we have to believe solely on the authority of the Bible (*De Gen. ad litt.*, II. ix.).

ii. 8. For the Garden of Eden and some of the views held about it see *R.B.*, July-October, 1918, p. 594; *P.E.F.*, April, 1885; Pinches, *The O.T. in Light of the Monuments*, pp. 70-75.

ii-iii. On the relationship of death and sin in these narratives see

Van Hoonacker in the *Expos.*, February, 1915. On a Babylonian seal of *c.* 2750 B.C. a man and a woman are depicted with a tree between; behind the woman is a serpent; *cf.* Pinches, *l.c.*, pp. 79-83.

vi. 1. For the question of these "Angels" *cf. R.B.*, 1895, pp. 340 *ff.* and 525 *ff.*

xi. 3. For the Tower of Babel see Lowy in *P.S.B.A.*, March, 1893; also February, 1886.

xi. 26. For Abraham see St. Chrysostom, *P.G.*, l. 537-564, 737-746. On the change in his name, *P.S.B.A.*, June, 1915. In Neh. ix. 7 Abraham is said to have been brought "out of the fire of the Chaldees"; *cf. P.S.B.A.*, 1908, xxx. 7. In 2 Chron. xx. 7 Abraham is spoken of as "the friend" of God, and the same is denoted by the Egyptian title "Smer," bestowed on favoured courtiers; see Budge in the *British Museum Guide*, 1909, p. 118; note St. Jerome "pater electus cum sonitu" on Gal. iv. 22.

For various legends about Abraham see Eusebius, *Præp. Evangel.* ix.

xiv. 3. "Nations," the Hebrew גּוֹיִם, Goyyim, may stand for Gutium, a district mentioned in an inscription of Rimmon-Nirari I, *R.P.* xi. 3.

"The salt sea" or Dead Sea, Rothpana in the list of places in Palestine conquered by Ramses II, at Karnak, *R.P.N.S.* vi. 25. For some accounts of it see *R.B.*, 1909, January and April, 1910; *P.E.F.*, July, 1884, January, 1889, April, 1910, January, 1911.

xiv. For Melchisedec, see Bardy, *R.B.*, 1926, p. 496, and January, 1927. For the archæology of the chapter see Sayce, *Expos. Times*, August, 1906; also *Patriarchal Palestine*, p. 72; Boutflower, *Ps. cx, with a Treatise on the Historical Character of Gen. xiv*, 1926.

xviii. 3. "Some think that one of these was the Lord, visible before His Incarnation" (St. Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, XVI. xxix. 1).

xix. 24. For the cities of the plain *cf. P.E.F.*, January, 1886. The assault of Chedorlaomer and his confederates was directed against the cities of the plain, Gen. xiv, hence it is not surprising to find an Accadian fragment giving an account of a similar destruction of cities by heaven-sent fire, *R.P.* xi. 115-118.

xi. 26. For the pillar of salt to-day see *P.E.F.*, January, 1885.

xxii. For the sacrifice of Isaac see *P.S.B.A.*, xxiv (1902), p. 246.

xxxvi. 31. Amongst other kings whom he had overthrown Sennacherib mentions "Malik-rammu of Edom, all kings of the west land" (*Taylor Cylinder*, *R.P.N.S.*, vi, p. 88).

xl. 2. The chief of the bakers, etc., see *P.E.F.*, July, 1918, p. 139. For an examination of the higher critical position regarding the section on Joseph see Wiener in *B.S.* January, 1910.

xli. 30. A seven years' famine is mentioned in an inscription of Ameni-Amenemha of the twelfth dynasty, *R.P.* xii. 63; also under Tcheser the Pharao of the third dynasty, *c.* 4000 B.C.; *cf.* Budge in the *British Museum Guide* to Egypt, p. 14, though he says further on that this may be due to a later tradition, *ib.* 166. There was also a three years' famine under Ptolemy III, *c.* 247 B.C., *ib.* 97, and again A.D. 1066-1072; *cf.* Pinches, *l.c.*, pp. 260-264.

xli. 45. On the Egyptian name given to Joseph see Naville, *J.E.A.*, April, 1926, also October, 1924; for Joseph's sojourn in Egypt see *P.S.B.A.* viii. 6-25, also 1910, p. 210. According to Hall, *The People and*

the Book, p. 10 the Egyptian names in Genesis are of a late Egyptian stamp, but it is doubtful whether this would be endorsed by most Egyptologists.[1]

xlix. On the prophecy of Jacob see *R.B.*, July-October, 1917 ; for St. Jerome's views on it, *R.B.*, 1898, p. 563 ; *cp. P.S.B.A.*, December, 1885.

l. 25. For the embalmment till the seventieth day see the *Tale of Setnau*, *R.P.*, iv, p. 140.

We have given this brief analysis of *Genesis* because it serves to show us how profoundly supernatural is its tone. We are apt to forget this in the interests of the story ; while at times, too, the human aspect of it all is so strikingly displayed that we may lose sight of the part which Almighty God so clearly plays throughout. Thus *Genesis* has been not inaptly called the Book of Visions, Covenants, and Promises : a just appreciation, for *Genesis* is fundamental in more ways than one. It tells us the history of the origins of this world and its inhabitants ; but not so much for their own sake as to bring into clear light God's plan for the redemption of the human race. Thus while the human interest is always there, sometimes indeed only too plainly manifested, God also is always there—in the background, it is true—yet it is only in the light of His presence that we can arrive at a true understanding of the story.

II. The Historical Value of Chapters I-XI.

The principal events given in these chapters are the Creation, the Fall, the Flood, the ethnographical details in chap. x, with the story of the Tower of Babel, and the history of the patriarchs in chap. xi. Are we to take these recitals as sober history in the same way as we take the accounts of the reigns of David or Ezechias ? Or are we free to regard them, as so many modern critics do, as myths or legends ? Or, lastly, is it possible to discover some *via media* between these two extremes ?

In discussing these narratives it is well to bear in mind that while our knowledge of the subject can be derived from

[1] See A. S. Yahuda : *The Language of the Pentateuch and its relation to Egyptian Language and Thought*, a paper read at the Orientalist Congress, Oxford, 1928, and expanded later into *Die Sprach des Pentateuch in ihrem Beziehungen zum Aegyptischen*, 1929.

such various sources as the Bible, ancient records, whether from East or West, as well as from human reason and science, the Bible must always take precedence, since the account it furnishes is inspired by God and is therefore absolutely true. Further, no interpretation of the narrative can be sound unless it is in perfect harmony with the rest of God's revelation and with the teaching of the Church which is the divinely appointed guardian of that revelation. But that teaching is enshrined not only in formal pronouncements made from time to time, but more particularly in the teachings of those great doctors whom God raised up in successive ages to be the pillars of His Church;[1] it is also enshrined in other parts of the Bible than those immediately under discussion, and it is in this sense most true that Scripture is the best interpreter of Scripture. Lastly, no one can hope to arrive at any satisfactory understanding of such problems as those presented by the opening chapters of *Genesis* unless he has thoroughly grasped what is meant by the different "senses" of Scripture.[2]

III. Babylonian Accounts of the Creation, the Flood and the Fall.

Evidently there can be no such thing as a contemporary history of the Creation, for there was no human historian there to see it and narrate it. But this will not allow us to regard the stories detailed in these early chapters as mere myths having no foundation. Hence we must cast about for some *via media* which, while doing full justice to the character of the recital, shall avoid any view which runs counter to sound teaching regarding the inspiration and the historical character of the recital.

We note at the outset that there seems to be no appreciable change of style or treatment when we pass from chap. xi to the following chapters. Further, the book seems to have been carefully welded into a homogeneous whole, the author piecing together his story by means of the genealogical tables scattered throughout the volume. Again, there are no detached portions in the book: we cannot, for in-

[1] *Aids*, I (1926), pp. 48-76. [2] *Ibid.* 92-103.

stance, understand any one chapter without first reading the whole of what has gone before; thus only the Fall will explain the doctrine of a Chosen Race which runs through the whole story; similarly, only the Flood will enable us to understand the position of the Semites. Lastly, chap. xi, which closes the history of the Patriarchs, is evidently constructed with a view to what follows; it ends with the origin of the Thareites from whom sprang Abraham.

These facts will not, of course, explain the character of the early chapters, for this harmonious arrangement is due solely to a writer who lived many centuries after the events which he narrates. We want to get behind him, so to speak, and see for ourselves what value is to be attributed to the stories which he has preserved for us. His treatment of them is one thing, their own precise character and origin is another.

According to the Biblical narrative the work of Creation extended over six days, and on the seventh the Creator rested. On the first day the light was made; on the second, the firmament; on the third, the waters were divided from the land, and the trees and herbs came into being; on the fourth, the sun, moon, and stars were created and were set to rule the seasons; on the fifth, the fishes and fowls were created and were bidden to increase and multiply; on the sixth, the animals and creeping things came into being, and man was created to have dominion over them; on the seventh, God rested from His work. The story of Creation has thus been given in general, and its order stated—man coming last; in the succeeding chapter the order is reversed, and the creation of man is especially dwelt upon; its mode is given at length, and man's relation to the rest of creation is detailed; finally, a helpmate is created for Adam.

Further, Creation is presented to us as a definite series of operations, also it is given in a more or less poetical form; thus we note the recurring formula, "and there was evening and morning, one day," etc. Again, though it is the creation of the universe which is treated of, it is yet clear that all is told from the standpoint of the earth; in other words, we are not told the story for its own intrinsic interest, nor from a purely scientific point of view—we

have not a cosmogony so much as a geogony. Moreover, the account is essentially anthropomorphic[1]—that is, God is depicted as a man. He acts, plans, and speaks like a man. Similarly, the whole account is essentially popular; it is expressed in popular language and according to appearances, *e.g.* the description of the firmament. If we ask what precise doctrinal teaching is to be gathered from the account, it might seem that what is explicitly *taught* us in chs. i-ii is the fact that *God created all* and that *He rested on the Sabbath day*.

It will help us to arrive at a fuller understanding of the question if we now turn to the accounts of the Creation which have come to us from Chaldea.

In the year 1848 and in subsequent years there were unearthed at Kuyunjik or Niniveh an immense number of clay tablets among which George Smith discovered fragments of early legends parallel to the Biblical narratives of the Creation and the Flood; these he published in 1876 under the title of *The Chaldean Account of Genesis*. Additional discoveries have been added to the collection, and in 1901 the British Museum authorities published all the texts in their possession dealing with the Creation.[2]

In these narratives Chaos or Apsu is depicted as the origin of all things, though it is not stated whence Chaos itself arose. From it, however, came demons and gods, and, after a very long interval, the gods Ea and Anu. With

[1] It is usual to speak of these anthropomorphic expressions as a proof of a primitive age; yet what could be more anthropomorphic than the words of Ps. lxxvii. 65-66: "And the Lord was wakened as one out of sleep, like a mighty man that hath been surfeited with wine"?

[2] The following excerpts are all taken from the translation given in Sir E. A. Wallis Budge's edition of *The Babylonian Legends of the Creation and the Fight between Bel and the Dragon, published by Order of the Trustees of the British Museum*, 1921. Those who are interested in the progress of Assyriology may compare this translation with those furnished in G. Smith's *Chaldean Genesis* and in the *Records of the Past*, vol. ix, and the *new series*, vol. i. It was but natural that in the excitement of the first discovery of such records more should have been read into them—or out of them—than was justified. G. Smith thought, for instance, that he had discovered references to the eating of the Tree of Knowledge, also to the Tower of Babel, as well as instructions to Adam and Eve; but these fancies have proved illusory.

their advent order came into the universe, to the disgust of Apsu and Tiamat, who are represented as the original pair.

Tablet I:

1. When the heavens above were as yet unnamed,
2. And the name of the earth beneath had not been recorded.
3. Apsu, the oldest of beings, their progenitor,
4. "Mummu" Tiamat, who bare each and all of them—
5. Their waters were merged into a single mass.

The creation of the great gods is then recounted; but Apsu grew weary of the brawls of the gods, and told Tiamat that he proposed to destroy them all:

38. By day I find no peace, by night I have no rest.
39. Verily I will make an end of their way, I will sweep them away;
40. There shall be a sound of lamentation; lo, then we shall rest.

For reasons which are not very clear Tiamat raised up a host to do battle; this host was led by Kingu:

137. She gave him the Tablet of Destinies; she fastened it on his breast.

Tablet II describes the preparation for the battle against Marduk who, Tablet III, is raised up as the avenger of the gods against the devices of Tiamat. In the Fourth Tablet the battle is described. Marduk destroys Kingu:

120. (Kingu) he crushed; he esteemed him as little worth as (?) a dead god.
121. Marduk took from him the Tablet of Destinies, which should never have been his;
122. He sealed it with a seal and fastened it on his breast.
137. He split Tiamat open like a flat (?) fish (cut into) two pieces.
138. The one half he raised up and shaded the heavens therewith.

The Fifth Tablet is very fragmentary, but tells how Marduk fashioned the planets:

1. He appointed the stations for the great gods.
2. He set in heaven the stars of the Zodiac, which are their likenesses.
3. He fixed the year; he appointed the limits thereof.
4. He set up for the twelve months three stars apiece.

The Sixth Tablet is more important:

2. He (Marduk) opened his mouth; he spoke to Ea that which he had planned in his heart; he gave counsel (saying):
3. I will solidify blood. I will form bone.
4. I will set up man. "Man" shall be his name.
5. I will create the man "Man."

The gods decree that since Kingu had caused the strife:

26. From his blood Ea fashioned mankind for the service of the gods. . . .
27. After Ea had fashioned man he . . . laid service upon him.
28. For that work which pleased him not, man was chosen.

This last thought is made clearer in the Seventh Tablet:

27. He felt compassion for the gods who were in captivity.
28. He riveted on the gods, his enemies, the yoke which had been resting on them.
29. In mercy towards them he created mankind.
30. The Merciful One in whose power it is to give life.[1]

The parallels to the Biblical narrative are evident, though Gen. i-ii contains no reference to the Fall of the Angels, nor is "Chaos" personified as in this Babylonian account. And while the term "creation" is used in the translation, it is clear that it is not, strictly speaking, creation at all; man is not made "out of nothing." Again, while these tablets contain practically 1,000 lines, yet only the few quoted above refer to the creation of man, and then only as an episode in the career of Marduk. Once more: man is represented as formed simply as servant to the gods. The reference to the formation of the "firmament" in the Fourth Tablet is interesting, but more so the curious parallel to the redemptive death of Christ on the Cross in the extract from the same tablet (*cf.* Ephes. ii. 13-18).

Fragments of a very early account of the Creation have also been recovered from the library at Cutha. This account differs very much from the Chaldean one already given and referred by Sayce to the time of Assur-bani-pal, 668-626 B.C. The proper names are in Accadian. But the remains are so injured as to be practically undecipherable save for one or two interesting details:

I. 9. On a memorial stone he wrote not, he disclosed not . . .
11. Warriors with the bodies of birds of the desert, men
12. With the faces of ravens,
13. These the great gods created.[2]

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[1] Langdon, *The Babylonian Epic of Creation*, translates this:

3. Blood will I construct, bone will I cause to be.
4. Verily I will cause Litu (man) to stand forth; verily his name is man;
5. I will create Litu, man.

[2] *R.P.* xi. 107-114; Sayce, *Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*; G. Smith, *The Chaldean Genesis*.

Yet another version of the story of the Creation comes from Sippara where it was found by Rassam in 1881-82, and translated in 1890 by Pinches, Hommel, and others. The original text is written in Sumerian or Accadian, and each line is divided so as to allow for a translation into Semitic Babylonian in between. The story deals rather with the foundation of the great cities of Nippur, Erech and Eridu, with their famous temples, than with the formation of the earth. Yet there are some remarkable parallels to the Biblical account. Thus line 11 of the obverse runs: "When within the sea there was a stream," reminding us of "But a spring rose out of the earth, watering all the surface of the earth" (Gen. ii. 6). Note, too:

17. Merodach bound together a foundation before the waters.
18. He made dust and poured it out with the flood.
19. The gods were to be caused to sit in a seat of joy of heart.
20. He made mankind.
21. Aruru had made the seed of mankind with him.
22. He made the beasts of the field and the living creatures of the desert.
23. He made the Tigris and Euphrates and set them in their place.

Then follows a brief description of the making of the plants and animals, finally of the building of the great cities; it closes with a blessing on Merodach. There is no contest between Merodach and Tiamat or Chaos, no creation of the planets, nor of the fishes and birds. But Hommel suggests that Eridu really stands for the tree of life.

N.S., vi, pp. 107-114, 1892. See, too, *British Museum Guide to the Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities*, 1922, pp. 215-217; also *The Babylonian Epic of Creation, restored from the recently recovered Tablets of Assur*, S. Langdon, 1923; *The Babylonian Legends of the Creation and the Fight between Marduk and Tiamat (Bel and the Dragon) as told by Assyrian Tablets from Nineveh*, E. W. Budge and S. Smith, 1921. L. W. King, *Enuma Elish, or The Seven Tablets of Creation*, 1902. M. Jastrow, *Hebrew and Babylonian Traditions*, 1913, translated by F. Unwin, 1914. Dhorme, *Choix des textes*, pp. 83 *ff*. Also *Traditions babyloniennes sur les origines*, *R.B.*, July-October, 1919. Clay, A. T., *The Origin of Biblical Traditions (in the Book of Genesis)*, 1923. Jastrow and Clay, *An Old Babylonian Version of the Gilgamesh Epic*, Yale University, 1921. Formby, C. W., *The Unveiling of the Fall*, 1923. Van Hoonacker, A., *The Literary Origin of the Story of the Fall*, *Expositor*, December, 1914; *cp.* November, 1918. P. Deimel, S.J., *Enuma Elis, sive Epos Babylonicum de Creatione*, 1912. Halévy, J., *L'Histoire des origines d'après la Genèse*, 1895. Moore, B., *The Garden of Eden*,

1923. Ryle, H., *Moses and the Monuments*, 1920. Zimmern, H., *The Babylonian and the Hebrew Genesis*, trans. by J. Hutchinson, 1901.

Finally, in 1915 S. Langdon published *A Sumerian Epic of Paradise, the Flood and the Fall of Man*, being vol. x, no. 1, of *The University of Pennsylvania, the Museum, Babylonian Section*. This provoked a flood of controversy; many Assyriologists maintained that there was no trace of either Paradise or the flood or the fall in the actual inscription, but Langdon held to his views, though with some slight modifications.[1]

The truth is, as Budge has stated, that "among the primitive Semitic peoples there were probably many versions of the story of the Creation; and the narrative told by the Seven Tablets is, no doubt, one of them in a comparatively modern form. It is quite clear that the account of the Creation given in the Seven Tablets is derived from very ancient sources, and a considerable amount of literary evidence is now available for reconstructing the history of the legend."[2]

Langdon summarizes the history of these legends by saying that the epic originated in the south and was probably written under the First Babylonian Dynasty, *c.* 2225-1926 B.C.; all the copies, whether found in the south or the north, emanate from E-sagila or the temple of Marduk or Merodach in Babylon, though the Assyrian copyists in the north changed his name into that of Assur.[3]

The story of the Deluge finds its counterpart in the Epic of Gilgamesh, a very ancient story, fragments of which date as far back as 3000 B.C., though the form in which it has come down to us probably dates from about 1900 B.C.[4] The legends arose in Erech where Gilgamesh lived. After many adventures, becoming convinced of the inevitableness of death, he sought a certain Uta-napishtim, an ancestor of his who was reputed to have achieved immortality. Uta-

[1] *R.B.*, April, 1916, pp. 259, 331; April, 1917; July, 1919; April, 1921; for Langdon's own account of his "find" *cf.* *P.S.B.A.*, June and November, 1914; December, 1915.

[2] Budge, *The Seven Tablets of Creation*, p. 30.

[3] *The Babylonian Epic of Creation*, 1923.

[4] *R.B.*, April, 1921, p. 300; also April, 1895, January, 1898; *The Babylonian Story of the Deluge and the Epic of Gilgamesh*, by E. A. Wallis Budge, 1930, published by the authorities of the British Museum; Campbell Thompson, R., *The Epic of Gilgamesh*, Clarendon Press, 1928. For a summary account see *British Museum Guide to the Babylonian and Assyrian Rooms*, 1922, pp. 220-221.

napishtim told him how the god Ea had revealed to him the design of the gods to destroy the city of Surippak by a flood, and urged him to

"Build a ship,
Forsake wealth, seek after life,
Carry grain of every kind into the ship.
The ship which thou shalt build.
The dimensions thereof shall be measured,
The breadth and the length thereof shall be the same."

Gilgamesh obeyed, and he describes how he built the ship, covered it with bitumen, and furnished it with provisions:

"I made go up into the ship all my family and kinsfolk,
The cattle of the field, the beasts of the field, all handicraftsmen, I made them go up into it.
The god Shamash had appointed me a time, saying
The Power of darkness will at eventide make a rain-flood to fall;
Then enter into the ship and shut the door."

The storm came as predicted:

"For six days and nights
The storm raged, and the cyclone overwhelmed the land.
When the seventh day approached the cyclone and the raging flood ceased."

The ark stranded on the mountains of Nisir, and after waiting seven days

"I brought out a dove and let her go free.
The dove flew away and then came back;
Because she had no place to alight on she came back.
I brought out a swallow and let her go free;
The swallow flew away and then came back;
Because she had no place to alight on she came back.
I brought out a raven and let her go free.
The raven flew away, she saw the sinking waters.
She ate, she pecked in the ground, she croaked, she came not back."

Uta-napishtim then leaves the ark and offers a sacrifice to the gods:

"The gods smelled the savour,
The gods smelled the sweet savour,
The gods gathered together like flies over that sacrifice."

The god Bel is then blamed for the flood which was calculated unjustly to destroy the whole human race indiscriminately:

"He who is sinful, on him lay his sin,
He who transgresseth, on him lay his transgression.
But be merciful that (everything) be not destroyed ; be long-suffering that (man be not blotted out)."

Various fragments containing portions of the same story and dating from about 2000 B.C. have been discovered, and it seems clear that originally the account of the Flood in the present Eleventh Tablet of the Gilgamesh Epic formed no part of it.

"The fact is that the legend of the Deluge was then already so old in Mesopotamia that the scribes added to or abbreviated the text at will, and treated the incidents recorded in it according to local or popular taste, tradition and prejudice. There seems to be no evidence that the Sumerian version is older than the Semitic, or that the latter was translated direct from the former version. It is probable that both the Sumerians and the Semites, each in their own way, attempted to commemorate an appalling disaster of unparalleled magnitude, the knowledge of which, through tradition, was common to both peoples. It is, at all events, clear that the Sumerians regarded the Deluge as an historic event, which they were practically able to date, for some of their tablets contain lists of kings who reigned before the Deluge, though it must be confessed that the length assigned to their reigns are incredible."[1]

Boscawen, *The First of Empires, Appendix D*, pp. 337-348. Budge, E. W., *The Babylonian Story of the Deluge and the Epic of Gilgamesh, with an Account of the Royal Libraries at Nineveh*, 1920. Clay, A. T., *An Old Babylonian Version of the Gilgamesh Epic*, 1920 : *A Hebrew Deluge Story in Cuneiform*, 1922. Dhorme, P., *Choix des Textes*, 1907. Handcock, P. S., *Babylonian Flood Stories*, 1921. Hilprecht, *Deluge Tablets, Expositor*, 1910-1911 ; but *cf. R.B.*, October, 1910, p. 628. Hilion, M. G., *Le Deluge dans la Bible et les Inscriptions Akkadiennes et Sumeriennes*, 1925. Finn, A. H., *The Creation, Fall, and Deluge*, 1922. Langdon, S., *The Epic of Gilgamesh*, 1917. Jensen, P., *Gilgamesh-Epos*, 1924. For the *Sumerian Epic of Paradise, the Flood and the Fall of Man*, *R.B.*, 1921, 308, 309. Poebel, A., in vol. v of the *University of Pennsylvania, Babylonian Sections ;* also Langdon in vol. x. But according to M. Jastrow, *R.B.*, 1917, p. 604, Poebel's texts really deal neither with the Deluge nor the Fall ; *cf. R.B.*, 1916, pp. 258 *ff.* ; April, 1926, p. 318.

For a brief summary of recent discoveries at Ur see H. Peake, *The Truth about the Flood*, 1930.

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[1] E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Epic of Gilgamesh*, p. 26.

IV. The Age of the Patriarchs.

The longevity of the Patriarchs has proved a stumbling-block to many.[1] Yet Tertullian shrewdly suggests that it was a Providential means for securing the tradition of the primitive revelation made by God: "Noe, the survivor of the Deluge, was the great-grandson of Enoch himself, and he, of course, had heard and remembered from domestic renown and hereditary tradition his own great-grandfather's 'grace in the sight of God,' as also concerning all his preaching; for Enoch had given no other charge to Mathusala than that he should hand on the knowledge of them to his posterity."[2]

St. Augustine tells us that in his time some thought that the "year" for the Hebrews in those Patriarchal days was the equivalent of but one-tenth of our year;[3] he also has a most minute investigation of the variations between the Hebrew, Greek, and what he terms "the Syriac" details of the ages of the Patriarchs.[4]

V. The Relation of the Biblical Narratives to the Babylonian Accounts.

It will be admitted that the Assyro-Babylonian accounts are frankly, nay grossly, polytheistic, whereas the Biblical account is purely monotheistic. Again, the Assyrian account does not seem to involve a creative act; the light, for instance, is rather the result of a conflict between two powers, an evolution rather than a creation; we are reminded of the dualism of Persian Zoroastrianism. More over the Assyrian story personifies the chaos of the Bible—Tiamat is a deity, or at least a principle of evil. This is part of that metaphorical presentation of things indicated above; but the Biblical account is absolutely free from it. Finally, as Professor Sayce has well remarked, "between Bel-Merodach and the Hebrew God there is an impassable gulf."

[1] Some have even suggested that the Patriarchs really stood for communities; *cf.* Pinches, *The Old Testament in the Light of Babylonian and Assyrian Discoveries*, p. 143; *R.B.*, January, 1911, October, 1920; *Expository Times*, October, 1910; January-February, 1922.

[2] *De Veste Feminea*, iii.

[3] *De Civ. Dei*, XV. xii. 1.

[4] *Ibid.* XV. xiii. 3.

Genealogical Table of the Patriarchs.

- Adam
  - Cain
  - Abel
  - Seth
    - Enos
      - Cainan
        - Malalee
          - Jared
            - Enoch
              - Mathusala
                - Lamech
                  - Noe
                    - Sem
                      - Elam
                      - Assur
                      - Arphaxad
                        - Sale
                          - Heber
                            - Phaleg
                              - Reu
                                - Sarug
                                  - Nachor
                                    - Thare
                                      - Abram
                                        - *m.* Agar
                                          - Ismael
                                        - *m.* Cetura
                                          - Madian, etc.
                                        - *m.* Sara
                                          - Isaac *m.* Rebecca
                                            - Esau
                                            - Jacob
                                      - Nachor *m.* Melcha
                                        - Huz
                                        - Buz
                                        - Camuel
                                        - Bathuel
                                          - Rebecca
                                          - Laban
                                            - Lia
                                            - Rachel
                                      - Aran
                                        - Lot
                                          - Moab
                                          - Ammon
                                        - Jescha
                      - Lud
                      - Aram
                    - Ham
                    - Japheth

What, then, are the relations between these Assyrian and pre-Semitic accounts and the Biblical narrative? The Assyrians, Babylonians, and Hebrews were—all alike—Semites. Further, the parent of the Hebrew race, Abraham, had come out of Chaldea, and at the exile the Hebrews had returned thither. The advanced rationalistic school would therefore argue that since the Pentateuch is, according to their ideas, only to be referred in its present form to the period succeeding the exile, that is, to about 400 B.C., we must see in the Biblical account of the Creation nothing more than a myth derived from Babylonia during the captivity. Others, however, hold that the Hebrews derived their version of the story from Chaldea in the period preceding the departure of Thare from Ur of the Chaldees, and that they preserved the original story in its monotheistic form, free from the accretions we now find in the Chaldean tablets. It is, however, a striking fact that the Bible presents to us Thare and Abraham as believers in the one true God before they left Chaldea, and it would seem as though from the days of Noe God had preserved for Himself a portion of the human race untainted by the prevailing idolatry. He had revealed Himself to Adam and again to Noe; all through this early period of the history the implied thought is that, in spite of the defection of the vast majority of mankind, there was always a chosen seed which did not stand in need of a new revelation of what had once been declared, though their ideas did at times call for drastic purification from the errors which had inevitably crept in through contact with the unbelievers in whose midst the early members of the chosen race lived. It would seem, then, more in accordance with facts to suppose that all along the course of history the true account of God's dealings with man, and of His formation of the world and of the human race, had been preserved undiluted and was handed down from century to century. Indeed, a purification of the Chaldean account of the Creation or of the Flood would have involved an almost radical change of the accounts.

"There is no foundation whatsoever," says Budge, "for the assertion that has so often been made that the two accounts of the Creation which are given in the early chapters in Genesis are derived from the

Seven Tablets of Creation. . . . It is true that there are many points of resemblance between the narratives in cuneiform and Hebrew, and these often illustrate one another, but the fundamental conceptions of the Babylonian and Hebrew accounts are essentially different. In the former the earliest beings that existed were foul demons and devils, and the God of Creation only appears at a later period; but in the latter the conception of God is that of a being who existed in and from the beginning, almighty and alone, and the devils of chaos and evil are His servants."[1]

VI. Principles of Interpretation of these Early Narratives: The Teachings of St. Augustine and St. Thomas.

What has been said will enable us to appraise at their true worth the various views which have been put forward from time to time with regard to the narrative of the Creation.

(*a*) **The Literal View.**—According to this view, the "days" of the Creation were to be understood as literal days of twenty-fours hours, and the week thus formed was a type of the Sabbath.

(*b*) **The Concordistic System** regarded the "days" as periods of time. It was rightly maintained that geology and astronomy proved the existence of a gradual series of changes, that the various species of animals, for example, did not appear on the earth simultaneously, but at intervals which were widely separated from one another. Hence the "Concordists" held that the writer of Genesis was only endeavouring to establish a harmony or "concord" between the already existing week of days and the creative acts of God.[2]

(*c*) **The Idealistic View.**—In answer to the previous view it was pointed out that geology did not really prove the existence of clear-cut divisions or periods; that the animals

[1] *The Seven Tablets of Creation*, pp. 29-30.

[2] For the relations between the Biblical account of the Creation and science, see Guyot, *Creation, or Biblical Cosmogony in the Light of Modern Science*, 1884. Holroyde, *Science and Genesis, a Harmony of the Accounts of Creation*, 1926. Also *Genesis i-ii and Science*, *R.B.*, April, 1894; on the Hexæmeron, *R.B.*, 1896, pp. 381 *ff.*; on the Mosaic cosmogony, *R.B.*, 1890, pp. 406 *ff.*; 1894, 182 *ff.*; the earliest cosmogonies, *Bibliotheca Sacra*, January, 1910.

most characteristic of one period were at least to be traced in the foregoing, and so on. Also that the earth could not have been created before the sun since its motion and its very place in the universe depend upon the sun. Hence the idealist view, which appears in various forms: some would see in these early chapters only an *allegorical presentation* of the facts; they would disregard the historical aspect of the account, and see in it only religious teaching and popular statements of which the main points are that God created all and that He sanctified the Sabbath day. Others maintained that this first chapter was nothing more than a *ritual hymn* telling of the consecration of each day to God; it was suggested that this hymn was a set-off to the Egyptian ritual hymns which embody the same ideas.[1] Another view, which probably gave rise to the term "idealistic," was that God showed Moses in a *series of visions* the various "acts" of creation.

The Method of Interpreting these Early Chapters.—Of late it has been maintained that the simplest solution is to see in these early chapters the *history of the origins* of the world and of mankind told in *metaphorical* form. This view does not weaken the historical character of the narrative, it assumes it; but it endeavours to find a way of escape from the difficulties which beset all attempts to treat the accounts as strict history in the formal sense of the word. This is no new idea, it is as old as St. Augustine; in his early work, *De Genesi contra Manichæos*,[2] he has some very wise words against the folly of trying to take all the statements in *Genesis* literally, while he proposes views regarding the formation of Eve which one could imagine people nowadays pronouncing heretical![3] And though St. Augustine carefully revised these earlier writings of his and corrected many things in this very book, yet he did not correct his views on the character of the account of the Creation; he says, indeed, that they are the product of his youthful pen, but he seems to have felt it unnecessary to modify them.[4]

[1] Dr. Clifford, Bishop of Clifton, *Dublin Review*, April, 1881, and January-April, 1883.

[2] II. ii. [3] II. xii.

[4] *De Genesi contra Manichæos* dates from A.D. 389, *Retract.* i. 10; *De Genesi ad litteram, Opus imperfectum*, was written A.D. 393, *Retract.*

It will be worth while to set forth the teachings of St. Augustine and his disciple St. Thomas in considerable detail.

(*a*) *Augustine's "General Principles."*—The Saint feels it necessary to warn people that—

"In obscure things such as these, things so far removed from our eyes, if we find certain Divine things written about them which afford ground for a diversity of opinions—saving always our faith wherein we are baptized—we must not rashly and categorically maintain any of them, lest we come to grief when more careful investigation shows the hollowness of our view. For to do so is not to fight for the truth of the Divine Scriptures, but for the truth of our own opinion; it is to want Scripture to mean what we think, whereas we ought to want our ideas to be those of Scripture."[1]

A little further on he says:

"It is disgraceful, and indeed a danger which we must at all costs avoid, that an unbeliever should hear a Christian discussing such questions (scientific questions) and apparently basing his ideas on Christian literature, yet talking such nonsense that the unbeliever who knows that he is wholly wrong can hardly forbear laughing. And the harm lies not so much in the fact that the individual in question is derided for his folly, but that outsiders naturally conclude that our sacred writers held such views."[2]

And again:

"Weak brethren, too, fall into a still more dangerous mistake; for when they hear impious-minded men discoursing with superabundant subtlety about the number of the heavenly bodies or about the elements which constitute this material world, they collapse. They sadly remark that these men are much beyond them and are great authorities, and consequently they look with contempt upon those Sacred Books which teach us our saving duty towards God; they feel they can hardly bear to touch books which, as a matter of fact, they ought to drink in with avidity."[3]

Once more:

"To men who pretend to calumniate the books of our salvation we have to reply that whatsoever they can, from solid data, demonstrate

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i. 18; the treatise on *Genesis* which appears in *Confessions* xii-xiii was written about A.D. 400; while the famous twelve books *De Genesi ad litteram* were the fruit of fifteen years' labour, A.D. 400-415; in the year 412 he writes that he has long kept it back, *Ep.* cxliii; seven years later, 419, he quotes bk. xii, but says he is still polishing the work; in *Ep.* clxii. 2 he mentions that it is not yet out; *cp. Retract.* ii. 24.

[1] *De Genesi ad litt.*, I. 37. [2] *Ibid.* 39.

[3] *Ibid.* 40.

about the nature of things, we can show to be in no sense contrary to our Scriptures. And whatsoever they allege from their tomes in opposition to our Scriptures, that is to the Catholic faith, it is for us to show with what skill we may, or at least unhesitatingly to believe, that it is false."[1]

(*b*) *On the* "*Creation.*"—For St. Augustine creation was one indivisible act described in chap. i; after that it is not creation that is described but God's governance of the world He has created. Hence he speaks of—

"This distinction in the works of God which thus belong partly to those invisible days in which He created all things simultaneously, partly to those days set over against them, and in which He works day by day whatsoever is evolved in time from those former (creative) works, out of as it were primordial wrappings. . . . If now you ask me how (man was made), since he was made on the sixth day and woman outside those six days, I answer, afterwards visibly, precisely as the nature of the human framework is now familiar to us; not, however, from parents who begot, but—Adam from the slime, Eve from his rib. And if you now ask me how, I answer, invisibly, potentially, causally, just as future things not yet made come to be."[2]

"In that primal fashioning of the world, when God created all things simultaneously, man was made who was to be, the ratio of man to be created, not the action of man created. But these things are in one fashion in the Word of God, where they are not made but are eternal; in another fashion in the elements of the world, wherein all things made simultaneously are future; in yet another fashion in things which according to their simultaneously created causes are not yet simultaneously existing but are created each of them in their own due time, among which things was Adam, already formed from the slime and animated by the breath of God, like the grass that has sprung up; in still another fashion in seeds wherein primordial causes are, as it were, repeated, produced from things which already existed according to the causes which God had first established, as grass from the earth and seed from the grass. In all these things those already made received the measure and the actions of their due time; they broke out into manifest forms and natures from hidden and invisible ratios lying hidden causally in creation."[3]

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[1] *Ibid.* 41.

[2] *De Gen. ad litt.*, VI. vi. 9; *cp.* IV. xii. 22-23; xxiii. 52. Note, too, how St. Augustine complains that even while these volumes were appearing his teaching on the simultaneous creation of all things was misunderstood, *ib.* VI. x-xi.

[3] *Ibid.* VI. x. 17. St. Augustine insists that his ideas are only tentatively put forth, and he hopes that those who can improve on them will do so, *De Gen. ad litt.*, IV. xxviii. That the term "day" cannot connote our day of twenty-four hours is for him self-evident; *cf. Opus imperfectum in Gen.*, xxvii, *De Gen. ad litt.*, I. xviii-xxviii, IV. xxvi-xxvii, and for a

(*c*) *Evolution.*—That St. Augustine held that a certain kind of "evolution" took place is evident even from the foregoing passages. But more explicitly still:

"Into the things made God inserted the causes of things that were to be made, and by His almighty power He made things future; man, too, to be formed in his due season, He fashioned as it were in the seeds or roots of time when He fashioned that whence the ages should spring, the ages made by Him who is before the ages."[1]

Again:

"When we say that God 'perfected' His work, we mean that He created all things so perfectly that as time went on nothing yet remained to be created which was not already here created by Him in the order of causality. And when we say that God 'began' we mean that here He prearranged in its causes what He should after fulfil in effects."[2]

Once more:

"Man was fashioned in accordance with what those primitive causes contained so that the first man should thence be made; for he was not to be born of parents, since none preceded him, but was to be formed of the slime in accordance with that causal ratio in which it was primarily made. Had man been made otherwise, then God would not have made him among the works of those six days. When man is said to have been made in them we mean that God had made man's very cause whence in due season man was to come, and in accordance with which man was to be made by Him who had both simultaneously consummated what He had begun by reason of the perfection of its causal reasons, and had begun what was to be consummated as time kept its due order."[3]

"Those things are in a sense consummated and in a sense begun all of which God simultaneously created at first when He made the world, but which, as the centuries roll by, are to be evolved. They are said to be 'consummated' in that they have nothing in their own proper

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complete summary of his views, *ib.* IV. lvi; note, too, for the way in which he conceives of Genesis having been written, *De Gen. ad litt.*, V. vi, at the end, and *cf. Opus imperfectum*, iii, and especially xxviii and xxxi at the end.

[1] *De Gen. ad litt.*, VI. viii. 13; *cp. ib.* IV. li-lii, and *Opus imperfectum*, xxxv and li.

[2] *De Gen. ad litt.*, VI. xi. 19; *cp.* I. xiv at the end.

[3] *De Gen. ad litt.*, VI. xv. 26; see *ib.* V. iv. 9, VI. xi. 18, where Augustine uses the actual word "evolve"; and V. xx, where he even goes so far as to suggest a kind of primordial "humor." For more "modern" views see *P.E.F.*, July, 1909, p. 173; and *Hibbert Journal*, January, 1908; April, 1909.

natures—whereby they act in their own due time—which was not causally planted in them; they are said to be 'begun,' since some of them were the seeds, so to speak, of things future in the course of ages and in fitting place to be brought out into open light."[1]

Yet though holding evolution in this sense, nothing is further from St. Augustine's thought than that things should evolve indiscriminately, or that from some one primordial form all created things should proceed.

"The course of nature to which we are so accustomed has certain natural laws of its own, and in accordance with them even the breath of life, which is a created thing, has its own desires which are in some sort determined and which not even a wicked will can exceed. The very elements of this corporeal world have their definite powers and qualities, what precisely each can do or not do, what can or cannot come from each. From these, as from the primordial sources of things, all things that are begotten take their rise and origin, each in their own time, and so come to the end and disappearance each of their own kind. Whence it is that from a grain of corn can never come a bean, nor corn from a bean, nor man from a sheep, nor a sheep from a man. Yet over and above this natural movement and course of things the Creator's power retains within itself the ability to do with all these things something other than what we may term their seminal ratios have the power to do; not, however, what He did not place in them so that from them it might by His power be made."[2] In full accord with this he roundly declares that "in no conceivable way will a pig ever become more like a man than it is like a pig."[3]

(*d*) *The Formation of Eve.*—Hence the importance of the principles laid down by St. Augustine when discussing the question of the *formation of Eve*:

"The whole passage must be examined first from the historical standpoint, then from the prophetical. In history facts are narrated, in prophecy the future is foretold. Of course if anyone wants to take all that is here said literally, understanding it, that is, in no other sense than the letter sounds, and in so doing is able to avoid blasphemies and explain all in harmony with the Catholic faith, we shall not begrudge him, rather shall we hail him as the greatest of interpreters and deserv-

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[1] *De Gen. ad litt.*, VI. iv. 18. For the Saint's ideas on "rationes seminales et causales," *ib.* V. ix, xi, xiii, xiv, xlvi; VI. vii, viii, x-xiii, xvii-xix, xxv-xxix; VII. vii at the end; *cp.*, too, for the same doctrine, Origen, *Tom.* xiii. 41 *in Joann.*, *P.G.* xiv. 474. Note, too, St. Augustine's oft-repeated statements about the character of the narrative in these early chapters, *ib.* II. xxxi, V. xxiii. It must not be forgotten that these were no idle speculations on his part, but the fruit of years of pondering on the problem; idle speculations he deprecates, *e.g.* *ib.* II. xx, xxiii.

[2] *De Genesi ad litt.*, IX. xvii (32). [3] *Ibid.* VII. x (15).

ing of all praise. But if in endeavouring to understand what is here written in a devout sense and in a sense worthy of God we are driven to see in what is here written things set forth figuratively and in enigmas, we have the authority of the Apostles for this, for they so explain many enigmas in the Old Testament. So let us hold to the path we have indicated and let us explain all these figurative things—whether touching the history or the prophecy—in accordance with the Catholic faith, without, however, prejudicing some better and more diligent handling of the question such as we ourselves, whom may God enlighten, may attempt."[1]

And again:

"By that sleep (cast on Adam), when the woman was made for him, I think is meant some secret vision . . . that knowledge was, then, as it were the fashioning of the woman from the man's rib. . . . Literal speech and that figurative speech of which we are here treating are of course different. Consequently, although according to the history a visible woman was first made from the man's body by the Lord God, yet it was only so done as to intimate some secret thing. For clay was not lacking for her making; and God could, had He so wished, have taken a rib from the man in painless fashion while he was awake."[2]

(*e*) *Similarly when dealing with the "Temptation by the Serpent."*—For Augustine the serpent was simply a serpent, and the Evil One made use of him precisely as the Angel made use of Balaam's ass, though neither the ass nor the serpent understood the meaning of the words which came from their mouths.[3] It must be confessed that the commentary here is disappointing, for Augustine never discusses such patent difficulties as Eve's conversation with the serpent, and the total absence of surprise on her part at the reptile's power of speech and argument. Neither does he touch the difficulty about the creeping "serpent" being condemned to crawl on his belly "henceforward."[4] But Augustine has, apropos of this scene, some words that should be noted:

"The 'serpent' signifies the devil, who was certainly not simple; when he is said to be wiser than all beasts his guilefulness is figura-

[1] *De Genesi contra Manichæos*, II. ii. 3.

[2] *De Genesi contra Manichæos*, II. xii (16); Origen, *Contra Celsum*, iv. 38, regarded the story as wholly allegorical.

[3] *De Genesi ad litt.*, XI. xxvii (34-37).

[4] What is one to say to the statement that "the serpent, once erect, is doomed henceforth to crawl," or that he "does not appear to be a god or demon . . . certainly not the Satan or Devil of later theology"? (Jordan, *Ancient Hebrew Stories*, pp. 92-94).

tively suggested . . . and even if the place where this took place is that which is termed 'paradise,' where Adam and Eve were dwelling corporeally, are we therefore to suppose that the devil entered there corporeally? Not at all, but spiritually. Did he appear to them visibly? Did he come to them as to some corporeal place to work there? Not at all, but in wondrous fashion he suggested to them by thoughts whatsoever he could."[1]

Yet he is not afraid to say:

"It is said then to the serpent: 'On thy breast and thy belly shalt thou crawl.' And this we notice in snakes; the expression is figurative, in that visible animal, of our invisible enemy."[2]

After quoting the passage containing the curse on the serpent, "And the Lord God said to the serpent: Because thou hast done this thing, thou art cursed among all cattle and beasts of the field; upon thy breast shalt thou go, earth shalt thou eat all the days of thy life. I will put enmities between thee and the woman . . .," Augustine says:

"The whole of this sentence (on the serpent) is figurative (he does not mean that it is a figure of speech, but that it pre-figures something else), and the trustworthiness of the writer and the truth of the narrative only demand that we should not question but that sentence was pronounced; for the words, 'And the Lord God said to the serpent,' alone are the words of the writer, and these must be taken strictly (*per proprietatem*). It is then true that pronouncement was made on the serpent. But the remaining words are God's words, and it is perfectly free to the reader to understand them strictly (*proprie*) or in a figurative sense."[3]

(*f*) *Augustine's "Terminology."*—Now a great deal of confusion of thought is engendered when reading St. Augustine unless we bear in mind that he uses the term "allegory" in a far more restricted sense than is usual. For him allegory is identical with the spiritual or figurative sense. "We have allegory," he says, "when things are said figuratively";[4] if we explain the "evening" of Gen. i. as sin "hæc allegoriæ propheticæ disputatio est, quam non isto sermone suscipimus."[5] The consequences are far-reaching, for according to Augustine's conception things

[1] *De Genesi contra Manichæos*, II. xiv. 20.

[2] *De Genesi contra Manichæos*, II. xvi (26). Unfortunately *De Genesi ad litt.*, *Opus imperfectum*, only deals with chap. i.

[3] *De Genesi ad litt.*, XI. xxxvi (49).

[4] *De Genesi*, *Opus imperfectum*, ii; *De Genesi ad litt.*, I. ii.

[5] *Ibid.* 34.

that are purely figurative have no concrete existence; if, he asks, you regard the first man as "figurative," then who begot Cain and Abel?[1] Hence for St. Augustine there are only two categories: the literal or historical sense and the allegorical, spiritual or figurative; the former is objective and concrete, the latter subjective and mental.

But "allegory" is one thing, a "figure of speech" another. For the primal concept of an allegory is that we speak of one thing and mean another. Thus Ezechiel, xx, speaks of the lioness and her cubs, but he means the princes of Israel; the lioness and her cubs, as such, only existed in his mind. It is the same with Christ's parables.[2] Dives and Lazarus are creations of the imagination, though they are types of existing people. But this does not make the parables, whether those of Ezechiel or those of Christ, untrue; the actors in them may never have lived, but the people or things portrayed in them are realities depicted in terms which we can readily understand.[3]

(*g*) *Yet we are bound to interpret the Bible "literally."* The principle emphatically laid down by the Doctors of the Church is that we are bound to understand the Bible in strictly literal fashion unless by so doing we are led into error or absurdity.[4] We have examples of the latter when the Blessed Virgin says, "Thy father and I have sought thee sorrowing," or when our Lord Himself says, "Your heavenly Father who maketh His sun to rise." In the former a doctrinal, in the latter a scientific, absurdity would result from the strictly literal interpretation of the text.

To avoid confusion we must define our terms. The "spiritual" sense is that which the persons or things signify according to the mind of God, the principal Author of

[1] *Ibid.* VIII. 4-5; *cf.* I. 34, II. 4.

[2] The parables are true, insists St. Augustine, though they are fiction (*Contra Mendacium*, 24 and 28).

[3] For the different kinds of allegory *cf.* St. Augustine, *De Vera Religione*, 99; and for their "figurative" character, *De Gen. ad litt.*, I. i. 1-2; *De Trinitate*, XV. ix. 15-16; see, too, St. Thomas's treatment of Behemoth in Job (*Lect.* ii on Job xi).

[4] See *Aids*, I (1926), pp. 77-103, which should be studied carefully in view of the confusion prevalent on this point. Note, too, how emphatic St. Augustine is on the "historical" character of Gen. i-iii, *De Gen. ad litt.*, VIII. ii and iv.

Scripture; the classical example is that ulterior significance which St. Paul attributes to Sinai and Jerusalem;[1] "which things," he says, "are said by an allegory," hence the prevailing use of the term "allegory" for this "spiritual" or mystical sense of the Bible. This sense of the Bible presupposes the existence of the persons or things, for they could not "signify" unless they were "signs" to which appeal could be made.

The "literal" sense is that which the letter of the text primarily conveys, and this may be either the strict sense of the letter, *e.g.* "Elcana had two wives,"[2] a plain statement of historical fact; or a figure of speech may be used, *e.g.* "the lion of Judah hath conquered,"[3] which—if extended into a story—becomes an allegory, as in Ezechiel's picture of the lions[4] or in Christ's portrait of Himself as the Good Shepherd;[5] the same feature appears in fables[6] and parables.[7]

Nor because the actors in such cases are fictitious does it follow that such parables are not to be taken literally. They are literally true, though in the less formal sense. It is here that the English language is so deceptive and misleading. We are apt to regard as the "literal" sense only what the actual letter of the words means in its plain, direct signification; when a figure of speech is used we say that it is not literally true; we concede that the statement that a man smiles is literally true, but not when the meadow smiles.[8]

These figures of speech are the direct meaning of the letter of the text, which is not here significative of something future, as in the "spiritual" sense; but declares a fact in veiled or metaphorical form.

[1] Gal. iv. [2] I Sam. i. [3] Apoc. v. 5.
[4] Ezech. xx. [5] John x.
[6] Jud. iv; *Contra Mendacium*, 26. [7] *Ibid.*

[8] "By the literal sense something can be signified in two ways—either, that is, according to strict language, as when I say, 'A man smiles,' or by a similitude or metaphor, as when I say, 'The meadow smiles.' Both methods are employed in the Bible, the former when we say, 'Jesus ascended,' the latter when we say, 'He sitteth at the right hand of the Father.' The parabolical or metaphorical meaning, then, is comprised under the literal sense," St. Thomas, *Comment.* on Gal. iv. 24.

This important point was first stated clearly by St. Thomas. St. Augustine seems at times on the verge of it, but he never succeeded in formulating it. *Cf. De Gen. ad litt.*, VIII. iv. 5; *Serm.* lxxxix. 47.

But this is not at all what the Fathers and Doctors of the Church mean when they talk of the "literal" as opposed to the "spiritual" sense of Scripture. For them the literal sense is either what the words mean in their bare, strict significance, or as accepted figures of speech; whereas by the "spiritual" sense they mean what the things, or persons, or their acts typify. This latter is known only to God, though in Holy Scripture He often affords us hints as to their ultimate significance—*e.g.*, Joseph who "saved" Israel in Egypt typifies Christ who saved mankind from the results of sin; or the redemption from the Babylonian captivity typified the Redemption to be worked out by Christ.[1]

The results of this doctrine are far-reaching. For since the actual figures or actors in an allegory are really only creations of the mind and non-existent in reality, it will follow that if we elect to say that Gen. i-xi is an allegory, then our first parents, their fall, the Garden of Eden, the serpent, the Tower of Babel, etc., may never have really existed, but may be purely mental creations expressive of certain truths, but never having actual existence. In this view lay the error of Origen whom St. Jerome condemns for his excessive allegorization (*delirat allegorizan*). When, however, we regard certain expressions in these narratives as figures of speech or metaphors we are in no sense deserting the literal meaning, we are merely saying that it is its figurative expression.

This is precisely St. Augustine's position in *De Genesi ad litteram.*

"The narrative here is not concerned with things that are figurative, as in the *Canticle of Canticles*, but precisely with actual happenings, as in the *Books of Kings* and others similar. . . . Yet some, on the ground that the things here narrated are such as are outside the experience of

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[1] See *Aids*, I. (1926), pp. 92-103. For further indications of St. Augustine's mind on the various "senses" of Scripture, and on the part played by what he terms "fiction," see *De Gen. ad litt.*, VIII. viii; *Opus imperfectum in Genesim*, ii; *Enarr.* (*Sermo*) i. 13 in Ps. ciii, "qui putat me de theatro dixisse 'allegoriam,' putet et Dominum de amphitheatro dixisse parabolam"; *De Sermone in monte*, ii. 74; *Quæstionum Evangeliorum*, li, in Luc. xxiv; and *cp.* St. Thomas, *Prol.* to *Commentaries* on *Lamentations* and on the *Canticle of Canticles.*

us who look at the wonted course of nature, would have us understand these narratives as speaking not strictly, but only figuratively, and would have the history—that is, the narration of things that really took place —begin only with the expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise."

This view Augustine combats. "Though, of course," he says, "if the things here set forth in corporeal fashion cannot be so taken corporeally without prejudice to the truth (*salva fide veritatis*), it only remains for us to understand them in a figurative sense rather than put the blame for an absurdity on the Bible."

But, to repeat, when he says here "in a figurative sense" (*figurative*) he does not for a moment mean merely "as a figure of speech" or "in metaphorical fashion"; he means as mere symbols, as algebraic formulæ which have no real existence outside the mind. He then goes to say how in his *De Genesi contra Manichæos* he had essayed an allegorical exposition; but:

"I have realized that even I can show that these things were written, not as allegories, but as literal truths (*secundum proprium locutionem*)[1] . . . and since nothing prohibits us from taking these things in their literal sense (*proprie*), why should we not simply follow the authority of the Bible in its account of things, understanding them, that is, as real happenings, and then afterwards trying to discover what further meaning they may have."[2]

The Teaching of St. Thomas.

When discussing the story of creation, St. Thomas begins by summarizing St. Augustine's principles as follows:

"On this point there is a twofold question: The first regards the actual truth of the events narrated; the second regards the literal meaning of the words in which Moses, who was divinely inspired, sets out for us the beginnings of the world. As regards the first, two things have to be avoided: (*a*) We must make no false assertions, least of all assertions which run contrary to the truths of faith; (*b*) we must not maintain that what we feel to be true about it is therefore a truth of faith, for it only serves to bring the faith into derision amongst unbelievers when some simple-minded member of the faithful maintains as part of the faith something which can be shown on the most solid grounds to be false. On the second point, too, there are two things to be avoided: (*a*) We must not say that the words in which the

[1] *De Genesi ad litt.*, VIII ii (5); *cp. ibid.* I. xvii. 34.
[2] *Ibid.* vii. 13.

Bible teaches us of the creation of things are to be understood in some sense which is patently false; for there can be no falsehood in the Divine Scriptures delivered to us by the Holy Spirit, any more than there can be in the faith taught us by those Scriptures; (*b*) nor, again, must we try to limit the meaning of the Bible to one single interpretation, so as wholly to exclude other interpretations which are true in themselves, and which can, due regard had to the actual letter of the texts, be discovered in Scripture."

St. Thomas then proceeds to show the very different lines on which the great Greek Fathers, such as St. Basil and St. Gregory Nazianzen, and the Latin Fathers, notably St. Augustine, proceeded in their investigations of the Biblical story of the Creation. This is well illustrated in their respective attitudes towards that "chaos"—"the earth was void and empty"—which preceded the creation of existing things.

"These expositors," says St. Thomas, "held divergent views touching the opening chapters of Genesis, and none of them is opposed to the truth of faith," and he goes on to explain that by "chaos" "some of them understood something whence all the rest of creation proceeded, and which itself preceded them, not, however, as an actually existing thing, since it was 'formless' and thus had no definite nature in which it could exist, but much as the end I intend precedes the means I take to secure it, yet only actually exists when those means have been put into effect; and this was the opinion of St. Augustine."

But the Greek interpreters understood "chaos" not as something wholly "formless," but as something

"that had not yet attained the full complement and beauty of its nature. This seems in accordance with the procedure adopted by a wise artificer who, bringing things to actual being out of nothing, did not straightway bring them from nothing to the perfection of their nature, but first made them in a less perfect state, and after brought them to perfection. In this way it would be made clear that their very being proceeded from God, as against those who maintain that matter is something uncreated, while at the same time God would be shown to be their Author, as against those who held that the formation of inferior things was due to causes other than God. In this way did St. Basil, St. Gregory, and their followers understand things." Neither view, he adds, "is in contradiction with the teachings of faith, and the letter of the text of Scripture will bear either interpretation."

This leads to a discussion of the question whether in the work of creation there was any real succession of events, and consequently to the enigma of the "six days" of *Genesis*. St.

Augustine rightly held that creation, being an act of God, "with whom there is no change nor shadow of alteration,"[1] was an instantaneous act—"He that liveth for ever created all things together";[2] the seven days, then, he regarded as one act of knowledge on the part of the Angels envisaging the Creation, which act is described as "six days," since they witnessed distinct things. The Greek Fathers, however, understood the "days" as signifying "the order in time and the successive production of things." For them "chaos" meant "the lack of the due distinction and perfected beauty of things"; and, as St. Thomas proceeds to point out, the heavens lacked the beauty of light, the earth the beauty of its plants, though the distinction between earth and sky, between land and water, darkness and light, was already established.

The differences between the two systems are profound and far-reaching. For whereas Augustine held that the earth and water which preceded the actual creation were wholly formless, and hence not actually existing, the Greeks regarded them as actually existing in their own precise natures, while in the subsequent acts of creation they saw the various differences wrought in already existing things by virtue of accidental powers conferred upon them. Augustine, on the other hand, regarded things as not actually but only potentially produced. St. Thomas concludes by saying:

> "Augustine's interpretation is the more subtle of the two, and saves the Scriptural account from the contempt of unbelievers; but that of the Greeks is simpler and more in accordance with the apparent meaning of the text."[3]

The principles advocated above by St. Augustine and endorsed by St. Thomas are important for their bearing on the problem of evolution. For whereas the production of the elements

> "does not presuppose material from which they come nor in which they subsist, yet other things, such as animals, plants and men, are said to be 'produced' in their seminal causes only; for all these were afterwards produced in their own peculiar natures by that operation of

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[1] Jas. i. 17. [2] Ecclus. xviii. 1.

[3] *De Potentia*, IV. ii; *cp. ib.* III. xviii, and *Summa Theol.*, I. lxvi. 1.

God whereby—after the work of those seven days—He administers the nature already formed by Him, 'My Father worketh until now.'[1] Nor does Augustine mean that there is any order of time in the production and distinction of things, but only of nature. For all the works of the six days were done simultaneously in one instant of time, either actually or potentially, according to their causal reasons, that is to say that they could, from already existing material, come into being either by the power of the word of God or by active powers stamped upon creatures at their creation. Hence, with regard to the soul of the first man, which Augustine suggested but did not assert was actually created simultaneously with the Angels, he does not say that it was made before the sixth day, though he assigns to the sixth day the actual formation of his soul as well as his body according to causal reasons, that is in the sense that God impressed a passive power on the earth that there might be formed from it man's body by the active power of the Creator. Thus man's soul actually, and his body with a passive potentiality corresponding to the active power of God, were created simultaneously."[2]

The same is held by St. Augustine for the plants; he interprets the words, "Let the earth bring forth the green herb," as meaning that

"there was then conferred upon the earth a germinative power for producing the plants by propagation . . . they were produced not actually but in their causal reasons only. . . . For in those first days God established created things causally or in their origin, or actually by the work from which He afterwards rested, though thence onward He 'worketh even until now' in administering by the work of propagation the things He has made."[3]

That St. Thomas endorses this teaching follows from his treatment of the arguments against it:

"As for the arguments urged against this, if anyone cares to hold the opinions of St. Gregory and others who hold that in those 'days' there was real succession in time, and that the production of things took place successively. . . ."[4]

It seems permissible, then, to regard these narratives as framed for "the childhood" of the world, at any rate for the childhood of the newly emancipated Hebrew people. The peculiar power of these stories lies in the fact that they

[1] John v. 17.

[2] *De Potentia*, IV. ii. *ad 22m.* St. Thomas is not quoting St. Augustine so much as presenting his thought in his own words; but *cf. De Genesi ad litt.*, V. v. 12-14.

[3] *De Potentia*, *ib. ad 28m*; *cf. De Genesi ad litt.*, I. v 11.

[4] *De Potentia*, IV. ii.

remain suited to children who, only when they grow up become capable of "strong meat" and can assimilate explanations such as those suggested above.

Nor are these ideas new. As St. Augustine and St. Thomas have shown us, they are the traditional teachings of the Doctors of the Church, though, owing to the exigencies of a defence of the Bible against attacks of a very different nature from those that the men of old had to meet, they have been allowed to fall into oblivion. No one had more exalted ideas of the inerrancy of the Bible than St. Augustine and his disciple, St. Thomas. For both its authority is paramount. Thus when combating erroneous views on the Incarnation St. Thomas says:

"If we derogate in the slightest degree from the authority of Holy Scripture, nothing in our faith will remain stable, for it depends on Scripture."[1] And again: "From the very fashion of speech which the Bible uses we can gather whether something is to be understood as actually having taken place or as a prophetic vision . . . whence it is clear that things which are simply reported as taking place are equally simply to be understood as having so taken place."[2] Similarly St. Augustine, when discussing the precise nature of the "firmament" in Genesis: "Howsoever and whatsoever those waters there may be, that they are there we cannot in the least doubt; for the authority of (this) Scripture transcends the capacity of all human understanding.".[3] Or again: "No Christian dissents from Holy Scripture, no peaceful-minded man holds ideas opposed to the Church's teaching."[4]

We are now in a position to appreciate at its true worth the account given in Genesis of the Creation. Clearly it no longer stands alone; it is not an isolated story, but a portion of what we may term the world's heritage. The various accounts, Semitic and pre-Semitic, which we have examined above, most certainly contain reminiscences of the origin of mankind and of this world which run on parallel lines with the Biblical narrative. None of them are "history" in the technical sense of the term; they deal rather with the origins of history than with history itself. We cannot dub them all indiscriminately "myth," for there is about the term "myth" an air of romance which forbids us to use it in this connection. Nor can we call these stories "legends."

[1] *Summa contra Gentes*, IV. 23.
[2] *De Potentia*, VI. vii.
[3] *De Genesi ad litt.*, II. v (9).
[4] *De Trinitate*, IV. vi (10).

"The term myth is not very definite. Mythology in the Bible is a very shocking idea to some accustomed to regard myths as essentially stories about the pagan gods. . . . It might be well to devise a more exact term to connote what we have to deal with here. For many so-called myths are primitive attempts to put an hypothesis into words before language has become sufficiently developed for scientific terms to be available. Recourse is invariably had to metaphor. It is impertinent in the highest degree to attempt to take these metaphors literally."[1]

Primitive nations must necessarily have attempted to give some explanation, however unsatisfactory, of their own existence. And, since it is hardly to be supposed that different nations would have lit upon the same metaphorical way of expressing their ideas on this subject, it seems legitimate to argue that the universal witness of the world, especially as concretized in the records which we have been examining, bears witness to a primitive revelation on the subject of the origins of mankind and of the world in general. At the same time this revelation, while coming from God to man, must necessarily have been expressed in language suitable to man's comprehension. Adam, in handing down to his sons the revelation received in the beginning, must needs have expressed things which—save in the case of Adam himself—were beyond his power to understand, and indeed altogether beyond his experience, in terms which were often little better than metaphors, and which, as such, were only to a small extent capable of giving expression to human ideas on the subject. Nor do we thereby deny their Divine origin; we look rather at the halting way in which, from the very necessities of the case, these Divine ideas must have been expressed. For while the recipient of a revelation clearly understands, so far as the human mind can grasp it, what has been manifested to him, he is yet hampered by the obligation of expressing this in human speech intelligible to his readers or hearers; and precisely as the revelation made to him has to be accommodated to his finite groping intelligence, so has he to accommodate his message to minds that have not been illumined as his own has been. This is perfectly ex-

[1] C. A. W. Johns, *Cambridge Biblical Essays*, 1910.

pressed by St. Thomas when he says: "Quæ intelligibiliter viderunt, imaginabiliter narrant,"[1] or in St. Augustine's phrase: "Infirmis infirmiter loquitur."[2] Throughout his most careful discussions of the early chapters of *Genesis* St. Thomas repeatedly remarks that "Moses spoke to an uncultivated people,"[3] or that "in condescension to an uncultivated people he touched only upon those things which appeal to the senses";[4] or again: "Speaking to an uncultivated people, he could not talk to them of primitive matter save under the guise of things with which they were familiar."[5] St. Chrysostom says precisely the same.[6] So, too, St. Augustine: "Is not Scripture here (on Gen. ii. 6), after its usual fashion, speaking hesitatingly for weaker minds (*infirmis infirmiter loquitur*), while at the same time insinuating something which he who has the capacity for it can unravel?"[7] Or: "He writes in condescension to the capacity of the little ones";[8] or once more: "Our authors knew what the truth was, but the Spirit of God who spoke by them did not wish to teach men things that were of no profit for salvation."[9]

Conclusion.—In endeavouring to apply the principles above indicated we have to be very precise in our use of terms. If, for example, we attempt to explain statements in the Bible which are *prima facie* historical as purely significative we imperil the truly historical character of the "sign" or the thing signifying. We cannot, for example, explain the story of the formation of Eve as simply significative of woman's subjection to man; for to do so would be to deny in effect the objective historical truth of the story. It follows, then, that whenever we are dealing with historical statements we are bound—no matter what spiritual significance we attach to them—to insist upon

[1] *Quæst. Disp. de Anima*, xix, *ad* 18*m.*

[2] *De Genesi ad litt.*, V. 19.

[3] *De Potentia*, iii. 18 *ad* 4*m.*

[4] *Ibid.* IV. ii. *ad* 3*m*; *cf. Summa Theol.*, I. lxx. i. *ad* 3*m.*

[5] *De Potentia*, IV. ii. *ad* 31*m*; *cf. Summa Theol.*, I. lxvii. 4, lxviii. 3, lxix. 2 *ad* 3*m.*

[6] *Hom.* ii. on *Genesis.*

[8] *Ibid.* II. 13.

[7] *De Genesi ad litt.*, V. 19.

[9] *Ibid.* II. 20.

their historical character, to start, that is, with their literal meaning.[1]

The question then arises whether certain narratives, such as those of the formation of Eve, or of Josue and the sun standing still, can be made more palatable by regarding them as figures of speech, as metaphors, that is, or allegories. But if we say that the story of Eve's formation is an allegory, what precisely do we mean? Metaphor[2] means speaking of one thing in the terms of another, and, if this is carried out at some length, becomes an allegory. Yet it will be evident at once that in this story of Eve there is no transference of terms whatever; her formation is described simply and directly—she was fashioned from Adam's rib when he slept. There is no metaphor about it. While, then, we can attach to this story any spiritual significance it will validly bear, we cannot—since it is not impossible that she was so formed—deny the historical character of the narrative. It must be taken literally, according to the primary, direct sense of the letter.

But the problem becomes more acute when we pass to such a story as that of the temptation of our first parents by the serpent, and the curse subsequently laid upon the latter. For many would say that this narrative bristles with impossibilities. How could the serpent talk? How came it that Eve was not astonished at his sudden display of loquacity?[3] And if he was, as his very name of "serpent" implies, a creeping thing by nature, how could it be said to him "henceforth on thy belly thou shalt crawl"? Can we take refuge in the gratuitous supposition that the tempter

[1] At the same time Augustine speaks feelingly of those who are "molestos et nimios exactores expositionis ad litteram" (*De Gen. ad litt.*, II. ix. 22, VI. xii. 20), while his teaching on the use of figures of speech in the Bible is most instructive, *e.g. Doctrina Christiana*, II. x. 15, though he is careful to say that in some passages there is none but the literal sense to be discovered; *cp.* St. Thomas, *Quodlibet*, VII. xv, the fifteenth difficulty; also St. Anselm, *Hom.* xiv *in Joan.* iv. 46; for a fuller discussion of the whole question, *cf. Aids*, I (1926), pp. 93-102.

[2] "Metaphora, hoc est de re propria ad rem non propriam verbi alicujus usurpata translatio," St. Augustine, *Contra Mendacium*, 24, and this, he adds, cannot be called a lie.

[3] Note St. Thomas: "Mulier putavit serpentem hoc accepisse loquendi officium, non per naturam, sed aliqua supernaturali operatione," *Summa Theol.*, I*a*. xciv. 4 ad 2dm.

was originally a flying dragon which, for the deception it had practised, was degraded and so became a snake?

We cannot, as we have seen, say without misuse of terms that this is all metaphor or allegory. Neither can we say it is purely symbolical without imperilling the historicity of a narrative which is told us as a fact. Neither the "spiritual" sense, then, nor the literal sense in its less strict signification will help us here, so that we seem bound to say that the narrative is literally and historically true in its plain, straightforward sense. But can we do so? What about the seeming "impossibilities" of the narrative?

It is evident that the real question here is that of Pilate: "What is truth?" And more particularly: What is historical truth? We must not fall into the error of identifying truth with the expression of truth. For while truth is essentially one and unalterable, its expression is various. Now truth is primarily and essentially in the mind; whether in the mind of God its First Cause—and conformity with that creative mind constitutes the truth of things; or in the mind of man which is "true" when its judgements are in actual conformity with the things on which it is passing judgement. But the expression of a truth is a far more complicated thing; it involves the transmission to the minds of others through the medium of their senses—mainly sight or hearing—of the mental judgement at which we have arrived. If the judgement in question is upon some purely "sensible" or material thing its adequate communication to another is comparatively easy, on the supposition, that is, that the recipient is of the same mental calibre as the informant. But supposing the recipient is a child? We are all familiar with the difficulty of imparting truth to a child. It is easy to mislead and convey false impressions because children are so literal-minded. Hence our use of fairy-tales which, like the parables of the Gospel, are not untruths but rather figures of speech or allegories. Hence, too, in the childhood of the world the place of "legend" and "myth," terms which we misuse when we regard them as synonymous with the false or the untrue. We only do justice to them when we regard them as vehicles for the conveyance of truths which would not otherwise have been grasped in their just proportions.

VII. The Biblical Commission Decisions on Genesis i-iii.

7. DIE 30 IUNII 1909.

DE CHARACTERE HISTORICO TRIUM PRIORUM CAPITUM GENESEOS.

I. Utrum varia systemata exegetica, quæ ad excludendum sensum litteralem historicum trium priorum capitum libri Geneseos excogitata et scientiæ fuco propugnata sunt, solido fundamento fulciantur?
Resp.: Negative.

OF THE HISTORICAL CHARACTER OF THE FIRST THREE CHAPTERS OF GENESIS.

Are the various exegetical systems which have been elaborated and defended by the aid of a science falsely so called, for the purpose of excluding the literal historic sense from the first three chapters of *Genesis*, based upon solid arguments?
Reply: In the negative.

II. Utrum non obstantibus indole et forma historica libri Geneseos, peculiari trium priorum capitum inter se et cum sequentibus capitibus nexu, multiplici testimonio Scripturarum tum Veteris tum Novi Testamenti, unanimi fere sanctorum Patrum sententia ac traditionali sensu, quem, ab israelitico etiam populo transmissum, semper tenuit Ecclesia, doceri possit, prædicta tria capita Geneseos continere non rerum vere gestarum narrationes, quæ scilicet obiectivæ realitati et historicæ veritati respondeant; sed vel fabulosa ex veterum populorum mythologiis et cosmogoniis deprompta et ab auctore sacro, expurgato quovis polytheismi errore, doctrinæ monotheisticæ accomodata; vel allegorias et symbola, fundamento obiectivæ realitatis destituta, sub historiæ specie ad religiosas et philosophicas veritates inculcandas proposita; vel tandem legendas ex parte historicas et ex parte fictitias ad animorum instructionem et ædificationem libere compositas?
Resp.: Negative ad utramque partem.

Can we, in spite of the character and the historic mould of the *Book of Genesis;* in spite, too, of the close connection between the first three chapters and those which follow; in face, too, of the manifold testimony of the books both of the Old and New Testaments, of the practically unanimous opinion of the Fathers, and in face of the traditional view which, derived from the Jewish people, has always been held by the Church, teach that the three aforesaid chapters do not contain the story of things which actually happened—a story, namely, which corresponds to objective reality and historic truth? Can we hold that, on the contrary, these chapters contain fables derived from mythologies and cosmologies belonging to older nations, but purified of all polytheistic error and accommodated to monotheistic teaching? Or, again, that they contain allegories and symbols destitute of any

foundation in objective reality, but presented under the garb of history for the inculcation of religious and philosophical truths? Or, again, that they contain legends, partly historical and partly fictitious, freely handled for the instruction and edification of souls?

Reply: In the negative to each part.

III. Utrum speciatim sensus litteralis historicus vocari in dubium possit, ubi agitur de factis in eisdem capitibus enarratis, quæ christianæ religionis fundamenta attingunt: uti sunt, inter cetera, rerum universarum creatio a Deo facta in initio temporis; peculiaris creatio hominis; formatio primæ mulieris ex primo homine; generis humani unitas; originalis protoparentum felicitas in statu iustitiæ, integritatis et immortalitatis; præceptum a Deo homini datum ad eius obœdientiam probandam; divini præcepti, diabolo sub serpentis specie suasore, transgressio; protoparentum deiectio ab illo primævo innocentiæ statu; nec non Reparatoris futuri promissio?

Resp.: Negative.

Can we, in particular, call in question the literal and historical meaning when in these chapters it is question of the narration of facts which touch the foundations of Christian religion, as, for example, the creation of all things by God in the beginning of time; the particular creation of man; the formation of the first woman from the first man; the unity of the human race; the original happiness of our first parents in a state of justice, integrity, and immortality; the Divine command laid upon man for the proving of his obedience; the transgression of that Divine command at the instigation of the devil under the form of a serpent; the fall of our first parents from their primitive state of innocence; and the promise of a future Redeemer?

Reply: In the negative.

IV. Utrum in interpretandis illis horum capitum locis, quos Patres et Doctores diverso modo intellexerunt, quin certi quidpiam definitique tradiderint, liceat, salvo Ecclesiæ iudicio servataque fidei analogia, eam quam quisque prudenter probaverit, sequi tuerique sententiam?

Resp.: Affirmative.

Can we, in interpreting those passages of these chapters which the Fathers and Doctors have interpreted in divers ways without leaving us anything definite or certain, work out for ourselves, and adhere to, any opinion at which we have prudently arrived, saving, of course, the decision of the Church and following the analogy of the faith?

Reply: In the affirmative.

V. Utrum omnia et singula, verba videlicet et phrases, quæ in prædictis capitibus occurrunt, semper et necessario accipienda sint sensu proprio, ita ut ab eo discedere numquam liceat, etiam cum locutiones ipsæ manifesto appareant improprie seu metaphorice vel anthropomorphice usurpatæ, et sensum proprium vel ratio tenere prohibeat vel necessitas cogat dimittere?

Resp.: Negative.

Are we bound to interpret in their strictly literal sense every single thing, words namely and phrases, in these chapters, so as never to

depart from it even when expressions are patently not used in the strict sense but metaphorically or anthropomorphically, and when, too, reason or necessity compel us to give up the literal sense?

Reply: In the negative.

VI. Utrum, præsupposito litterali et historico sensu, nonnullorum locorum eorumdem capitum interpretatio allegorica et prophetica, præfulgente sanctorum Patrum et Ecclesiæ ipsius exemplo, adhiberi sapienter et utiliter possit?

Resp.: Affirmative.

Supposing always the literal and historical sense, can the allegorical and prophetic interpretation of certain passages in these chapters—an interpretation guaranteed by the example of the Fathers and of the Church—be prudently and usefully applied?

Reply: In the affirmative.

VII. Utrum, cum in conscribendo primo Geneseos capite non fuerit sacri auctoris mens intimam adspectabilium rerum constitutionem ordinemque creationis completum scientifico more docere, sed potius suæ genti tradere notitiam popularem, prout communis sermo ferebat per ea tempora, sensibus et captui hominum accommodatam, sit in horum interpretatione adamussim semperque investiganda scientifici sermonis proprietas?

Resp.: Negative.

Since it was not the intention of the sacred author when writing the first chapter of *Genesis* to teach us the innermost nature of visible things, nor to present the complete order of creation in a scientific manner, but rather to furnish his people with a popular account such as the common parlance of that age allowed, one, namely, adapted to the senses and to man's intelligence, are we always bound, when interpreting these chapters, to seek for scientific exactitude of expression?

Reply: In the negative.

VIII. Utrum in illa sex dierum denominatione atque distinctione, de quibus in Geneseos capite primo, sumi possit vox *yôm* (dies) sive sensu proprio pro die naturali, sive sensu improprio pro quodam temporis spatio, deque huiusmodi quæstione libere inter exegetas disceptare liceat?

Resp.: Affirmative.

Can the word *Yom* (day), which is used in the first chapter of *Genesis* for describing and distinguishing the six days, be taken either in its strict sense as the natural day, or in the less strict sense as signifying a certain space of time? Is free discussion of this allowable to interpreters?

Reply: In the affirmative.

On June 30, 1909, in an audience graciously conceded to the two consultors, the Holy Father ratified the above replies and ordered their publication.

VIII. Bibliography.

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THE BOOK OF EXODUS

I. Contents and Analysis.
II. Brief Notes.
III. Modern Critical Views.
IV. The Date of the Exodus from Egypt.
V. Bibliography.

I. Contents and Analysis.

In Hebrew וְאֵלֶּה שְׁמוֹת, *ve-elle shemoth*, from its opening words; in Greek Ἔξοδος or *Exodus*, "the going out," probably derived from xix. 1. The book falls naturally into three parts: (*a*) The events preceding the Exodus, i-xi; (*b*) the journey to Sinai, xii-xviii; (*c*) the sojourn at Sinai, xix-xl.

(*a*) i-xi. The events preceding the Exodus:

i-ii. *Exodus* opens with a formal statement of the composition of the Twelve Tribes who had gone down into Egypt; how they multiplied; the rise of a new Pharao "who knew not Joseph"; the birth of Moses who defends his countrymen and has to flee into Madian.

iii-vii. 13. The commission of Moses. God reveals Himself to him under the name "I am who am," and again, "He who is," iii. 14.

vii. 14-xi. 10. The story of the first nine plagues, *cp*. Ps. lxxvii and Ps. civ, Wisd. xvi-xix.

(*b*) xii-xviii. The last plague; the departure from Egypt:

xii-xiii. 16. Legislation for the Passover and for the unleavened bread; destruction of Egypt's first-born; the journey to Succoth; the establishment of a perpetual Passover and abstinence from leavened bread as a memorial of their deliverance. From the figures given in xii. 37-38, the total number of those who left Egypt can hardly have been less than two million.

xiii. 17-xviii. They are not led by the "land of the Philistines," but by the Red Sea which is divided for them. The destruction of the

Egyptian host; the journey to Mara, Elim, and thence to Sinai. Their "murmurings" are heard from the outset, xiv. 11-12, xv. 24, xvi. 2-3, xvii. 2-3; miracles of the quails, the manna, the water from the rock at Rephidim, where Amalec is defeated; the arrival of Jethro.

(*c*) xix-xl. The sojourn at Sinai:

xix-xxiv. 12. The establishment of the theocracy or Divine Kingship over Israel on the basis of the Decalogue, xix. 6-17, and the Book of the Covenant, xx. 23-xxiii. 33; *cf.* xxiv. 7.

II. Brief Notes.

i. 11. The expression "built" need not mean that these were new cities then first founded, *cp.* Num. xxxii. 34-38; 3 Kings xvi. 34, etc., i. 15. In 1883 M. Naville identified the "store-city" of Pithom, i. 11, with the modern Tell el-Maskhuta, where, too, he would place Succoth, xii. 37. The bricks used in the walls were partly of mud mixed with straw, partly of mud and Nile reeds known as "Kash," the same word as in the Hebrew of v. 12, where unfortunately the Vulgate, and hence the Douay version, has omitted two words, for instead of "to gather straw," we should read "to gather *stubble* (kash) *for* straw." Other bricks discovered were simply of mud, as though even the stubble failed. Gardiner, *The Delta Residence of the Ramessides*, *J.E.A.*, April, 1918, shows that there were several places in the delta named Ramses. Naville, *The Store-City of Pithom and the Route of the Exodus*, 1885, 4th *ed.*, 1915; *Succoth and Etham*, in *P.S.B.A.*, November, 1915; also *The Geography of the Exodus*, *J.E.A.*, April, 1924, with an answer by Gardiner, July, 1924; Wiener, *Pithom and Ramese in Ancient Egypt*, 1923, pp. 75-77.

i. 21. The names of these midwives and their reward, i. 21, have thus been carefully preserved; the writer seems to be using documents contemporary with the events described.

ii. 1-3. The same is told of Sargon I of Agade (*R.P.* v. 1-4).

ii. 16. "The priest of Madian": he was of the stock of Abraham, Gen. xxv. 2-4; his priesthood would presumably be that of the firstborn, *cp.* Gen. xxvii. 15, Num. xvi, where the sons of Reuben rebel against the Aaronites who have replaced them in the priestly office.

iii. 6. These appearances of God, or "Theophanies," are, according to Greek mentality, to be understood of Angels, *cf.* Acts vii. 30, 35, 53; but the Latin interpreters regard them as real manifestations of the Godhead, and more precisely of the Second Person, "preluding," as Tertullian put it, the Incarnation, *cp.* St. Jerome on Eph. iv. 3, on Gal. iii. 19.

iii. 8. Six nations are specified here and xxiii. 23, xxxiii. 2; in xiii. 5 the Pherezites are omitted. The spoiling of the Egyptians, iii. 21, xi. 2, xii. 36, was a just compensation for the unpaid toil the Hebrews had endured for so many years, *cp.* Gen. xlv. 18-20.

iii. 14. The word used here is the first person singular of the imper-

fect tense of the Hebrew copulative verb היה. This would be pronounced "Ehveh," and in the third person singular, as at the close of the verse, "Yihveh." Those who think that the mood or conjugation of the word here is the causative Hiphil would pronounce it "Yahveh." Since the Hebrews were not to pronounce this "ineffable" name, they read, when it occurred, Adonai, or "My Lord." When the Massoretes added the vowels to the consonantal text of the Bible they assigned to these four letters—the Tetragrammaton, as it is called—the vowels of the word Adonai, whence the impossible "Jehovah" to which we are accustomed. In vi. 3 God says that hitherto He has only revealed Himself as אֵל שַׁדַּי, El-Shaddai, generally translated "God Almighty"; this title for God occurs many times in Job, *cp.* Num. xxiv. 4, 16; see St. Jerome on Ezech. vi. 1; St. Augustine, *De Genesi ad litt.*, VIII xxi.

vi. 14-27. At this crucial moment in the story of the deliverance of Israel is inserted the genealogy of the Aaronite family; perhaps for the same reason the statement of the respective ages of Aaron and Moses, vii. 7-8.

xi. 9. "And he went out from Pharao": there seems to be a gap here in the narrative, since nothing is said previously of Moses having been with the Pharao, xi. 10; "that are written" in this Book of Exodus (?), or in the account from which our present narrative is taken (?).

xii. 1. For the miraculous character of these plagues and for the whole question of miracle see St. Thomas, *Summa contra Gentiles*, III ciii-cvi.

xii. 37-38. In xxxii. 28 the Vulgate and versions depending on it say that 23,000 fell, but the Hebrew and LXX only have 3,000.

xii. 37. How jealously the frontier was guarded may be gathered from the following fragments of the day-book of a frontier official on the Palestine border; they are thus described by Breasted:

"On the blank backs of a few pages of a school copybook an official in some town on the Palestinian frontier, in the days of Merneptah, has noted for temporary reference the names and the business of the messengers who passed through the place on their way to Syria. In addition to the important and interesting glimpse of the active intercourse between Egypt and Syria in the thirteenth century B.C., which the document affords us, it is of importance also as showing that Merneptah in his third year was in Syria, undoubtedly on the campaign during which he plundered Israel, as related in his *Hymn of Victory* of the year 5. The notes are of the most hurried character, so abbreviated that the prepositions are omitted.

"VI. Year 3, first month of the third season (ninth month), fifteenth day: There went up the servant of Baal, Roy, son of Zeper, of Gaza, who had with him for Syria two different letters, to wit (for) the captain of infantry, Khay, one letter; (for) the chief of Tyre, Baalat-Remeg, one letter.

"Year 3, first month of the third season (ninth month), seventeenth day: There arrived the captain of the archers of the Well of Merneptah-Hotepshirma, which is on the highland, to report in the fortress which is in Tharu.

"Year 3, first month of the third season (ninth month) . . . day:

There returned the attendant, Thutiy, son of Thekerem, of Geket, son of Shem-Baal. . . ."[1]

An even closer parallel to the events of the Exodus is afforded by the letter of perhaps another frontier official.

"This remarkable document," says Breasted, "is a communication in the usual official style, in which some frontier official informs his superiors that certain Edomite Bedwin, doubtless in accordance with instructions, have been allowed to pass the fortress in the district of Succoth in the Wadi Tumilat, to pasture their cattle near Pithom." *cf.* Gen. xlvii. 1-12.

And again :

"Another matter for the satisfaction of my lord's heart : We have finished passing the tribes of the Shasu of Edom through the fortress of Merneptah Hotephirma in Theku (? Succoth) to the Pools of Pithom, in order to sustain them and their herds in the domain of Pharaoh. . . . I have caused them to be brought . . . other names of days when the fortress of Merneptah-Hotephirma may be passed. . . ."[2]

xii. 40-42. This seems to be the author's reflection, much like St. John's passing comments, *e.g.* xii. 33. For the 430 years see Gen. xv. 13-16, Gal. iii. 17.

xiii. 17. It is usual to regard the reference to the Philistines, xiii. 17, xv. 14, xxiii. 31, as also Gen. xxvi. 8, 18, as an anachronism, on the ground that archæological discoveries have proved that the Philistines did not enter Palestine before the twelfth century B.C. ; but see vol. iii *s.v. Philistines*. In xiv. 19 an Angel is said to be in the pillar of cloud, xiii. 21 ; the same Angel is apparently spoken of as "the Lord," xiv. 24, and again as "sent," xxiii. 20-23, xxxii. 34, xxxiii. 2-3, while God Himself refuses to go with them, xxxiii. 2-3, 15.

The desert of Sin, סִין, between Elim and Sinai, xvi. 1, xvii. 1 ; Num. xxxiii. 11-12, is to be distinguished from the desert of Zin, צִין, between Cades and Canaan ; in the Vulgate and Douay it is given as "Sin," Num. xiii. 20, xx. 1, xxvii. 14, xxxiii. 36 ; Deut. xxxii. 51 ; Jos. xv. 1, as "Senna," Num. xxxiv. 4, as Sina, Jos. xv. 3. The references to the Tabernacle, xvi. 34, xxxiii. 7, at a time when it was not yet erected should be noted, but see Spencer, *Did Moses write the Pentateuch after all?* pp. 69-73. In xvii. 14 the account of the victory over Amalec at Rephidim is to be written "as a memorial in a book," in the present pointed Hebrew text "*the* book," *cp.* xxxiv. 27-28 ; Num. xxxiii. 2 ; Deut. xxxi. 9, 19, 22, 24 ; xxxii. 46 ; Jos. i. 8, xxiii. 6 ; xxiv. 26, for similar references to accounts written in a volume.

xv. 14-15. These verses seem a later addition, see, too, xvi. 34.

xvi. 13. The quails here seem somewhat unexpected, and are hardly regarded as a miracle ; hence many think that this passage has been

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[1] Breasted, *Ancient Records*, iii. 630-632, pp. 3, 271, from *Papyrus Anastasi*, iii.

[2] Breasted, *Ancient Records*, iii. 638, pp. 272-273, from *Papyrus Anastasi*, vi.

transferred from Num. xvi. But in verse 8 both meat and manna are promised.

xx-xxiv. Though we have a parallel to this legislation in the *Code of Hammurabi*, the contrast between what the Israelites had been accustomed to in Egyptian religion should not be overlooked. For Moses made three great departures from Egyptian religious ideas: he opened out to the people things that in Egypt were always clothed in mystery; he offered them a tutelary God; he proposed temporal rewards as a sanction for the Law.

This "Book of the Covenant" may be described as the core of the whole Book of Exodus. Apart from the Ten Commandments, the entire legislation is given in it, for practically all the rest is but repetition or amplification of it. Its contents may be thus summarized: xx. 22-26, no idols, the altar is to be of earth; xxi. 1-11, of Hebrew slaves; 12-17, of offences against life and limb; 18-32, the *Lex talionis;* 33-36, penalties for negligences; xxii. 1-6, penalties for theft; 7-9, the law concerning deposits; 10-15, of loans; 16-17, of seduction; 18-31, against wizards, other miscellaneous legislation; xxiii. 1-8, of truth and justice; 9, treatment of strangers; 10-13, of the Sabbath; 14-15, the three feasts; 18-19, elementary laws regarding sacrifices; 20-23, the promise of an Angel to guide them; 24-33, no compact to be entered into with the Canaanites. A comparison of this elementary code of laws with the *Code of Hammurabi*, *q.v.* vol. iii, will show how false is the notion that the Pentateuchal laws are something absolutely new or wholly revealed; they are in the main but the Divine positive sanction of laws already in use in the early Semitic world.

It is difficult to disentangle Moses' various visits to the Mount, *cp.* xix. 3, 14, 20, 25; xx. 21; xxiv. 1-2, 10-18; xxxiv. 2; also to discover who precisely wrote the Commandments or the Book of the Covenant, *cp.* xxiv. 4, xxxi. 18, xxxiv. 1, 27; Deut. iv. 13, v. 32.

xxiv. 12-xxxi. Directions for the building of the Tabernacle, for the consecration of Aaron, for the maintenance of the ritual service.

xxxii-xxxiv. During the absence of Moses the people apostatize and induce Aaron to make them a golden calf after the manner of Egypt, a figure of Apries, see St. Chrysostom, *Hom.* xii. 3 on 1 Tim. iv; *cp. Expos.*, August, 1922. Moses in his wrath breaks the Tables written with God's own hand. On his interceding for the people he is ordered to make two new Tables; he is vouchsafed a wonderful vision of God; a résumé of the *Book of the Covenant* is given, xxxiv. 10-27.

xxxiv. 6-7. Note the constantly repeated echo of these glorious words, *e.g.* Num. xiv. 18; Deut. v. 9-10, vii. 9; Neh. ix. 17; Ps. lxxxv. 5, 15, cii. 8, cxliv. 8; Jer. xxxii. 18; Joel ii. 13; Jon. iv. 2; Mich. vii. 18. On chaps. xxx-xl see *J.T.S.*, July, 1915.

xxxv-xl. The making of the Tabernacle; its solemn erection "the first month of the second year, the first day of the month," xl. 15.

III. Modern Critical Views.

Like other books of the Pentateuch, *Exodus* has been reduced by the Higher Critics to what can only be described as a jig-saw puzzle, as a glance at the pages devoted to a critical analysis in the pages of Hastings' *Dictionary* will show. It would be hard to find a more satisfactory condemnation of these methods than the attempt at their justification by the author of the above-mentioned article, Harford-Battersby:

"If we accept the results of this article as in the main correct, we have passed far beyond the boundary of a merely negative criticism. It might be called destructive work to show by detailed proof that we have no contemporary account of the Exodus and subsequent events. But when it is shown that the present narrative is made up of three, so far contrasting with one another as to prove themselves much later in date than the period of which they treat, and the work not merely of different individuals, but of different schools of historical writing; and when the further step is taken of disentangling, with infinite pains of many labourers in many lands, the several threads of narrative, and recombining them in something like their original connections, the work of constructive criticism must be held to have well begun. . . . While it is well to remember that contrasts are not always, or even usually, contradictions, it would be idle to try to belittle the extent of the change of view brought about. We may rather think of it as the drawing back of a veil of illusion which God wisely allowed to hang over the past, until the growth of truer ideas about history both took away the veil, and made men ready to make use of the facts, whose real relations were at last adequately discovered."[1]

A reaction—long overdue—has set in against these extremist ideas. Headed by Dahse, Wiener, Schlogl, Troelstra, it seems to have reached its climax in the work of Eerdmans which is spoken of as marking "the overthrow of the Astruc clue."[2]

[1] *H.D.B.*, *s.v. Exodus*, p. 811.

[2] Griffiths, *The Exodus in the Light oj Archæology*; while accepting tentatively, at least, the usual documentary theory, he would insist that J. and E. are not inventing, but reproducing, long-time traditions. There are, of course, dislocations in our present text of the Pentateuch, but these do not afford sufficient grounds for the wholesale dissection favoured by critics.

IV. The Date of the Exodus from Egypt.

The Date of the Exodus.—Taking the destruction of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans, 586 B.C., as a fixed point, and counting up the years of the kings back to Solomon, his fourth year will be 1011 B.C., and as it is positively stated that this fourth year—the year of the foundation of the temple—was 480 years after the Exodus,[1] this latter event will have taken place 1491 B.C. The evidence afforded by the Assyrian Consular (Eponym) lists may show that the date thus assigned to Solomon is forty years too early, so that the Exodus ought on these calculations to be referred to about 1450 B.C. That the period of 480 years between the Exodus and Solomon is not extravagant is evident when we reflect on the crowded events depicted in *Josue*, *Judges*, and 1-2 *Samuel*; moreover, Jephte states it as an accepted fact that 300 years had by this time elapsed since the Exodus.[2] But who was the Pharao who oppressed Israel? He is said to have reigned "a long time,"[3] and as the famous Ramses II was known to have reigned very long it became natural to see in this great builder the Pharao who "knew not Joseph," and was the oppressor of Israel, also to regard his son Meneptah as the Pharao who suffered the plagues.[4] But when Egyptologists claimed to have proved that Ramses reigned from 1300 to 1234 B.C., it became evident that this meant an impossibly late date for the Exodus,[5] so that there has been a tendency of late to see in Thothmes III, who is supposed to have reigned 1503-1449 B.C., the Pharao of the oppression, and to assign the entry of the Israelites into Palestine to the troubled years of

[1] 3 Kings vi. 1. [2] Judg. xi. 26. [3] Exod. ii. 23.

[4] Thus Petrie would date the Exodus 1213 B.C., the end of the reign of Meneptah (*History of Egypt*, iii. 115); see de Morgan, *Premières Civilisations*, p. 283; Mallon, *Les Hébreux en Égypte*, 1921; so, too, Hommel, *Ancient Tradition*; but later, *Expos.*, February, 1899, he opted for Amenophis IV owing to the Khabiri in the Tell el-Amarna Letters.

[5] So Lieblein in *P.S.B.A.*, November, 1898, February, 1899, pp. 53-67; see, too, H. R. Hall, *Israel and the Surrounding Nations* in *The People and the Book*, pp. 2-7.

Amenophis IV, *c.* 1400 B.C., when, as the Tell el-Amarna Letters show, the country was in a state of upheaval.[1]

Josephus identifies the Israelites with the Shepherd Kings or Hyksos[2] whose expulsion by Thothmes is generally referred now to *c.* 1580 B.C.; this, however, would demand a period of 580 instead of 480 years between the Exodus and the foundation of the temple.[3] Two facts have recently emerged which have considerably altered current views on the subject. The first was the discovery of the so-called "Israel-stele" of Meneptah: "Israel is desolated, his seed is not,"[4] from which it seems legitimate to argue that Israel had already left Egypt in Meneptah's day. The other fact is that excavations at Bethsan have shown that Ramses II employed Semites in building his name-city in the delta,[5] as stated in *Exodus*. But not all Semites were Israelites, nor does there seem any need to suppose that all the Israelites or Semites left Egypt at the Exodus.[6]

The route followed by the Israelites has been the source of endless discussion. The more or less conscious wish to

[1] See H. R. Hall for a discussion of current views, *P.E.F.*, July, 1925, pp. 117-118. Welch, *The People and the Book*, pp. 125 and 135, would refer the Exodus to Amenophis II, *c.* 1445, a view which Hall, *ibid.*, p. 13, and *J.E.A.*, April, 1927, p. 5, regards as impossible. Jack, *The Exodus in the Light of Archæology*, 1926, would place Israel's entry into Egypt in 1875 B.C., the birth of Moses *c.* 1500, the Exodus 1445, and the accession of Solomon 960, pp. 199-224.

[2] *Contra Apion*, i. 15. Sethe would refer the entry of the Hebrews into Egypt to the time of the thirteenth dynasty, and make the Exodus coincide with the expulsion of the Hyksos, *cf.* Knight, *Nile and Jordan*, p. 96 note, and p. 127.

[3] Hall, *The People and the Book*, pp. 2-3, 10, accepts this view. De Morgan, *Premières Civilisations*, pp. 284-285, holds that the Exodus and the occupation of Canaan were simply due to a servile war in Egypt and the prevailing anarchy in Syria which Ramses III, *c.* 1200-1169, went north to punish, see S. A. Cook, *Cambridge Ancient History*, ii.

[4] For varying renderings of this see *J.E.A.*, January, 1917, also Naville, *ibid.*, December, 1915. For an account of the discovery of this stele see Petrie, *Six Temples*, 26-28; also *R.B.*, 1896, p. 461; 1899, pp. 266-277; 1900, pp. 578-586; *E.E.F.*, 1895-96, pp. 22, 31; also *B.M.G.*, p. 74; de Morgan, *Premières Civilisations*, p. 298; H. R. Hall in *The People and the Book*, p. 1, where he says its evidence is "incontrovertible"; also Petrie, *Israel in Egypt*, p. 35, and Naville in *J.E.A.*, December, 1915.

[5] For an account of the excavations at Bethsan, see *P.E.F.*, November, 1924, p. 199, January, 1928.

[6] *R.B.*, 1892, pp. 345, 388, 498; 1893, p. 148.

eliminate all element of miracle from the event warps the critical judgement of an undue proportion of writers on the subject.

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The articles in the Biblical reviews are legion; the index volume to the *Reports of the Palestine Exploration Society* should be consulted. Very interesting studies in the light of more recent knowledge appear in *J.E.A.*, April-October, 1918, April, 1920, January-July, 1924, where some remarkably divergent views are maintained. *R.B.*, 1899, Lagrange, *Le Sinai Biblique*, 1900, pp. 63, 273, 443, October, 1905, January, 1930. In the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology* (*P.S.B.A.*), 1885-86, pp. 53-58, June, 1888, June, 1907, November, 1915, will be found papers by Naville and Max Muller on various problems of the route followed; also Rendel Harris and Chapman in *H.D.B.* i. 802-806.

Conder, *The Tel el-Amarna Tablets, Appendix*, pp. 230-231; Jack, J. W., *The Date of the Exodus in the Light of External Evidence*, 1925 (*cf. J.E.A.*, October, 1926); Wiener, H. M., *The Date of the Exodus, B.S.*, July, 1916; also on *The Date of the Exodus and the Chronology of Judges* in *Bibliotheca Sacra*, October, 1917.

(*b*) Patristic.

St. Cyril of Alexandria, *Glaphyra, P.G.* lxix. 385-538; Origen, *Thirteen Homilies on Exodus, P.G.* xii. 263-396; *Procopius of Gaza, P.G.* lxxxvii. 511-590; Rabanus Maurus, *Commentariorum in Exodum Libri Quatuor, P.L.* cviii.

(*c*) Recent Writers.

Birks, T. R., *Exodus of Israel: Its Truth Confirmed*, 1863; Driver, S. R., *The Book of Exodus in the Revised Version, with Introduction and Notes*, 1911; but see a stringent review by Wiener in *B.S.*, January, 1912; Griffiths, J. S., *The Exodus in the Light of Archæology*, 1923, criticized by Wiener in *B.S.*, October, 1918 (*cf. J.T.S.*, July, 1924); Hummelauer,* *Commentarius in Exodum et Leviticum*, Paris, 1897 (see *R.B.*, January, 1898); McNeile, A. H., *The Book of Exodus*, the Westminster Commentary, 1908; Eerdmans, *Expositor*, September, 1908.

THE BOOK OF LEVITICUS

I. Contents and Analysis.
II. Modern Criticism of the Book.
III. Bibliography.

I. Contents and Analysis.

IN Hebrew ויקרא, "*vay-yikra*," from the opening words; in Greek Λευίτικον, whence our title in Latin and English. This title perfectly expresses the contents of the book which finds its natural place in the Bible immediately after the description, Exod. xl. 15, of the erection of the Tabernacle. For *Leviticus* is primarily concerned with the duties of the Levites who were to serve in that Tabernacle; "by the Tabernacle God drew nigh to men; so *Leviticus* treats of the sacrifices whereby men drew nigh to God."

The formula "The Lord said to Moses" is repeated so constantly that we may be justified in supposing that in each case it serves to introduce a fresh piece of legislation due to some particular occasion which called it forth, see, for example, xxiv. 13, where the formula introduces the Divine solution of "a case of conscience." *Leviticus* may well be, then, at least in great part, the codified collection of such examples of "case-law."[1]

Taking this formula, then, as our guide, we have some thirty-one precepts which seem to be arranged in more or less historical order.

i-x. The description of the sacrifices will naturally precede the account of the ritual that safeguards them; this again will naturally

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[1] For similar instances of "case-law" see xxiv. 19-23, Num. ix. 6, xv. 32, xxvii, xxxiv.

precede the account of the consecration of the sacrificing priests, viii-ix ; so, too, the episode of Nadab and Abiu follows on the consecration of Aaron and his sons.

xi-xv. The laws concerning purity, etc., naturally precede the institution of :

xvi. The Day of Atonement for sins committed against the foregoing rules.

xvii. No sacrifice is to be offered save at the door of the Tabernacle ;[1] this as a safeguard against idolatry, verse 7. Blood is on no account to be eaten. See St. Thomas, *Summa Theol.*, I-II. cii. 3 ad 8^{m}.

xviii-xx. Divers ordinances touching marriage, charity and justice, etc. There follows a list of those breaches of the foregoing laws which were punishable with death.

xxi-xxii. Laws concerning the priests and those who may partake with them of the sacrifices.

xxiii. The feasts and holidays. Possibly these were formulated as each came round in its season, note the repetition of the formula "the Lord said to Moses" before each. See especially St. Thomas, *Summa Theol.*, I-II. c. 5 ad 2^{m}, cii. 4 ad 10^{m}, ciii. 3 ad 4^{m}.

xxiv. 1-9. Sanctuary laws relative to the oil and the loaves to be used. It is hard to attach this law to what precedes, it seems to be out of place, a fact which may confirm the view that the various laws were promulgated as occasion arose. 19-23. The case of the blasphemer and the consequent legislation.

xxv. Legislation for the Jubilee.[2]

xxvi. A series of promises and threats which should be compared with Deut. xxvii-xxviii. The book would seem to end here, but an appendix is added, *viz.*, xxvii. On the commutation of vows.

II. Modern Criticism of the Book.

Modern criticism has applied its scalpel to *Leviticus* with no unsparing hand. According to the generally accepted systems the book falls into four parts : i-vii, the law of sacrifice ; viii, the consecration of the priesthood ; xi-xvi, the law of clean and unclean, with an appendix on the Day of Atonement ; xvii-xxvii, the law of holiness, with an appendix. These laws are naturally regarded as due to

[1] xvii. 7. This enactment, which could have only been temporary, is yet described as "an ordinance for ever to them and their posterity." It ought not to be regarded as contradictory to that in Exod. xx. 24-26, which seems to contemplate the time when they shall be in the Promised Land. See St. Thomas, *Summa Theol.*, I-II. cii. 4 ad 7^{m}. The further development of the law of sacrifice at the door of the Tabernacle appears in Deut. xii, xvi, etc., which applies only to the solemn sacrifices thrice in the year. For the idolatry *cf.* Ps. cv. 35-39.

[2] For the year of Jubilee and landownership, see *P.E.F.*, January, 1918.

the priestly writer, P; but just as J and E are now discovered to have been supplemented, whence Js and Es, so we have Ps with Pg denoting the original groundwork of P. But for *Leviticus* in particular we have also Ph, or the law of holiness, xvii-xxvii, as well as Pt or a

"second school of priestly canonists who set themselves to reduce to writing the current religious praxis of the Jerusalem Temple. It may well be considered doubtful whether their work had been carried very far, even if it was begun, before the destruction of the Temple rendered it necessary, if the whole tradition was not to be lost. It may very well have been one of this school who developed its presuppositions yet further, and carried them out more vigorously, embodying them in the great book of history and Law called Pg. . . . Lastly came a long line of scribes (Ps) combining, revising, expanding, and supplementing, until the Pentateuch reached its present form"[1]—Q.E.D.!

III. Bibliography.

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[1] Harford-Battersby, *H.D.B.*, *s.v. Exodus and Leviticus.*

THE BOOK OF NUMBERS

I. Contents and Purpose.
II. Divisions, Analysis and Notes.
III. The Higher Critical View of the Book.
IV. Bibliography.

I. Contents and Purpose.

NUMBERS, in Hebrew וַיְדַבֵּר or בְּמִדְבַּר, from its opening words; in Greek, Ἀριθμοί, whence our *Numbers*. This title is misleading since it emphasizes but one feature of the book, the two "numberings" or census of the people which took place, the first at the beginning of the second year, after they had left Egypt (i), the second (xxvi) in the Plains of Moab when the period of the wanderings was drawing to a close. The book itself sets out to be a record of what took place from the erection of the Tabernacle till the eve of the crossing of the Jordan.[1] *Leviticus* finds its natural place between *Exodus* and *Numbers* since it was but fitting that after the Tabernacle had been described the legislation and ritual connected with it should be given. Historically, then, we pass from Exod. xl. 15 to Num. i-xiii, which give the events preparatory to the entrance into the land. But with the return of the spies, xiii. 26-34, a rebellion breaks out, which brings on all those over twenty years of age the terrible sentence that they are to spend the rest of their lives wandering in the desert, and that until they are dead the remainder shall not enter the Promised Land, xiv. 22-38.

This unexpected prolongation of their sojourn in the desert

[1] Note the dates indicated: Exod. xl. 15, Num. i. 1, vii. 1, ix. 1, x. 11, xx. 1, xxxiii. 38.

involves legislation additional to that already given in Exod. xx-xxiv. This legislation is, as it were, accidental; it arises from cases which present themselves and call for solution. The years of waiting must normally have been very uneventful, and they are depicted for us as such. When we examine this legislation in detail, whether that which preceded the curse or that which follows upon it, it clearly bears the impress of truth. Thus it is all desert-law, and deals with camp life, *e.g.* of one who dies in a tent, xix. 14, of breaking camp, ix. 16, x. 28, and the prayers before doing so, x. 35-36. Now these details are introduced haphazard and quite naturally. Those who regard this legislation as being post-Exilic have to explain how such details could have been introduced with such fidelity, also for what purpose they could have been introduced at a time when such points would have been wholly uninteresting archaisms to their readers. Note, too, how the River Arnon is spoken of as the boundary of Moab, xxi. 13; *cf.* Judg. xi, 13-27, yet it never was so after its occupation by Reuben. Similarly the limits of the Land of Promise sketched in xxxiv were never realized; would a writer later than Moses have ventured to assign boundaries which his readers could see for themselves had not been reached? The same applies to the account of the punishment meted out to Moses himself;[1] would any Israelite have dared to depict their national hero in such a light? So, too, the nation itself is painted in a most uncomplimentary fashion;[2] would any Israelite have ventured to draw such a portrait at a later date? And had he done so, would he have been likely to secure a hearing?

Once more: on the supposition that the book is concerned with people who had but recently come out of Egypt we should expect many references to this fact. These we find in abundance, but what is so remarkable about them is their vividness;[3] the Exodus is a living, recent fact for them; Egypt is a living, poignant memory; could such allusions as

[1] xx. 10-11; *cf.* Deut. i. 27, iv. 21, xxxi. 2, 14-16, xxxii. 48-52, xxxiv.
[2] xiv and xxv.
[3] xi. 5, 18, 20; xiv. 3, 4, 19, 22; xxi. 5; and in the mouth of Balaam, xxii. 5, 11; xxiii. 22; xxiv. 8; *cf.* xxxii. 11.

those to the age of Tanis[1] or to the torrent of Egypt[2] have had any significance save for people who had known that country? Again, the history of the Ark is wrapped in mystery; it seems certain that it and the Tabernacle were never associated from the time of Eli when the Philistines captured the Ark. Yet throughout *Numbers* the Ark and the Tabernacle are always depicted as intimately associated.[3] Would any Israelites of later date have so spoken of them?

II. Divisions, Analysis and Notes.

A broad general division of the book would be:

i-x. 10. The camp at Sinai.
x. 11-xix. The Wanderings.
xx-xxxvi. In the plains of Moab.

Analysis.

(*a*) i-xiv. Previous to the rejection of the rebels.

i-vi. In the second month of the second year: a census and various laws.

vii-ix. 14. In the first month of that year (Exod. xl. 15): laws for various offerings and for the Passover.

ix. 15-xiv. The journey to Cades; the spies; murmurings because of their report; curse upon all over twenty years of age.

(*b*) xv-xix. The wanderings of the rebels for thirty-eight years:

xv. Offerings for the Sabbath, etc.
xvi-xvii. Rebellion of Core, Dathan and Abiron; Aaron's rod.
xviii-xix. The privileges of the Levites.

(*c*) xx-xxxvi. Final stage in the journey, from the first to the eleventh month of the fortieth year.

i-x. Events at Sinai; xi-xii, at Taberah, Kibroth-Hattaavah and Haseroth; xiii-xix, in the desert of Pharan "towards Cades"; xx, in the desert of Zin at Cades; xxi, final march forward; xxii-xxxvi, in the plains of Moab opposite Jericho.

Still more briefly: i-x, Preliminary to leaving Sinai; xi-xx. 21, the start, its failure, thirty-eight years; xx. 22-xxxvi, final advance till the eve of the final crossing of the river.

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[1] xiii. 23. [2] xxxiv. 5.
[3] iii. 31, iv. 5, vii. 89; *cf.* x. 33, 35; Judg. xx. 27.

Detailed Analysis.

(*a*) i-x. At Sinai.

i. 1-15. "In the second month, the first day of the month, the second year of their going out of Egypt" the command to take a census. A list of the Princes. The census, 16-46; they number 603,550 men over twenty years of age. The Levites are not numbered with the rest, their duties, 47-54.

ii. The order and position of the tribes when in camp.[1]

iii. 1-4. Genealogy of Moses and Aaron; 5-10, the Levites are to be under Aaron,[2] *cf.* viii. 19; 11-13, the Levites are taken instead of the first-born, *cf.* viii. 15-19; 14-39, they are numbered from one month old, and amount to 22,000, their tasks; 40-57, the first-born outnumber the Levites by 273, and these latter are to redeem themselves by a payment of five shekels.

iv. 1-49. The Levites capable of service, that is thirty years old, are numbered, they amount to 8,580.

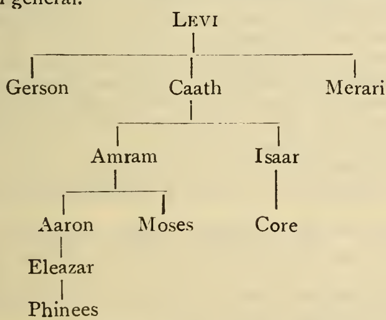
v. 1-5. The unclean are to be cast out of the camp; 6-8, the confession of sins; 9-10, first-fruits belong to the priests; 11-31, the ordeal for jealousy;[3] vi. 1-21, the law for the Nazarites; vi. 22-27, the form for

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[1] To what lengths critical theories have been pushed may be gauged from the following:

From the fact that "the order of the tribes is varied, as one writer would hardly have varied it," we get such discriminations in P, or the Priestly Code, as Ps, to which is assigned Gen. xlvi. 8, and Num. ii, vii, x. 13-28, and Pg, as seen in Exod. i. 2-4, Num. i. 5-15, see Harford-Battersby, *H.D.B.* iii. 568.

[2] Thus all the descendants of Levi belong to the priestly caste, though only the children of Aaron are to be priests strictly so called, the others are the clergy in general.



[3] v. 11-31. The critical comment is: "on marital jealousy, and is marked as Pt because of its archaic flavour and certain reminiscences of Ph (as in verses 12 and 31). But it is difficult to accept it as a unity. The view here adopted is that two laws—(*a*) providing for a solemn curse on a

solemn blessing of the people; vii. 1-88, the offerings of the Princes; 88, a voice speaks to Moses from the propitiatory.

viii. 1-4. The candlestick; 5-22, purification of the Levites, they are taken for the first-born, *cf.* iii. 11-13, 23-26, the age of the Levitical service is to be from twenty-five to fifty years of age.[1]

ix. 1-14. "In the second year, the first month" the Passover is to be observed, those who are ceremonially defiled are to make it in the second month; 15-23,[2] the cloud over the Tabernacle rested or moved according as the people were to stay or go forward; x. 1-10, the silver trumpets and their use.

(*b*) x. 11-xv. The order to start forward: "the second year, the second month, the twentieth day of the month"; the spies and the curse on those who murmur at their report.

x. 11-28. The order of the march; 29-32, Hobab,[3] the son of Raguel, decides to be their guide; 33-36, three days' journey, the ark[4] and the cloud.

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defiled wife; and (*b*) furnishing a test for a wife suspected of defilement—have been woven together. In verses 27 *ff.* a real alternative of guilt or innocence is contemplated," Harford-Battersby, *H.D.B.* iii. 568-569.

[1] viii. 23-26. If we are to date vii. 1 and ix. 1 rigidly by Exod. xl. 15, *viz.* the first instead of the second month of the second year, then the rule here given for the inception of the Levites' service, namely from twenty-five instead of from thirty years, iv. 3, 23, 39, 43, 47, will be a month earlier. It is impossible to suppose that this will explain the difference in age, and as we learn that at a later date David deliberately lowered the age to twenty years, 1 Paral. xxiii. 3, 24-27, it would seem more reasonable to suppose that we have here a later enactment spoken of as a Mosaic law, "the Lord said to Moses," because framed in the spirit of the Mosaic legislation; the Jewish Church was "a living Church," and there seems no need to regard its ritual as finally fixed with the death of Moses nor its statute-book as finally and irrevocably sealed. We have examples of this "case-law" or enactments arising from problems suddenly presenting themselves in the daughters of Salphaad, Num. xxvii and xxxvi, in the provision for those who are ceremonially defiled eating the Passover in the second month, ix. 6-12, and in the case of the Sabbath-breaker, xv. 32-36, *cp.* Deut. xvii. 8-13.

[2] ix. 15-23. This seems to be a summary account of the marvels that attended their movements of the camp throughout the wanderings, *cf.* x. 11, 34.

[3] x. 29, Hobab the son of Raguel; Jethro and Raguel are identified, Exod. ii. 18, iii. 1, *cf.* xviii. 1-12; for their connection with the Cinites see Judg. iv. 11.

[4] The arbitrary character of much of the higher criticism appears in such a remark as the following:

"Contrast the advance of the ark in J with its central place in P. xi. 1-3 is hard to place, and is given to E, because it does not fit the J context, and follows E in speaking of Moses *praying*," Harford-Battersby, *H.D.B.* iii. 570.

xi. 1-6. They murmur at the fatigue and are punished by fire, hence the place is called Taberah ;[1] 4-9, they and the "mixed multitude that went up with them" murmur at the manna and crave for flesh, the manna is described ; 10-23, Moses' complaint, they are to choose out seventy elders to help him, God promises them flesh ; 24-30, the spirit of prophecy descends on the elders, even on Eldad and Medad who are not with them ; 31-34, quails come up, the people die of a surfeit, hence the place is called Kibbroth-Hattaavah.[2]

xii. 1-15. Aaron and Mary are rebuked for murmuring at Moses, the Divine eulogy upon him.

xiii. 1-34. They march from Haseroth to the desert of Pharan towards Cades ;[3] the spies report on the land and the Enacim who dwell there ; xiv. 1-5, the people murmur and propose to return to Egypt ; 6-9, Caleb and Josue resist them ; 10-35, despite the pleading of Moses the curse is pronounced : they "shall wander in the wilderness forty years"; 36-38, this comes to pass save for Caleb and Josue ; 39-45,[4] the people resent this and attack the Amalecites[5] who, however, rout them at Horma.[6]

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[1] xi. 3. "The burning," this should be a proper name, Taberah. Kuenen's words will serve to illustrate modern critical methods : "In Num. xi. 4-35 I think three elements must be distinguished, (*a*) the story of the quails and the origin of the name Kibroth-hattaava, that lies at the basis (v. 4-13, 15, 31-33, perhaps in an earlier form, 34, 35); (*b*) later expansions and embellishments (v. 18-24*a*, perhaps 31-33 in part) ; (*c*) an independent story of Moses' complaint that his task was too heavy was met by the gift of the spirit of prophecy to seventy elders (v. 14, 16, 17, 24*b*-30). Probably (*a*) belongs to J ; *cf.* the more sober conception of the manna in v. 6-9 ; (*c*) on the contrary comes from E, *cf.* v. 25 with Exod. xxii-xxxiii. 9 . . ." *Hexateuch*, p. 158.

[2] xi. 34. "The graves of lust" a proper name, Kibbroth-hattaavah, *cp.* Deut. ix. 22. Critics make great capital out of the fact that in Exod. xvi quails are said to have come up at the same time as the manna was given, and that that narrative does not altogether square with the account in our present chapter. To the critical mind it is wholly inconceivable that this can have happened twice, hence Kuenen attributes Exod. xvi not simply to P or the priestly writer, but to P2 as revised, and this not solely by R, who stands for the presumed main reviser, but by a series of later ones (*Hexateuch*, p. 331). Truly Pentateuchal criticism is a fine art !

[3] xiii. 1. The desert of Pharan ; verse 27 adds "which is in Cades"; the same is said of "the desert of Zin which is Cades," xxxiii. 36, which latter is correct, but xiii. 27 should read "towards Cades." Cades must be distinguished from Cades-Barnea, xxxii. 8, xxxiv. 4, etc., the district from the city, see Trumbull, *Kadesh-Barnea, its Importance and Probable Site*, 1884 ; Palmer, *The Desert of the Exodus*, 1871.

[4] xiii. 19-xiv. 35. The story of the spies is much exploited by the exponents of "partition" theories ; in xiii. 19-21 it seems to be implied that they are to view the south only ; 22, they actually view the whole ;

(*c*) xv-xix. Some events during the period of the wanderings.

xv. 1-7. The ritual for free-will offerings ; 8-15, for peace offerings ; 16-20, for first-fruits ; 21-29, for sins of ignorance ; 30-31, for deliberate sins ; 32-36, the case of the man who gathered sticks on the Sabbath ; 37-41, they are to make fringes to their garments as a reminder of God's mercies towards them.

xvi. 1-40. The schism of Core,[1] Dathan and Abiron and its punishment ; 41-50, the people murmur at this punishment, they are punished by fire but Aaron intercedes ; xvii. 1-13, the blossoming of Aaron's rod

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23-25, they report on the south only ; 26 implies the whole ; 31, Caleb supports the advance ; xiv. 24 and Deut. i. 36 represent Caleb alone as excepted from the curse ; 26-35, the curse is repeated and Josue is added to Caleb. Hence it is concluded that two accounts are interwoven.

[5] xiv. 25. The Amalecites are here said to dwell in the valleys, whereas in verse 45 they are said to come down from the mountains. The critical view that this is a contradiction and that consequently we have here two distinct sources, is one with which it is hard to keep patience, as though those who habitually dwelt in the valleys could not have taken refuge in the hills.

[6] xiv. 45. Horma means "destruction," xxi. 3, and many places might have been so named owing to a defeat there suffered, *cp.* Deut. i. 44 ; Moses himself wrote after the events and therefore calls the place by the name given to it when the event took place.

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[1] xvi. Core is clearly the leader ; he is a Levite, son of Isaar, cousin to Moses and Aaron. He represents the rebellion of the Levites against the exclusive priesthood accorded to the Aaronites. Dathan and Abiron are sons of Eliab, not of Eliab the Zabulonite, i. 9, ii. 7, vii. 24-29, x. 16, but of Eliab son of Reuben, xxvi. 8-9; similarly Hon is descended from Reuben. These three, then, stand for the priesthood of the first-born —*cf.* Gen. xxvii. 15, Exod. xxiv. 5—who had been replaced by the Levites, Num. iii. 12-13, 45. The two hundred and fifty adherents of Core, verse 17, may perhaps be the representatives of the two hundred and seventy-three of the first-born who outnumbered the Levites, Num. iii. 46, or they may be Levites, as indeed their association with Core suggests. The punishment of the two parties is distinct; the Levites are burnt, the first-born are swallowed up ; it is only due to the compressed form of the narrative that in xxvi. 10 Core is described as swallowed up. In verse 27 we should read "they departed from the tents of Core, Dathan and Abiron ; and Dathan and Abiron."

But critical theories of the construction of the Pentateuch can never be content with anything half so simple as the above. Instead we are told that :

"Here we find not only a double JE thread, whose strands are separable on grounds mainly phraseological, but a twofold priestly representation. In JE we have to do with a civil disturbance, On and perhaps Korah, or Dathan and Abiron, being the ringleaders, but in P with an assertion of ecclesiastical rights" (Harford-Battersby, *H.D.B.* iii. 570).

as a symbol of the Divine source of the power of the priesthood; xviii. 1-7, the Aaronites are to be the priests and the other descendants of Levi their assistants; 8-19, the rights of the Aaronites; 20-24,[1] they are to receive tithes; 25-32, of which they themselves are to pay a tenth.

xix. 1-22. The law of the red heifer and the blessed water.

(*d*) xx-xxxvi. The final advance after the years of wandering are over; they come to the desert of Zin,[2] to Cades where Mary dies.

xx. 2-13. The people murmur for want of water and Moses strikes the rock twice at Meribah; God rebukes him and tells him he is never to enter the land of promise; 14-21, their petition to pass through Edom is refused; 22-30, Aaron dies on Mount Hor.

xxi. 1-3. King Arad routs them but is finally defeated at Horma; 4-9, they murmur at their fatigue and are punished by serpents; Moses erects the brazen serpent and those who gaze on it are healed: 10-20, stages on their journey; 21-35,[3] Sehon and Og are defeated.[4]

xxii. 1-19. Moab and Midian conspire and send for Balaam to curse Israel; 29-35, his journey, the ass speaks to him; 36-xxiv. 25, Balaam blesses Israel instead of cursing them;[5] xxv. 1-9, the Midianites tempt Israel to be initiated to Beelphegor, the sinners are slain by Phinees son of Eleazar; 10-13, promises to the house of Eleazar; 14-18, the names of the delinquents.[6]

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[1] xviii. 21-24. All priests are Levites, but not all Levites are priests, though all belong alike to the "clergy"; hence the use of the term "Levite" here to express the class, it includes the priests.

[2] xx. 1. The desert of Zin, not Sin, as in Exod. xvi. 1, xvii. 1, etc. "The first month," that is of the third year, *cf.* x. 11, in "the second month of the second year" they left Sinai. For Edom and his district see Hull, *Mount Seir*, 1889.

[3] xxi. 10-20. An extract from Moses' diary, *cp.* xxxiii. 43-48. The poetical pieces enshrined here, 14-15, 17-18, 27-30, should be noted. xxi. 14, the "Book of the Wars of the Lord." It is unreasonable, with a view to safeguarding the Mosaic authorship of the whole Pentateuch, to suppose that this was a pre-Mosaic work; neither can we suppose that subsequent to these events, but before writing the story enshrined in this chapter, Moses had already compiled the book in question and then quoted it. Such ideas are puerile. Far simpler to regard it as a later addition to the Pentateuch, *cp.* the references to the Book of the Just, Jos. x. 13, 2 Sam. i. 18. xxi. 16, "the well appeared whereof . . ." This curious rendering has no place either in the Hebrew or Greek text, read "Thence we came to Beer (which means 'a well'), this is the well of which . . ."

[4] xxi. 33. For Basan see Schumacher, *The Jaulan*, 1888, and Porter, *The Giant Cities of Bashan*, 1885.

[5] xxiv. 24. "In galleys from Italy," St. Jerome has thus boldly paraphrased the Hebrew expression for "islands."

[6] xxv. 14-18. This event left an undying impression on Israel, Deut. iv. 3, Jos. xxii. 17, Ps. cv. 28, Osee ix. 10. There is surely some connection between this sin of the Simeonites and the startling difference in their numbers in the two census of chaps. i. 23 and xxvi. 14.

xxvi. 1-65. The second census taken on the eve of their entry into the land, they number 601,730 as compared with 603,550 at the census taken thirty-eight years previously.

xxvii. 1-11. The case of the daughters of Salphaad; it is decided that daughters are to inherit if there are no sons; 12-23, Moses is told that he is to die, Josue and Eleazar are to take his place.

xxviii. The sacrifices that are to be offered: 3-8, the morning and evening sacrifice of a lamb; 9-10, those for the Sabbath; 11-15, for the first day of the month; 16-31, the Passover; xxix. 1-39, sacrifices for the seventh month; xxx. 1-17, of the fulfilment of vows.

xxxi. 1-54. The slaughter of Midian for the crime of Beelphegor; Balaam is slain with them; the law for the division of spoils.

xxxii. 1-42. Reuben, Gad and the half tribe of Manasses (verse 33) are assigned land on the east of Jordan.

xxxiii. Moses' diary of the successive stopping-places of the Israelites;[1] 50-56, renewed command to destroy the nations of Palestine.

xxxiv. 1-12. The boundaries of the land[2] they are to occupy; 13-29, names of those to whom the division is to be entrusted; xxxv. 1-8, cities of refuge, three on the east and three on the west, are to be appointed;[3] xxxvi. 1-12, apropos of the case of the daughters of Salphaad it is enacted that the tribes are not to intermarry; 13, a summary: these are the commandments which Moses gave in the plains of Moab.

III. The Higher Critical View of the Book.

Higher criticism continues to treat the Books of Moses as a mosaic rather than a straightforward narrative, as some of the quotations from Harford-Battersby will have shown. There is something delightfully naïve in the two excerpts which follow:

"Even the earlier sources can be used only with discrimination as supplying data for historical conclusions. But the general facts of the delay in entering Canaan, the roundabout route, and the conquest of the Amorites, being witnessed by both lines of traditions, and agreeable to the rest of our knowledge, emerge as well established."[4]

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[1] xxxiii. A detailed list of the successive halting-places from Ramses in Goshen to Abel-sittim in the plains of Moab. It is incredible that such a list should have been preserved simply by oral tradition (see note on Exod. xvii).

[2] xxxiv. The boundaries thus sketched extended from the torrent of Egypt (not the Nile) known as the Sichor and flowing near Pelusium, to Zephrona an unknown place in the north; and from the Dead Sea in the south-east to Riblah on the east bank of the Orontes in the north. For a description of the territory see *P.E.F.*, July, 1918, pp. 66 and 124.

[3] This list of the cities of refuge should be compared with those in Deut. iv. 41-43 and xix. 2-8.

[4] Harford-Battersby, *H.D.B.* iii. 573.

And again:

"In the wider sense the results of criticism . . . lead to some definite conclusions. All the strata of literary deposit in the Hexateuch seem to be laid bare in a section taken through the Book of Numbers. If the earliest and latest elements in J were put in writing between B.C. 850 and 650, as the indications suggest, then the bits of folk-song and the traditions of national life and movement which are associated with them in 20-21 must be dated amongst the oldest. The stories of Hobab (chap. 10), of the manna and the quails (chap. 11), of Caleb and the spies (chaps. 13, 22-24), of the revolt of (Korah and) On (chap. 16), and the episode of Balaam, take a middle place, while the advanced conceptions and lofty tone of parts of chaps. 11 and 14 represent the last contributions of this school."[1]

IV. Bibliography.

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[1] Harford-Battersby, *H.D.B.* iii. 572.

THE BOOK OF DEUTERONOMY

I. The Character and Purpose of the Book.
II. Divisions, Analysis and Notes.
III. The Critical View of Deuteronomy.
IV. Bibliography.

I. The Character and Purpose of the Book.

Deuteronomy, אֵלֶּה הַדְּבָרִים, "these are the words," from the opening words of i. 1; in the Septuagint *Δευτερονόμιον*, which however should rather be "a copy of this law," xvii. 18, *cp.* Jos. viii. 32, in both instances St. Jerome's Vulgate follows the Septuagint and reads "Deuteronomium."

Deuteronomy purports to give us the last words of Moses spoken in the plains of Moab just previous to his death. Beginning with a résumé of past events it consists of a series of fervent appeals to Israel to prove themselves worthy of their position as the Chosen People of God who has wrought such wonders for them. Their God is terrible,[1] but has loved them and they are to love Him,[2] for He is a jealous God,[3] though He is essentially a God of mercy.[4] Moreover He is the only God,[5] and He has chosen them to be His "peculiar people."[6]

As for themselves, their danger will arise from the surrounding nations whom they will be tempted to imitate but whom they must destroy.[7] A central sanctuary for public worship will prove their safeguard, and the place for

[1] vii. 21.
[2] iv. 37, vi. 5, x. 12, xi. 1, 13, 22, xiii. 3.
[3] iv. 24, vi. 15.
[4] iv. 31, vi. 25, vii. 12-13.
[5] iv. 35-39, xxxii. 12, 31, 39.
[6] vii. 6-8, ix. 29, xxvi. 18-19, xxix. 13, xxxii. 8.
[7] vii.

that will be indicated to them later on when they are established in the land.[1]

Throughout the discourses recurs the expression "this day."[2] In fact the whole is presented as a vivid scene such as would appropriately have taken place when at length their period of weary waiting was over and they were on the eve of great events. Egypt, "the iron furnace,"[3] is ever in their thoughts; no less than forty-six times are they bidden remember the days they and their fathers spent there, they are not to forget[4] what God has done for them in bringing them out of it. Shortly He will give them rest[5] and will choose a place where His sanctuary is to be set up. At the same time the writer does not spare them the memory of their past unworthinesses; they have always been stiff-necked and rebellious;[6] in fact he knows full well that they will not be faithful to the pledges they are at this moment undertaking.[7]

In keeping with this aspect of the book, *Deuteronomy* is essentially the "theological" book, for it might be said to treat of God and His attributes. Monotheism is insisted on almost as in Isa. xl-lxvi, *cf.* iv. 35-39, vi. 4, vii. 9, x. 17, xxxii. 12, 31, 39, etc. And though God is spoken of as "jealous," iv. 24, vi. 15, and as "terrible," vii. 21, yet His mercy is above all things, iv. 31, v. 10, vi. 25, vii. 12-13, and consequently the love of God is urged as a duty incumbent on all, iv. 37, vi. 5, xi. 13, x. 12-15, xi. 1, 13, 22, xiii. 3. The modern critical position demands that since the same features occur in Isa. xl-lxvi and since this latter can, on critical principles, only date from the period of the Exile, so *Deuteronomy* too must be late.

The latter part of *Exodus* and the whole of *Leviticus* and *Numbers* deal with ceremonial and ritual; they concern the clergy far more than the laity. But *Deuteronomy* from first to last is the book of the laity.[8] It presents them with a compendium of the marvels which they and their fathers

[1] xii. 1, see notes.
[2] viii. 1, see notes.
[3] iv. 20.
[4] iv. 23, viii. 11, 19.
[5] iii. 20, and see notes.
[6] vi. 13, xxxi. 27, xxxii. 28.
[7] xxxi. 27, 29.
[8] See Spencer, *Did Moses . . .?* pp. 156, 184; Barnes in *The People and the Book*, p. 313.

had witnessed, as well as of the law that had been divinely given them;[1] in burning words it shows them the responsibility incumbent on them of keeping the covenant established between God and themselves. Hence, as Origen remarked long ago, in it "the legislation is set out with greater clearness and precision than in the earlier books."[2] At times as one reads the impression seems almost irresistible that the speaker delivered his addresses and then wrote them[3] as a final legacy to those whose weaknesses he knew so well and whose probable apostasy he foresaw and foretold with such disconcerting clarity. On the supposition that the whole story of the Exodus and the plagues, of the law-giving at Sinai and of the years of wanderings is true then *Deuteronomy*, or some final farewell words from the man who had led them through these trials and who now saw them on the point of realizing their hopes though he himself was not to do so, becomes not merely a literary necessity but an historical one. Had Moses not written the book nor spoken those moving discourses someone would have had to do it. And if Moses did not do it, if it was left for Helcias or some "great unknown" like the supposed author of Isa. xl-lxvi, what an intellectual giant he must have been! He had—this unknown author—to bridge over the seven hundred years that had elapsed since Moses stood in the plains of Moab; he had to commit no anachronism of any kind, to write with an impassioned feeling which none refuse to recognize, he had to imagine—nay, take for granted—a legislation which, on critical theories, existed neither in

[1] "Meditatorium (? mediatorium) Evangelii," as St. Jerome calls it, *Ep.* lxxviii *mans.* 42; or again: "præteritorum enumeratio est," *Adv. Pelag.* i. 36; and once more: "Deuteronomium quoque secunda lex, et Evangelicæ legis præfiguratio, nonne sic ea habet quæ priora sunt, ut tamen nova sint omnis de veteribus?" *Ep.* liii. 8; *cf.* St. Augustine, *Quæstiones in Heptat.* V. xlix.

[2] *De Principiis*, IV. i. 25.

[3] Thus note St. Jerome: "Kata ta chrysea (id est ad aurea). Sunt autem montes . . . procul undecim mansionibus a Choreb, juxta quos Moses Deuteronomium scripsisse perhibetur"; but further on: "Dysmemoab . . . in quo loco et Moses scripsit Deuteronomium"; also: "Lobon, locus solitudinis trans Jordanem, in quo Moses Deuteronomium legit," *De Situ et Nominibus*, *s.v. Kata ta Chrysea*, *Dysmemoab et Lobon*, *P.L.* xxiii. 885-886, 891, 907.

Moses' time nor even in the time at which the author wrote, but was only to see the light after the fires of the Exile had purified Israel of the false elements in its religion.

And *Deuteronomy* has, as we should expect, exercised its influence on all the subsequent books of the Bible. Critics, it is true, deny this and maintain that no trace of it is to be found before the days of Jeremias, at the very time, that is, when Helcias discovered it in the Temple. But the wish is here father to the thought; they can see no trace of *Deuteronomy* because they do not want to do so, and with a lack of true critical acumen which seems incredible, excise from such books as *Josue* and *Kings* all passages which are based on *Deuteronomy* on the ground that since these passages presuppose *Deuteronomy*, which on their theory was not yet written, such passages must be later additions. How seductively such views can be stated—or rather quietly assumed—is shown in the following glowing if somewhat turgid description of the style of the book:

"Other and more elaborate styles of prose appeared in Israel, of which the most original and powerful is that of the Book of Deuteronomy, a style of mysterious source but of immediate and prolonged influence on the national literature. The rhythm is unlike the rhythm of any other prose in the Old Testament. It may have been the invention of one man; but so haunting and infectious is its music that it was caught up by a school or schools of writers and developed and even exaggerated (as textual criticism has shown) to an extent which indeed its peculiar cumulative structure provoked. Deuteronomy retells the earlier history of Israel, and under the influence of the great prophets, re-enforces the ancient truths and laws of the national religion with a fresh original rhetoric, inspired by an imagination more full of colour and by a warmer zeal than those of the early Hebrew histories and codes. It is lavish in resonant words and phrases, and in musical repetitions; urgent and expansive, yet frequently falling back from its urgency to explain, qualify, or refine. The music of its phrasing overcomes all feeling of redundancy. As I have said elsewhere, 'Deuteronomy is like a flowing tide upon a very broad beach, the long parallel waves dashing, withdrawing and dashing again.'"[1]

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[1] Sir George Adam Smith, *The Hebrew Genius in the Old Testament*, in *The Legacy of Israel* (1927), p. 17.

II. Divisions and Analysis.

(*a*) i-iv. 40. Opening discourse; a résumé of the history of Israel since leaving Egypt.

i. 1-5. An introduction, where note the precise statement as to time and place; 6-8, God meant them to occupy the land long ago; 9-17, the choice of seventy elders to assist Moses, but *cp.* Exod. xviii; 13-26, where the choice is said to have been made by Moses himself; 18-25, the choice of the spies, Num. xiii. 3-34; 26-33, at their report the people shrink from going up; 34-40, hence the thirty-eight years' delay, ii. 14, Num. xiv. 23; 41-46, their obstinacy and consequent defeat at Horma, Num. xiv. 40.

ii. 1-7. The final summons to go up after the forty years; they go round Edom, Num. xx. 14-21, xxi. 4; 8-25, Moab and Ammon are not to be attacked; the giants, Num. xxii-xxiv; 26-37, defeat of Sehon, Num. xxi.

iii. 1-11. Defeat of Og king of Basan, Num. xxi; 12-20, Manasses, Reuben and Gad are given land on the east of Jordan, Num. xxxii; 21-29, Moses is not to cross the Jordan, i. 37, iv. 21-22, xxxi. 2, xxxiv. 4, Num. xxvii. 13; Josue is to replace him, xxxi. 7-8.

iv. 1-40. An exhortation and a warning; they have been privileged as no other nation; 41-43, Moses establishes three cities of refuge on the east of Jordan, Num. xxxv. 14; 44-49, an epilogue parallel to the opening words, i. 1-5.

(*b*) v-xxvi. The main discourse.

(i) v-xi. General principles.

v. 1-21. The Decalogue, Exod. xx; the people then asked that God should speak to Moses and not directly to them, 22-23.

vi. 1-25. An exhortation to keep the precepts God then gave to Moses.

vii. 1-26. A warning about the surrounding nations; they are to be destroyed; the Israelites have been gratuitously chosen for this purpose, not because they were themselves better than other peoples.

viii. 1-20. The rewards of fidelity.

ix. 1-29. A reminder of their past infidelities; they have always been "stiff-necked," 13, always rebellious, 24, xxxi. 27.

x. 1-22. God writes on the fresh tables; renewed warning and exhortation.

xi. 1-32. Let them remember the plagues in Egypt and the punishment meted out to Dathan and Abiron.

(ii) xii-xxvi. Particular enactments. These chapters might be termed "the Deuteronomic Code."

xii. 1-12. The idolatrous places of worship of the Canaanites are to be destroyed. As a preventive against idolatry the Israelites are to have one central sanctuary in some place God shall choose. Blood is not to be eaten; the Levites are to be cared for, xiv. 27-29, xvi. 11.

xiii. 1-18. Of false prophets and idolaters.

xiv. 1-29. Of clean and unclean meats.

xv. 1-8, 11. Of the year of Jubilee, xxxi. 10; 12-18, of Hebrew slaves.

xvi. 1-17. The three great feasts in the year at the central sanctuary; 18-20, of judges and justice; 21-22, no idolatry.

xvii. 1. Sacrifices must be without blemish; 2-7, of apostates; 8-13, the decision of the priests and the judge at the central sanctuary shall be final; 14-20, of the duties of a king when they shall choose one.

xviii. 1-8. Of the priests and Levites; 9-14, no wizards to be allowed; 15-22, to secure them against this vice they shall always have a Prophet of God in their midst.

xix. 1-13. Six cities of refuge are to be appointed on the west of Jordan; of murder and manslaughter; 14-21, of moving landmarks and of false witness.

xx. 1-20. Of war, especially against the nations they are to destroy.

xxi. 1-9. Of an undetected murder; 10-14, of the captive woman; 15-17, of duties towards children by two wives; 18-21, of an unruly son; 22-23, the bodies of those hung on a gibbet are to be removed that same day.

xxii. 1-12. Of mutual kindliness; 5, women are not to wear men's clothes, nor men women's; 13-21, of accusations against a wife; 22-30, of adultery, rape and seduction.

xxiii. 1-8. Of those who may enter the church or congregation; Moab and Ammon are excluded till the tenth generation; of friendliness to Edom; 9-14, personal cleanliness; 15-16, of runaway slaves; 17-18, of prostitutes; 19-21, of loans to brethren, usury in the case of strangers; 22-23, of payment of vows; 24-25, kindliness.

xxiv. 1-4. Of the bill of divorce; 5, the newly-married are not to go to war for a year; 6, necessary articles are not to be taken for a pledge; 7, of man-stealing; 8-9, of leprosy; 10-13, of pledges; 14-15, the hire of labourers; 16-22, generosity.

xxv. 1-3. Of judgement and merciful punishment; 4, the ox that toils is not to be muzzled; 5-10, the Levirate law; 11-12, the immodest woman; 13-16, of fair weights and measures; 17-18, Amalec is to be punished.

xxvi. 1-11. Of offerings when established in the land; 12-15, of tithes and the Levites; 16-19, they are the chosen people, the conclusion of the discourse.

(*c*) xxvii-xxx. The third discourse.

xxvii. 1-8. When they arrive in Palestine they are to grave on stones "all the words of this law"; 9-13, six tribes are to stand on Mount Gerizim to bless, and six on Mount Ebal to curse; 14-26, the curses on those who fail to keep the law.

xxviii. 1-14. The blessings on those who keep it; 15-68, curses on those who do not.

xxix. 1. The covenant made in the land of Moab, besides that made at Horeb; xxx. 2-20, renewed warnings and exhortations.

(*d*) xxxi-xxxiv. An appendix.

xxxi. 1-2. Moses is leaving them; 3-6, exhortation; 7-8, Josue is encouraged for the task before him; 9-13, "Moses wrote this law" and entrusted it to the Levites who are to read it to the people in the Sabbatical year; 14-18, Moses is to die, Josue is to succeed him, *cf.* Num. xxvii. 18-23, Israel will apostatize, *cf.* 27-29; 19-22, Moses is therefore to write a *Canticle* which Israel is to learn by heart;

23, Josue is again encouraged ; 24-30, "Moses wrote the words of this law in a volume" and ordered it to be placed in the Ark, he repeats his conviction of their future apostasy, he then repeats the *Canticle.*

xxxii. 1-43. The *Canticle of Moses*; 44-47, an exhortation ; 48-52, Moses is to die.

xxxiii. Moses' *Blessing* on the tribes.

xxxiv. Moses' vision of the land ; his death ; a eulogy upon him.

Notes.

i. 5. "Expound the (this) law," is it to be referred to what follows or to the law already given, Exod. xx-xxiii ?

ii. 23. "The Cappadocians . . . from Cappadocia," this rendering is due to the Septuagint, the Hebrew has "the Caphtorim . . . from Caphtor," *cp.* Gen. where St. Jerome, with the Septuagint, has kept the form "Caphtorîm." Here, in Gen. x, as in Amos ix. 7 and Jer. xlvii. 4, the Caphtorim seem to be identified with the Philistines, see vol. III. *s.v. Philistines.*

ii. 29. Edom had positively refused permission to pass through his territory, Num. xx. 18-21 ; hence, unless we are to accuse Moses of a deliberate lie or—on critical principles—see in these apparently conflicting statements proof of parallel accounts imperfectly welded together, we can only suppose that Moses refers to permission given by the Edomites to pass along their borders without molestation. The critical theory does small justice to the so-called "Redactor" to whom they attribute all efforts at smoothing out the narrative.

iii. 20. "Give rest," *cf.* v. 14 ; xii. 9, 10 ; xxv. 12 ; this "rest" is always future in Deuteronomy, *cf.* Jos. i. 13, 15 ; also 2 Sam. vii, 1, 11 ; 3 Kings v. 4, viii. 56, where David and Solomon realize that the promised "rest" has come to pass.

iv. 5, 14. There has, then, been some previous legislation, *cf.* xxix. 1.

iv. 13. Note the covenant as well as the Decalogue, *cf.* Exod. xx-xxiii.

viii. 1. "This day," this expression occurs more than fifty times in Deuteronomy, *cf.* i. 10, 39, etc.

ix. 22. These should be proper names : Taberah, Massah, Kibroth-hattaavah.

x. 1-4. God wrote the law ; it is not always clear whether it is meant that He actually wrote it or whether Moses did so at God's dictation. See a discussion on the point by St. Augustine, *Quæst. in Heptat.* V. xv.

x. 3. "I made an ark," this is hard to understand at this period of the story.

x. 6-9. These verses are clearly out of place and seem to form part of the list of "stations" given in Num. xxxiii.

x. 10. *Cp.* ix. 9, 18, 25 and notes on Exod. xxiv for Moses' visits to the mountain.

x. 22. *Cf.* iv. 13.

xi. 6. There is no mention of Core, Num. xvi.

xi. 20. Notice St. Augustine's unflinching comment : "No Israelite is ever mentioned as having carried this out in the strict sense ; for no one could do it unless his house had a great many divisions (and there-

fore doors). Is not this a hyperbolical statement — like so many others?" *Quæst.* in *Hept.* V. xviii.

xii. 1-12. This is the main preoccupation of the writer. It is to be noted that only solemn sacrifices are to be offered there; every slaughter was for the Semitic mind a sacrificial act; hence the slaying necessary for food is spoken of as a "sacrifice," Exod. xx. 24, *cf.* Deut. xii. 15-18. See St. Thomas, *Summa Theol.* I-II. cii. 4 ad 2m et 3m. Jerusalem is never mentioned in *Deuteronomy*, the "place the Lord shall choose" is as yet unknown, *cf.* xii. 5, 11, 14, 18, 26, xiv. 23, 24, xv. 20, xvi. 2, 6, 7, 15, 16, xvii. 8, 10, 15, xviii. 6, xxvi. 2, xxxi. 11; see Origen. *Contra Celsum*, i. 49.

xvii. 18. "The Deuteronomy of this law," this is due to the Greek version, it should be "write for himself a copy of this law in a volume"; the same mistake occurs in Jos. viii. 32.

xviii. 18. The prophet who shall always be raised up for them is, of course, the Messias, though not to the exclusion of the regular series of prophets who consistently appear throughout Hebrew history, hence the lament "there is now no prophet," Ps. lxxiii. 9, 1 Macc. iv. 46, ix. 17, xiv. 41. In xviii. 15 the reference to the Messias seems more explicit.

xxiv. 6. The reference to the pledge here seems out of place, see verses 14-15. xxiv. 7. "Man-stealing," in our version, "soliciting."

xxv. 5-10. The Latin "levir" means a brother-in-law, it was his duty to secure that his brother's widow should not be childless; *cf.* Ruth iv. 6-8 and perhaps Ps. lix. 9.

xxvi. 5. "The Syrian pursued my father," a reference to Laban, Gen. xxxi. But the Hebrew has "A Syrian wandering (or 'ready to perish' R.V.) was my father," while the Greek has "my father left Syria."

xxvii. 3, 8. "All the words of this law." It is exceedingly difficult to discover what "law" precisely this was. Was it the Decalogue only or the Book of the Covenant, or what we may term "the Deuteronomic Code," xii-xxvi? Max Lohr, *Das Deuteronomium*, 1925, concedes that Deuteronomy is "substantially" the work of Moses, especially the enactments touching the central sanctuary; "though not literally of Mosaic origin, it does go back to Moses." "The book of the law" so often mentioned Lohr regards as discoverable in xvii. 8-11, xix. 1-12, xxi. 9-18, 18-21*a*, xxii. 13, 24-29, perhaps too in xxi. 22 *ff.*, also in xxiii. 10-15, xxv. 5-9; *cf. Expos. Times*, September, 1925, *J.T.S.*, October, 1927.

xxix. 1. "The covenant . . . besides that covenant which He had made with them at Horeb." It is hard to believe that this "covenant" is simply the blessings and cursings of xxvii-xxviii, nor does it seem possible to discover any precise "covenant" in what follows.

xxxi. 9. "Moses wrote this law." The same difficulty always presents itself; what precisely is meant by "this law"? Is it the Decalogue or the Book of the Covenant, Exod. xx-xxiii, or the Deuteronomic Code of Deut. xii-xxvi, or is it the covenant spoken of in these last chapters of Deuteronomy? What is absolutely certain is that Moses did write in a volume (*a*) historical details, *e.g.*, the account of the battle of Rephidim, Exod. xvii. 14; (*b*) details of the journeyings of the Hebrews, Num. xxxiii; (*c*) the curses of Deut. xxvii-xxviii, *cp.* xxix.

20-21; (*d*) which same things seem to be comprised under the term "law," xxviii. 58, 61; (*e*) "ceremonies and precepts," xxix. 10, such as are in the Deuteronomic Code, Deut. xii-xxvi and in Exod. xx-xxiii, *cp.* Deut. xxxii. 46. It is also clear that this volume was entrusted to the Levites and laid up in the Ark, Deut. xxxi. 9-13, 24-27; also that there was a record of the law which the king was to be able to copy, xvii. 18, *cp.* 4 Kings xi. 12, and 2 Paral. xxiii. 11, also 1 Sam. viii. 11-22, x. 25.

xxxi. 19-22. Note, Moses is bidden to write the Canticle, 19, he wrote it, 22, he taught it to the people, 22, he spoke it, 30, *cp.* 2 Sam. i. 18; for the Canticle see 2 Macc. vii. 6.

xxxiii. There is no mention of Simeon, but a possible explanation may be found in a comparison of Num. xxv. 14 with the numbers given for this tribe in Num. ii. 13 and xxvi. 14, before and after the crime of Beelphegor. This "blessing" is assigned to the age of Jeroboam II, B.C. 826-773 or 790-749, by C. J. Ball, *P.S.B.A.* xviii, p. 118, though his grounds are questionable.

III. The Critical View of Deuteronomy.

The critical view of *Deuteronomy* may be summarily stated as follows: (*a*) the roots of its teaching on the moral life, justice, holiness, and the rejection of idolatry may be discovered in the earlier Prophets, *e.g.* Isaias, Amos, and Osee. The later Prophets, Jeremias, Ezechiel, and the so-called "deutero-Isaias" are steeped in the ideas and phraseology of *Deuteronomy*. This would suggest that *Deuteronomy* was written shortly before these later Prophets wrote, *i.e.* about the middle of the seventh century B.C. or *c.* 650, in the reign of Manasses. A comparison now of *Deuteronomy* with the earlier books of the Pentateuch will, so it is claimed, show that those earlier books and *Deuteronomy* cannot be by the same author. Thus *Deuteronomy* is said to vary in important details from them when narrating the same events;[1] it enacts laws which

[1] Thus in Deut. i. 9-13 the judges are said to have been chosen by the people; in Exod. xviii. 13-26 by Moses at the advice of Jethro. Similarly in Deut. i. 22-23, the spies are described as sent by the people, in Num. xiii. 1-3 by Moses; in Deut. i. 37-38 Moses is forbidden to enter the land because of the people's sin, *cp.* iii. 36, iv. 21, whereas in Num. xx. 12, xxvii. 13, Deut. xxxii. 50 it is by reason of his own sin; Deut. i. 46, ii. 1, 14, the wanderings are pictured as being far away from Cades, in Num. xiv as being spent at Cades; Deut. x. 1-4, "I made an ark" refers to a period long previous to its construction according to Exod. xxxiv. 1-4, 28, though we may well ask, Was this the ark? Why

ignore, if they do not contradict, those laid down in the earlier books, and it is asked whether it is possible to conceive of Moses framing at the close of his life laws which thus ignore those he had himself laid down at an earlier period.[1] Moreover the writer betrays the fact that he is writing on the west of Jordan, whereas the author—if Moses—never crossed the river.[2] Then again the law of a central sanctuary—the key-point of *Deuteronomy*—is said to conflict absolutely with the law of *Exodus* which permits sacrifice everywhere.[3] Once more: the forms of idolatry condemned, *e.g.* the worship of the host of heaven,[4] did not come into prominence before the middle of

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not a small receptacle for the tables of the law? These seeming discrepancies are certainly trifling, and the compressed character of the Deuteronomic résumé of events would explain them.

[1] The law regarding Hebrew slaves, Deut. xv. 12, is said to conflict with that in Exod. xxi. 2-11. In Exod. xxi. 13 sanctuary is to be sought at the altar, in Deut. xix. 1-4 at certain cities. Deut. xviii. 1 seems to regard all Levites as priests, whereas Num. xvi. 10, 35-40, distinguishes them. The portion belonging to the priest in a peace-offering differs in Lev. vii. 32-34 and Deut. xviii. 3; the firstlings, which are to be the priest's, Num. xviii. 18, are to be the owner's, Deut. xii. 6, 17, xv. 19.

[2] The expression "beyond Jordan" is used, so it is claimed, of the east side of the river by one who—if Moses—is supposed to be standing on the east side. Therefore the writer unconsciously betrays the fact that he is writing on the west side, consequently he cannot have been Moses, for he never crossed the river, *cf.* Deut. i. 1, 5, iii. 8, iv. 41, 47, 49; these passages are rendered the more striking by the fact that at other times the writer uses the same term when speaking of the west bank of the river, iii. 20, 25, xi. 30. Yet the fact that he uses the expression in two opposite senses shows that the expression was a canonized one. Just so does a Roman who lives in Trastevere date his letters from Trastevere, without meaning that as he happens at the moment to be on the far bank he is therefore referring to the other bank. If it is urged that the expression could not become canonized before they were in occupation of the western bank, and that a person writing on one bank would not refer to that bank as "beyond" the river, it should be noted that in the passages where the expression is used of the west side there is always some hint as to which "beyond Jordan" it is, *e.g.* iii. 20, 25, xi. 30, *cf.* Jos. v. 1, ix. 1, xii. 7. This would seem to show that the word rendered "beyond" should rather be "by the side of," as apparently in Exod. xxv. 37 and 3 Kings vii. 20, 30; see, too, its use in Ezech. i. 9, 12, x. 22.

[3] Exod. xx. 24, where see note.

[4] Deut. iv. 19, xvii. 8. The argument is that from silence so freely used by critics. Such idolatry is not mentioned before the time of Achaz or the middle of the eighth century B.C., *cf.* 4 Kings xvii. 16, xxi. 3-5, xxiii. 4-12,

the eighth century B.C., while the prophetical teaching shows advanced theological reflection such as could hardly be postulated in the case of Moses and his age.

Finally, since in the eighteenth year of Josias, B.C. 621, "the book of the law" was "discovered" in the Temple[1] and a reform on the lines indicated in *Deuteronomy*, especially regarding the central sanctuary, was inaugurated, it is plausibly argued that this "book" was our *Deuteronomy* —at least its kernel—and that it had been written but a short time previously. Many would add that Helcias, who discovered it, himself wrote it and "salted" the ground therewith so as to secure the reforms he desired, all of them, be it noted, for the aggrandizement of the priesthood. Other critics, while refusing to endorse the crude statement that Helcias "salted" the ground, yet refer the composition of the book to the time of Manasses, B.C. 697-642, apparently on the ground that the narrative of its discovery seems to imply that in the days of Josias it had already been lost some time.[2]

The critical world of to-day takes the seventh century date for the composition of *Deuteronomy* for granted. It is an axiom; dissent from it is a mark of lack of scholarship. Thus Wellhausen writes:

> "As to the origin of Deuteronomy little doubt now prevails; in all circles where recognition of scientific results is at all to be depended on, it is admitted that it was produced at the time in which it was discovered, and that it was made the basis for the reformation of King Josiah."[3]

Soph. i. 5, Jer. vii. 18, viii. 2, xix. 13, xliv. 17, Ezech. viii. 16; therefore *Deuteronomy*, which, on the traditional view of its Mosaic authorship, would refer such idolatry to the fourteenth century B.C., must date from a much later period, or the seventh century B.C.

[1] 4 Kings xxii-xxiii; see *R.B.*, January, 1927, pp. 140 *ff.*

[2] Thus S. A. Cook, in a review of Baynes' *Israel among the Nations*, pleads for a "diplomatic rewriting" as being "better than 'fabricated' or the 'pious fraud' which the 'discovery' of Deuteronomy in Josiah's reign is not rarely called. In point of fact, when we compare Jubilees with Genesis or Chronicles with Samuel-Kings, it is evident that rewriting, whether 'diplomatic' or other, was as natural a procedure as those modern compositions which give well-meaning, though often erroneous, pictures of the history and religion of Israel" (*J.T.S.*, January, 1928, p. 173 note).

[3] *Prolegomena*, 4th *ed.*, 1895, p. 9, and p. 4, "the priests pretended to find it."

Similarly Kuenen:

"There is no reason to doubt that the book was written with a view to the use that Hilkiah made of it. It was not by accident, but in accordance with the writer's deliberate purpose, that it became the foundation and the norm of Josiah's reformation."[1]

While Kautsch would defend the ascription of the work to Moses on the principle that:

"The idea of literary ownership is utterly foreign to the Old Testament writers, as to the ancient world generally. Only let the conviction once appear justified that what is proposed is in accordance with the thought of that more ancient authority, and it is also justifiable to speak in its name. This holds good of the original Deuteronomy . . . in the same way as a Solomon is represented by the "Preacher" as testifying to the vanity of things."[2]

One of the most recent students of the date of *Deuteronomy* maintains that many of the laws are very ancient. He would refer some of them to the time of the Judges or at any rate to the early monarchy. But his views on the law for a central sanctuary will hardly meet with general acceptance. For he holds that with the exception of xii. 1-7 there is no reference to one single central sanctuary; in all the other references allusion is made to the various local centres for the worship of Jehovah, these are not to be deserted for the spots consecrated to the worship of the local Baals. This seems to be playing with the evidence.[3]

But what precisely do these arguments prove? Do they prove that Moses did not write *Deuteronomy*? Assuredly not. All they do is to show that there are certain grave difficulties in saying that he wrote it all. No one will suppose that he wrote the account of his own death! As a matter of fact the arguments prove too much, for if the argument drawn from the expression "beyond Jordan" is

[1] *Hexateuch*, p. 215.

[2] Quoted by Muller, *Are the Critics Right?* p. 51; *cf.* Driver, *Deuteronomy*, Introduction, pp. lvii-lxii.

[3] Welch, *The Code of Deuteronomy*, 1924, and in *Expos. Times*, July, 1925. Much the same views have been put forward of late in Germany, *e.g.* by Oestreicher, *Das deuteronomische Grundgesetz*, also by Staerk, *Das Problem des Deuteronomiums*.

sound, then, since it pervades the entire book, it should follow that Moses wrote none of it.[1]

Moreover critics neglect certain factors which have to be borne in mind. Archæology has shown how advanced was the civilization of those days; the *Code of Hammurabi*, some six hundred years previous to Moses, is an indication of what had already been done in the framing of laws; the *Tell el-Amarna* correspondence shows us with what ease men then wrote in a language and script notoriously difficult. Conversely, what an amazing triumph of literary skill a seventh-century *Deuteronomy* would be! The seventh-century writer would have had to project himself into a past which lay some eight hundred years behind him. He would have had to do this with a skill which should not only deceive his contemporaries but the entire Jewish and Christian world down to the nineteenth century. And his forged production was to produce a reform which lasted down to the coming of Christ.

Further: have we any right, save on the most overwhelming evidence, to suppose that the priestly caste from whom this amazing book is said to have emanated was so lost to all moral sense as to perpetrate such a forgery? For a forgery it would have been, though many critics endeavour to palliate an act which in real life they would condemn unsparingly. Archæology has familiarized us with the notion of "foundation-tablets"; what more natural than that at a time when the Temple was undergoing repair this treasure should have been found? Once again: what grounds have we for supposing that the book thus found was *Deuteronomy*? Absolutely none. Why should it not have been the *Book of the Covenant*? Why not the whole body of Mosaic legislation? It is true that the resulting reform was on the lines of the central sanctuary as laid down in Deut. xii, etc., but is that a reason for saying it was *Deuteronomy* only that was discovered?

Then again how amazing the situation created by this kind of criticism! For whereas history has hitherto

[1] For an analysis of Driver's arguments against the Mosaic authorship of Deuteronomy see Spencer, *Did Moses write the Pentateuch after all?* pp. 178-203. It is a great pity that this shrewd piece of criticism should be so little known.

demanded—and reason endorsed the demand—that we should speak of the Law and the Prophets, we are now told to invert the order and talk of the Prophets and the Law. We are no longer to regard the Prophets as the upholders of the Law, as champions steeped in its principles. They are rather to be considered as its begetters; and this not by writing it but by producing a spirit and mentality among the people which led them to produce first of all *Deuteronomy* and then, during and after the Captivity, the rest of the Pentateuch. Thus when the author of the *Prologue* to *Ecclesiasticus* spoke of "the Law, the Prophets and the Holy Writings" he was quite mistaken. What, on this supposition, was the basis of Hebrew religion? Some vague reminiscence of a law given to Moses, fragments of which may have persisted in writing? Where, if not in the pages of the *Pentateuch*, was the figure of the great legislator enshrined?

Further still: critics who have made up their minds to accept the conclusions we have been sketching are driven to shifts and expedients which can hardly be called worthy. If *Josue* and *Judges* show traces of the influence of *Deuteronomy* then, of course, these are dubbed additions to the original text. If the compilers of *Kings* assess the character of various sovereigns by their observing or failing to observe the Deuteronomic law of a central sanctuary, then such passages are to be regarded as proofs that *Kings* was written, or at least re-edited, after the appearance of *Deuteronomy* in the seventh century.[1] But is this really criticism? Every passage which makes for your theory you welcome; every passage that tells against it is rejected as spurious!

[1] See Aage Bentzen, *Die Josianische Reform und ihre Voraussetzumgen*, 1926: he may be taken as "an example of the present tendency to look for social and economic factors and class differences in the Biblical history. He (Bentzen) traces a series of provincial 'Levitical' movements culminating in Deuteronomy. Shechem was perhaps the original central sanctuary; the pre-eminence of Jerusalem belongs to the exilic and late age (p. 86). Priestly interests can be recognized in the historical traditions, and theocratic and anti-monarchical developments are to be traced in E, and go back before the fall of the northern kingdom" (*J.T.S.*, October, 1927, p. 91).

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The problem of the date at which Deuteronomy was written is dealt with by all the above, but see especially:

Holscher, *Komposition und Ursprung des Deuteronomiums*, 1922, who assigns it to a century later than the time of Josias, B.C. 621; *cf. Expos.*, March, 1924; *Expos. Times*, November, 1924. Kennett, *The Date of Deuteronomy*, *J.T.S.* xv, pp. 604 *ff.* Naville, E., *The Date of Deuteronomy*, *P.S.B.A.*, June, 1907. Pope, H.,* *The Date of Deuteronomy*, 1909; *cf. B.S.*, January, 1912; *P.S.B.A.*, February, 1910. See also *J.T.S.*, July, 1906, July, 1914, for a presentation of recent views, Some account of recent literature on the various problems will be found also in *The People and the Book*, 1925, pp. 199-202.

VERSIONS.

Deuteronome, Version Latine Antérieure à S. Jerome, Ulysse Robert,* 1900. *Old-Latin Texts of the Heptateuch*, A. V. Billen, 1927; *cf. J.T.S.*, January, 1928; *R.B.*, January, 1930. *Deuteronomy in the Revised Version, with Introduction and Notes*, by Sir George Adam Smith, 1918; *cf. R.B.*, July, 1919.

THE BOOK OF JOSUE

I. Of Josue and the Book; Its Divisions.
II. Brief Explanatory Notes on the Text.
III. The Authenticity of the Book.
IV. The Term "Hexateuch" and Modern Criticism of Josue.
V. The Greek Text.
VI. Bibliography.

I. Of Josue and the Book.

JOSUE first appears at the battle of Rephidim against Amalec,[1] when he put them to the sword, then as a writer,[2] later on he figures as the faithful minister of Moses,[3] then as one of the spies.[4] He was the son of Nun,[5] and his name was changed from הוֹשֵׁעַ, Hosea or Osee, meaning "salvation," to יְהוֹשׁוּעַ, Jehosea or "the Lord will deliver."[6] For their fidelity in the rebellion which arose from the report of the spies about the giants who inhabited the land, Josue and Caleb were alone exempt from the curse which excluded all the rebels above twenty years of age from seeing the Promised Land.[7] Later on Josue is designated Moses' successor; he acts as his vicegerent, and finally at the Divine command Moses formally appoints him to succeed in the government of the people and lead them into Palestine.[8]

[1] Exod. xvii. 9. [2] *Ib.* xvii. 14.
[3] *Ib.* xxiv. 13, xxxiii. 11, Num. xi. 28.
[4] Num. xiii. 9. [5] *Ibid.* [6] *Ib.* xiii. 17.
[7] *Ib.* xiv. 6, 13, 38.
[8] *Ib.* xxxii. 28, xxxiv. 17, Deut. iii. 21-28, xxxi. 3-24. "Qui typus Domini non solum in gestis sed etiam in nomine," says St. Jerome, *Ep.* liii. 8; he insists, too, on his virginal character (*Adv. Jovin.* i. 23).

The book called by his name covers the period between the death of Moses and that of Josue, that is, according to the "traditional" chronology, from *c.* B.C. 1450-1425. It falls into three parts: The conquest of the land; its partition amongst the Hebrews; Josue's covenant and last words.

The moral theme of the book may be summed up in the words of the commission originally given to Josue in Num. xxvii. 15-21; *cf.* Jos. xxi. 41, "God is faithful."

Analysis and Divisions.

A. i-xii. The conquest of the land.

(*a*) i-v. The miraculous entry into Palestine.

i. 1-10. The Divine commission to Josue; 11-18, his declaration to the people; ii. 1-24, the visit of the spies to Jericho and the house of Rahab; iii. 1-17, they cross the Jordan; iv. 1-25, the stones set up in the midst of the river at the spot where they had crossed, also at Galgal as a memorial of the miracle; v. 1-16, the dread that fell upon the peoples of Canaan, the Israelites are circumcised for the first time since leaving Egypt, the manna ceases, they keep the Passover, an Angel appears to Josue.

vi-xii. Jericho is taken. Two confederations of the inhabitants, one in the south, the other in the north, are routed.

vi. 1-27. Jericho is captured, Rahab and her family alone are spared; a curse on whosoever should attempt to rebuild Jericho; vii. 1-26, owing to the sin of Achan Israel is defeated by the men of Hai, Achan is put to death and, viii 1-35, Hai taken by stratagem.

(*b*) ix-x. A confederation of the kings of the south-west, ix. 1-2; the deception practised by the Gabaonites, 3-27; the confederate kings of the Amorrhites, of Jerusalem, Hebron, Jerimoth, Lachis and Eglon, come to punish the Gabaonites but are defeated, x. 1-27; Maceda and Lobna are destroyed and the kings of Gezer and Debir are slain, 28-43.

(*c*) xi-xii. The confederate kings of the north are defeated; xi. 1-15, the district thus added to Israel's possessions, 16-20; some account of the Enacim or giants, 21-23; a summary of Josue's conquests, with a list of the thirty-one kings slain, xii. 1-24.

B. xiii-xxii. The division and settlement of the land.

(*a*) xiii. 1-6, an account of the territory as yet unconquered; 7-32, the possessions of Reuben, Gad, and the half tribe of Manasses on the east of Jordan.

(*b*) xiv-xix, settlement of the land on the west of Jordan: xiv. 1-5, this division was carried out by Josue and Eleazar; the Levites have no possession but are replaced by the sons of Joseph partly on the east, partly on the west; 6-15, Hebron is bestowed on Caleb; xv. 1-63, the territory of Juda; xvi. 1-10, of Ephraim; xvii. 1-6, again of the half

tribe of Manasses on the east ; 7-18, the half tribe of Manasses on the west ; 11-28, of Benjamin ; xix. 1-9, of Simeon ; 10-16, of Zabulon ; 17-23, of Issachar ; 24-31, of Aser ; 32-39, of Nephtali ; 46-48, of Dan ; 49-51, of the territory given to Josue.

(*c*) xx-xxii. Cities of refuge are designated on the west : Cades in Galilee, Sichem in Mount Ephraim, and Hebron, xx. 1-7 ; similarly on the east, Bosor, Ramoth and Gaulan, 8-9. Cities are appointed for the Levites, xxi. 1-43. Returning to their possessions on the east of Jordan the tribes of Reuben, Gad and Manasses, erect an altar, which is at first misinterpreted by the rest of Israel, xxii. 1-34.

C. xxiii-xxiv. Josue's last words ; xxiii. 1-16, an exhortation ; xxiv. 1-13, a résumé of their history ; 14-27, the covenant made with Israel ; 28-33, Josue writes this covenant in "the volume of the law of the Lord," the deaths of Josue and Eleazar.

II. Notes.

Verses 1, 4, "this Jordan . . . this Libanus," they had seen Mount Lebanon from the mountains of Moab, even though they could not see it from the level of the plains of Moab.

Verse 6, "take courage," the governing thought in *Josue* is the Divine fidelity to promises, *cf.* viii. 1, x. 25, xxiii. 6, *cp.* Deut. xxxi. 7, 23.

i. 7. Note the repeated references to "the law of Moses," viii. 31-35, xxii. 4-5, xxiii. 6.

i. 11. "The third day," not that they were to pass over on the third day, but that from that date they were to begin the actual work, *cf.* ii. 22, iv. 19.

i. 13, 15. "Rest," Deut. xii. 9, etc., and notes, Jos. xxii. 4, xxiii. 1.

i. 15. "Beyond Jordan towards the rising of the sun"; thus the term "beyond Jordan" does not, as it stands, mean the east side, see notes on Deuteronomy. Yet as here used it is clear that the writer is on the west side of the river.

ii. 6. The flax was evidently drying, it had just been gathered ; that it was the time of harvest is stated in iii. 15.

ii. 10. That fear should have come upon the people of Canaan was but natural since for forty years they had had this threatened invasion ever before their eyes, *cf.* Exod. xv. 14-16, Jos. v. 1, ix. 24, etc.

iii. 10-12. Note the wonderful expressions here used to designate the attributes of God, *cf.* ii. 11.

iii. 16. This must have been due to what they learned later that the inhabitants had seen. "The sea of the wilderness which now is called the Dead Sea," this is a paraphrase by St. Jerome, nowhere in the Bible is this sea called the Dead Sea, but either "the sea of the wilderness," Deut. iv. 49, or "the most salt sea," as it should be here, iii. 16, *cf.* xii. 3, xv. 2, 5, xvi. 8, xviii. 19, 4 Kings xiv. 25.

iv. 9. "Until this day," here of the stones in the bed of Jordan, vi. 25, of the safety accorded to Rahab and her family ; vii. 26, of the cairn of Achan ; viii. 29, of the cairn at Hai ; ix. 27, of the Gabaonites ; x. 27, of the cairn at Maceda ; xiii. 13, of Gessuri and its people still undisturbed

in the midst of Israel ; xiv. 14, of Caleb's possession of Hebron ; xvi. 8, of Gezer as still held by the Canaanites. This last is important for the dating of *Josue* since in the days of Solomon the Canaanite was driven from Gezer, 3 Kings ix. 16.

iv. 19. "The tenth day of the month," *cp.* v. 10. The last dating afforded us "the fortieth year, the eleventh month," Deut. i. 3, so this will be the forty-first year. "Galgal," the Hebrew word גלגל means "to roll," and the place is here called "Galgal" from the stones which were "rolled" thither. In v. 9 it is said to be so called because, owing to the renewal of the rite of circumcision there, the Lord says that He "has rolled away" the reproach of Israel.

v. 1. "The great sea," or the Mediterranean, ix. 1, xv. 47, xvi. 3, xxiii. 4.

v. 9. See note on iv. 19.

v. 13-16. A most mysterious episode meant, however, to encourage Josue, *cp.* Exod. iv. 24-26.

vi. 1-27. For the conquest of Jericho see *R.B.*, January, 1910.

vi. 26. For the fulfilment of this curse see 3 Kings xvi. 34 ; for the capture of Jericho see *R.B.*, January, 1910.

vi. 4. "Which are used in the Jubilee," literally "trumpets of the Jubilee," or those designated to be so used, Lev. xxv. 9.

vi. 25. From this statement about Rahab, who seems to be regarded as still surviving, it might be possible to argue the early date of the book or at least of the material used in its composition.

vii. 21. "Scarlet," in Hebrew "of Shinar (Sennaar)" or Babylon.

vii. 24, 26. As so often in the Bible, the place is spoken of under the name which was only given it owing to the event here recorded.

viii. 29. See the law to this effect, Deut. xxi. 22-23, *cf.* Jos. x. 27.

viii. 30-35. The execution of what Moses had laid down, Deut. xxvii-xxviii.

ix. 2-27. For this deception by the Gabaonites see x. 2 ; the Gabaonites are spoken of as Hivites, xi. 19.

ix. 23. "The house of my God," this need not mean, as is so often stated, that the Temple is already existing ; moreover the Tabernacle was at Silo very shortly after these events.

ix. 27. "In the place which the Lord hath chosen," more correctly "in the place which He should choose"; there is no suggestion that Jerusalem had already been designated or that the Temple had already been erected. In xi. 19 these Gabaonites are described as Hivites.

x. 1. Adonisedec. Note the name "the Lord of righteousness," the same name as Melchisedec.

x. 12-13. A fragment of a poetical piece to be found, as the writer says, in the Book of Jashar or "of the Just," *cf.* 2 Sam. i. 18, and *cp.* the reference to the Book of the Wars of the Lord, Num. xxi. 14. For the miracle see Ecclus. xlvi. 5, and *cp.* 4 Kings xx. 8-11, Isa. xxxviii. 7-8.

x. 40. "Asedoth" or "the ravines" rather than a proper name, xii. 3, 8.

x. 41. "Gosen," not of course the land of Goshen in Egypt, *cf.* xi. 16, xv. 61. Maceda and Lobna are taken, the kings of Gezer and Debir are slain.

xi. 1. This confederacy was an extensive one. Hazor lay on the west of the waters of Merom or Lake Huleh ; Madon on the west of the

Sea of Galilee; Semeron on the western slopes of the Nazareth hills; Acsaph is north-east of Acre on the coast; Maspha in Cœlesyria.

xi. 21-23. This statement about the giants remaining on in Philistia is amply borne out by the history of David, *cf.* 2 Sam. xxi. 16-21, 1 Paral. xx. 4-7.

xiii. 1, 11-18. For the length of time occupied in the conquest, *cp.* xxiii. 1, Exod. xxiii. 29, Jos. xi. 18.

xiii. 1-6. Galilee, the Philistines and Gessuri remain unconquered.

xiii. 14. This reference to Levi seems out of place, *cf.* verse 33, xiv. 3-4, xviii. 7.

xiii. 27. Note "the sea of Cenereth," in xix. 35 Cenereth is a city, *cp.* Num. xxxiv. 11, Deut. iii. 17. The plural form "Ceneroth" occurs in Jos. xi. 2, xii. 3, and 3 Kings xv. 20; *cf.* "the waters of Genesar," 1 Macc. xi. 67, Matt. xiv. 34, and in the more familiar form "Genesareth," Mark vi. 53, Luke v. 1.

xiv. 10. Note that forty-five years have elapsed since Num. xiii.

xiv. 13. The translation is defective: the name of Hebron was Cariath-Arbe, that is "city of Arbe; the chief man among the giants (Anacim) was he," there is no reference to Adam.

xv. 1, 3. Sin and Sina should both be Zin, see note on Exod. xiii.

xv. 6. "The stone of Boen," *cf.* xviii. 18.

xv. 63. This reference to the Jebusite as still in possession of Jerusalem serves as an indication of the time when the book was written, for David expelled the Jebusites, 2 Sam. 5.

xvi. 8. "The valley of reeds" a translation of a proper name, better "the brook Kana," xvii. 9.

xvi. 10. *cp.* 2 Sam. v and the note on iv. 9 above.

xviii. 1. Silo was the "place which the Lord chose" temporarily, *cf.* "My place in Silo," Jer. vii. 12-14; the Ark was there till the Israelites brought it into the field against the Philistines, who captured it and retained it for seven months, 1 Sam. i. 3–iv. 3, v. 1–vi. 12. It was then removed to Bethsames, thence to Cariathiarim, where it rested till David set it up in Jerusalem, vii. 1-2 Sam. vi. 3.

xviii. 16, 17, 18. Note St. Jerome's added interpretations of proper names, they are not in the Hebrew text.

xix. The tribes whose possessions are here enumerated were those who played the least conspicuous part in the subsequent history, so much so that the cities here mentioned are for the most unknown to us otherwise. The fact, then, that these names have been preserved seems an indication of the antiquity of the account.

xix. 13. St. Jerome has "et Tharacim," the LXX *ἐπὶ πόλιν κασίμ*; the Hebrew seems untranslatable, עִתָּה כָּצִי, read ? עֶת־הַכָּצִי.

xix. 28-29. "Great Sidon" and "the strongly fortified city of Tyre," *cf.* xi. 8; at the time of the Hebrew invasion these Phœnician cities were in their glory and seem to have impressed the invaders.

xx. 1-9. For the cities of refuge see Num. xxv. 6 *ff.*, and Deut. xix. 2 *ff.*

xxi. 44-45. We have here an example of the way which St. Jerome, though very rarely, paraphrases rather than translates the Hebrew text.

xxii. 4. "Rest," *cf.* note on i. 13.

xxii. 10-34. This episode is of great importance. The tribes settled in the west clearly thought that this altar was "sacrilegious," 16, and

"schismatical," 19. They looked upon it as an infringement of the law for a one central sanctuary laid down in Deut. xii, xvi, etc. The departing tribes answer that it was never meant to be for solemn sacrifices, but only as a memorial, 26-29, *cp.* Deut. xii. 15-18. Those who hold that the Deuteronomic law only dated from the reform under Josias, 621 B.C., are bound to hold that passages such as this are due simply to an editor who lived after the Exile.

xxiii-xxiv. Whereas the ecclesiastical centre was at Silo, xxi. 2, the civil government seems to have been at Sichem, xxiv. 1.

xxiii. 1. For the length of time indicated, *cf.* xi. 18, xiii. 1. If Josue and Caleb were of the same age; since then Josue died at the age of one hundred and ten and Caleb was eighty at their entry into the land, xiv. 10, the conquest and division took about thirty years.

xxiv. 12. These hornets are referred to also in Exod. xxiii. 28, Deut. vii. 20, Wisd. xii. 8, though nowhere is there any account of such happenings.

" Not with my sword nor with my bow, *cf.* Gen. xlviii. 22.

xxiv. 28-33. These repeated references to a volume known as "the law of the Lord" or "of Moses" should be noted, *cf.* Exod. xvii. 14; Num. xxxiii. 1-2; Deut. xvii. 18, xxvii. 1-8, xxviii. 58-61, xxix. 20-21, 27, xxx. 10, xxxi. 9, 24-27, xxxii. 46; 1 Sam. x. 25, etc. St. Jerome tells us that Josue's tomb was still visible at Thamna, *De Situ et Nominibus, s.v. Gaas and Thamnath Sara, P.L.* xxiii. 902 and 925.

III. The Authenticity of the Book.

The Authenticity of *Josue*.—The existing title does not prove that Josue himself was the author. Pseudo-Athanasius speaks of it as the "book concerning the deeds of Josue"; conservative writers are divided between Samuel, Esdras, and Josue himself as the author. That it was compiled at a very early date seems evident: in xvi. 10, we read of the Canaanites as resident in Gezer "until this day"; but in 3 Kings ix. 16, we are told that Pharaoh drove them out. In xv. 63, the Jebusites are said to dwell with the children of Judah "until this present day," but this could not have been said after the reign of David who expelled the Jebusites, 2 Sam. v. 5. Again, in xv. the boundaries of Judah and Benjamin are minutely given, not so those of Ephraim and the other tribes, for they did not succeed in ousting the quondam inhabitants during the lifetime of Josue, xvi-xviii. In estimating the lists of towns, etc., it should not be forgotten that Josue himself, as one of the spies, had an intimate acquaintance with the land. In the existing Hebrew text, the first person is used, v. 1, 6, and iv. 23.

IV. The Term "Hexateuch" and Modern Criticism of Josue.

Modern criticism of *Josue* has taken over the term "Hexateuch," used by the Fathers of the Church like "Heptateuch" and "Octateuch" to signify respectively the first six, seven or eight books of the Bible, but it has given to the term a very different connotation. For modern critics look upon *Josue* not merely as the natural sequel to the Pentateuch or five Books of Moses, but as emanating from the same body of writers who, in the critical view, compiled the Pentateuch. They regard the six books as a whole, and would bring down their composition to a very late date. But such is the interdependence of the books of the Bible that a similar train of reasoning would justify us in assigning all the books to a single author, as is really the case when we remember that God is the author of them all. Further, the repetition in *Josue* of facts already given in the Pentateuch seems fatal to such a view, *cp.* i. 12, with Num. xxxii. 20; xiii. 15, with Num. xxxiii. 33; and xx. 8, with Deut. iv. 41.

A century of critical work on the book has resulted in views which in critical circles are regarded as practically final. The earlier critical position was that the basis of the book was due to the Elohist, E, with additions by the Jahvist, J, and a final redaction by the Deuteronomist, D. This has now been elaborated as follows:

In i-xii the bulk is from J, who cannot be dated earlier than the ninth century B.C.; there is some additional matter from E, and comparatively few traces of P or the priestly writer; the reverse holds for xiii-xxi, most of which is assigned to P; xxii-xxiv is due to D, who "has 'edited' not only chaps. i-xii, but the whole book," and this final presentation of it probably belongs to the third century B.C., so that our present book can be described as "the execution (told in Deuteronomic language) of the Deuteronomic commands . . . to extirpate the nations." As for Josue himself, while "no reliance can be placed" on Num. xiii. 9, 17, where the first definite account of Josue and his origin appears, yet he is an historical personage.[1]

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[1] G. A. Smith in *H.D.B. s.v. Joshua.*

Critical procedure could hardly be better illustrated than by Kuenen's summary of results:

"In Jos. i-xii we found an historical narrative, recast and expanded by D2, in which a few fragments of P2 are incorporated, but which otherwise belongs to 'the prophetic stream.' This 'prophetic history,' though clearly betraying its composite origin, has evidently been worked up systematically into a single whole, as appears, especially, from the anticipatory and retrospective notices in vi. 17, 22, 25, ii. 10, vi. 18. . . . This systematic plan makes it probable a priori that the written accounts were not taken as they stood and placed side by side, but freely worked up, or, in other words, that they simply furnished the writer with materials, which he simply used in his own way and from his own point of view. Investigation shows that this is actually the case."[1]

V. The Greek Text.

The Septuagint text of Josue is interesting; the fact that ר is read for ד, xvii. 2, where שְׁמִידָם becomes Συμαρὶμ, or xvii. 5, where ד has been read as final ךְ, *cp.* xix. 35, may show that the translator used square Hebrew type. In some places the translator is frankly puzzled, thus the iron chariots become ἐπίλεκτος ἵππος, xvii. 16, 18; in vii. 9, 12, מִיָּם, "thence" has not unnaturally been taken for "the sea, θάλασση, though the geography becomes hopeless, *cf.* iii. 16, where "the place of Sarthan" is given as Cariathiarim; the שִׁיחוֹר, or "troubled river" becomes ἀοικήτης, xiii. 2. Where St. Jerome has, as so often, translated instead of transliterating proper names, the Greek of Josue is often correct, *e.g.* xiii. 5, the Gebalites; the ascent of Akkrabim, xv. 3, where St. Jerome has "of the scorpion"; yet the converse appears also, *e.g.* xi. 2, xviii. 18, Ἄραβα, for the "wilderness"; xi. 2, the regions about Dor is simply Ναφεδδώρ, while now and again names are translated, thus Bethsames is given as Πόλιν ἡλίου, xv. 10, while עמק, or "valley" is always Ἔμεκ, vii. 25, xiii. 19, 27, xvii. 16, xviii. 16; so too Negeb and Asedoth, x. 40, xi. 22, xv. 46, 47. Finally there are some real differences; i 4, ix. 1, Αντιλίβανον for Lebanon; ii. 14, it is Rahab who refers to God as about to bring in the Hebrews; v. 1, Phœnicia for Canaan; and in xix. 47 a considerable addition touching the Amorrhites.

VI. Bibliography.

St. Augustine, *Quaestiones in Heptateuchum*, VI, *P.L.* xxxiv. 775-792, where he shows acquaintance with St. Jerome's Vulgate. Origen, *Homiliæ* xxvi, *P.G.* xii. 819-948. Procopius of Gaza, *P.G.* lxxxvii. 991-1042. Rabanus Maurus, *Commentariorum in librum Josue, libri tres*, *P.L.* cviii.

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[1] *The Hexateuch*, p. 158.

Later Writers.

Bonfrerius, *Commentarius in Josue, Judicum et Ruth*, 1631. Masius, *Josuæ Imperatoris Historia*, 1574. Cornelius à Lapide, 1718.

Modern Writers.

Colenso, *The Pentateuch and Joshua Critically Examined*, 1862-1871. Friedeberg, *Joshua*, an annotated Hebrew Text, 1913. Gaster, M., *Das Buch Josua in hebraisch-samaritanischer Rezension*, 1908. Holmes, *Joshua, the Hebrew and Greek Texts*, 1914. Maclear, *Joshua* in the *Cambridge Bible for Schools*, 1878.

For a discussion of the "sources" used in the compilation of the book see A. C. Welch in *The People and the Book*, pp. 126 *ff.* For apocryphal legends concerning Josue himself see Fabricius, *Codex Pseudepigraphicus veteris Testamenti*, i, 1713.

THE BOOK OF JUDGES

I. Contents, Analyses and Notes.
II. Purpose of the Book.
III. Its "Typical" Character.
IV. Date and Authorship.
V. The Septuagint Version.
VI. Bibliography.

I. Title.

The Hebrew title is שֹׁפְטִים,[1] *cf.* ii. 16, "Sophetim," and compare the Carthaginian "Suffetes" and, with reservations, the Roman "Dictators." The book covers the period from the death of Josue to that of Samson. Heli and Samuel may be classed among the "Judges," though their history is not given in this book.

Divisions and Contents.

A. i-iii. 6. Introductory.
(*a*) i-ii. 5. A summary of the wars with the Canaanites; apparently a sequel to the twelfth chapter of the Book of Josue.
(*b*) ii. 6-iii. 6. A direct introduction to the body of the book.
B. iii. 7-xvi. The story of the successive apostasies, consequent punishments, repentances, and deliveries of the people at the hands of the various "Judges" raised up by God for this purpose.
C. xvii-xxi. Two appendices which should be compared for style and character with the Book of Ruth.

[1] See Ruth i. 1, 2 Sam. vii. 11, 4 Kings xxiii. 22; Origen has it in a Greek dress Σωφετίμ, *H.E.* VI. xxv. 2; Ecclus. xlvi. 11, *οἱ κριταί*.

NOTES.

i-iii. 6. The inversion in the order is peculiar, for whereas i. 1-ii. 5 deals with events after the death of Josue, ii. 6-iii. 6 is concerned with events during his life. Hence St. Jerome: "Cumque in sepultura Jesu (Josue), liber qui ex nomine ejus apellatur, expletus sit; rursum in Judicum volumine, quasi vivens resurgensque describitur: et sub ἀνακεφαλειώσει opera ipsius prædicantur," *Adv. Jovin.* i. 22.

iii. 8-10. For Cushan Rishathaim see Josephus, *Ant.* V. iii. 1-2; *Expos. Times*, January, 1910, June, 1924. Tiglath Pileser III describes himself as son of Assur-ris-ilim, and Rawlinson long ago suggested that this might be the real form of the name preserved in the Bible as Cushan Rishathaim; see the cylinder of Tiglath Pileser from Kalah Shergat, col. vii, line 42, in *R.P.N.S.* i. 116, iv. 7; *Expos. Times*, January, 1910, June, 1924.

iii. 30. Josephus' chronology is most baffling. At times he allows 592 years, at other times 612 years, between the Exodus and the building of the Temple, whereas 3 Kings vi. 1 assigns only 480 years to this period. It is perhaps due to his anxiety to fill up the lengthy period that, whereas Judg. iii. 30 says that the land rested eighty years, Josephus adds that Aod "judged" Israel eighty years, *Ant.* V. iv. 3.

Ch. v. For the Song of Debora see *R.B.*, 1903, pp. 387 *ff.*; *Expos. Times*, November, 1921, *Expositor*, September, 1919. Konig, *H.D.B. s.v. Judges*, holds that it is the oldest and most independent piece in the book; see G. A. Cooke, *The History and Song of Deborah*, 1892.

v. 7. In the Hebrew text here and in vi. 17, vii. 12, and viii. 26 we have examples of the abbreviated form of the relative pronoun ·/שֶׁ for אֲשֶׁר so noticeable in *Canticles*, see notes there.

vi. 11. For these Theophanies or Divine appearances to Gedeon and Manoe see S. A. Cook, *J.T.S.*, July, 1927. It would be hard to better St. Augustine's words on the subject: "How could Gedeon have dared to offer a sacrifice to God outside the place where God had ordered, Deut. xii. 13? . . . In Gedeon's day the tabernacle was at Silo, and consequently there alone could he lawfully offer sacrifice. But we must note that at first Gedeon took the Angel for a Prophet, and in the Angel he as it were consulted God about offering a sacrifice: had the Angel not approved, Gedeon would not have done it, but when he approved and consented to its being done, Gedeon only followed God's authority in so doing. God certainly did not sanction human laws for men to try thereby to bind God, but men. We must then realize that when God ordered things other than those commanded, these were to be carried out not by sinners, but by holy and obedient men, as for example by Abraham in the sacrifice of his son, or by Elias when, away from God's tabernacle, he offered sacrifices in order to convince the idolatrous priesthood; we must realize that he did this at God's command, who, by a revelation and inspiration given to him as a Prophet, told him to do it. Moreover, when it became a practice thus

to offer sacrifices away from the tabernacle—as when Solomon sacrificed on the high places—his sacrifice was not repudiated."[1]

xi. 13-14. The Septuagint text runs: "If thou shalt weave together the seven locks of my head with webbing and fasten them with a peg to the wall, then I shall be like other men—weak. And it came to pass that while he slept Delida (always so in LXX) took the seven locks of his head and wove them together with webbing and fastened them with a peg to the wall and said, The Philistines . . ." The Hebrew copyist's eye however has passed from the first occurrence of the word "peg" to the second, and so has omitted the account of what Delila did, thus furnishing us with an interesting example of what is known as "homioteleuton." That St. Jerome was puzzled by the Hebrew text is evident from his addition: "Quod cum fecisset Delila."

St. Jerome has done something similar in i. 26, where he has inserted the word "dimissus" in the clause "qui (dimissus) abiit"; curiously enough the LXX had read in verse 24 after the words "they saw a man coming out of the city" "and they seized him," yet this addition Jerome ignores.

xi. 39. Certain idealists have tried to minimize the terrible character of Jepthe's act by suggesting that he merely consecrated her virginity to God; but this seems opposed to the whole tenor of the passage. Josephus, *Ant.* V. vii. 10, says that he offered her as a holocaust, and St. Jerome tells us that many Hebrew commentators of his day repudiated his action, *Adv. Jovin.* i. 23.

xii. 8-10. Josephus is rather hard on Abesan: "He did nothing in the seven years of his administration that was worth recording or deserved a memorial. So he died an old man and was buried in his own country," *Ant.* V. vii. 13.

xiv. 18. Josephus has a most jejune version of Samson's retort: "Nothing is more deceitful than a woman, for such was the person that discovered my interpretation to you," *Ant.* V. ix. 6.

xiv-xvi. For the typical character of Samson note St. Jerome: "Licet typum teneat Salvatoris quod meretricem ex gentibus adamarit Ecclesiam; et multi plures hostium moriens quam vivus occideret, tamen conjugalis pudicitiæ exempla non præfert," *Adv. Jovin.* i. 23. St. Augustine makes him contemporary with Æneas, *De Civ. Dei*, XVIII xix; for the significance of his death see *Contra Gaudentium*, i. 39, also *Sermo* ccclxiv doubtfully attributed to St. Augustine, *P.L.* xxxix. 1639-43.

II. Purpose of the Book.

The moral thesis of the author is clearly set forth in ii. 10-23; Israel apostatized, was therefore afflicted by foreign powers, repented, was delivered by God through the medium of a "Saviour," and then had a period of rest until the people again lapsed into idolatry, iii. 7-11, etc.

[1] *Quæstiones in Heptateuchum*, VII xxxvi on Judg. vi. 20.

The author's material seems to have been contained in a series of stories about these "deliverers"; some were more important than others, or perhaps more abundant information concerning them was at his disposal. Thus, going by the length of the accounts left us, the "Judges" are often spoken of as "greater" and "lesser." Among the former will rank Othoniel, iii. 7-11; Aod, iii. 12-30; Deborah and Barac, iv-v; Gedeon, vi-viii; Jephte, x. 17–xii. 7; Ahialon, xii. 9; and Samson, xiii-xvi. The "lesser" will be Samgar, iii. 21; Thola and Jair, x. 1-5; Abesan, Elon, and Abdon, xii. 8-15.

The chronological difficulties are great.[1] According to 3 Kings vi. 1, 480 years elapsed between the Exodus and the fourth year of Solomon; according to Jephte, Judg. xi. 26, 300 years had in his time already elapsed since the occupation by Reuben, Gad and Manasses of the land to the east of the Jordan, and it seems difficult to condense into the space of 180 years all the events between Jephte and the fourth year of Solomon. The recurrence, too, of the number 40 is suspicious, and the author often seems to speak in round numbers. Some of the Judges, too, as well as the periods of rest and oppression, were contemporaneous, thus in x. 7, a twofold oppression is referred to: by the Philistines and the Ammonites; the two "deliverers" raised up—Samson against the Philistines, and Jephte against the Ammonites—were presumably also contemporary. Again, whereas Gedeon seems to have been the only "Judge" during his time, it is almost certain that while Deborah and Barac were engaged in their struggle with the kings of the north, the southern portion of the country was at rest after the removal of Eglon, iii. 20-23. Thus we seem to have three periods in the history: iii. 7–v. 31, Othoniel, Aod and Deborah; vi. 1–x. 5, Gedeon, Abimelech (who was not a Judge), followed by Jair and Thola; x. 6–xvi. 31, Jephte and Samson. The accompanying table will serve to make this clearer:

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[1] See Kessler, *Chronologia Judicum et primorum Regum*, 1882. It should be noted that certain numbers recur with what seems suspicious frequency, *e.g.* seven in vi. 1, 15, viii. 26, xii. 9, xvi. 7, 13, 19, xx. 15; seventy in i. 7, viii. 30, ix. 2, 5, 18, 24, 56, xii. 14; seventy-seven in viii. 14; forty in iii. 11, v. 8, 31, viii. 28, xiii. 1.

Judge.	*District.*	*Adversary.*	*Period of Rest.*
iii. 7-11. Othoniel	Whole land	Cusan Rishathaim, 8 years	40 years
iii. 12-30. Aod	The east	Eglon, king of Moab, 18 years	80 years
iii. 31. Samgar	The west	The Philistines	
iv-v. Deborah and Barac	The north	Jabin, 20 years	40 years
		II	
vi. 1-x. 5. Gedeon	The east	The Madianites, 7 years	40 years
		III	
x. 6-xii. 7. Jephte		Ammonites, 18 years	
xii. 9. Abesan (7 years)			
xii. 11. Ahialon (10 years)			
xii. 13. Abdon			
xiii-xvi. Samson (20 years)		Philistines, 40 years	

In the *Appendices*, xvii-xxi, we have two distinct stories illustrative of the lawlessness of the times; the first is concerned with the fortunes of the Danites, the second with those of the Benjamites. These stories are told at considerable length and in a style very different from the series of brief chronicles in the earliest portions of the book; the story of Ruth falls into the same category.

III. Its Typical Character.

In reading the historical books of the Bible it is needful to remind oneself continually of the symbolical, typical, figurative significance of the events and the actors who

figure in them. Otherwise the Divine character of the Bible is apt to escape us and we get interested in the purely human aspect of the story, though this has, after all, but a secondary importance, at times even no importance at all. Thus St. Jerome remarks: "In Judicum libro quot principes populi tot figuræ sunt,"[1] and we find this thought developed by St. Paul in the immortal chap. xi of the Epistle to the Hebrews. St. Augustine deals with this at great length when discussing the true character of some of the doings of Gedeon and Jephte: the authority of *Judges*, the solemn testimony of St. Paul to their merits, Heb. xi, the fact that it is expressly said that the Spirit of the Lord acted on Gedeon, all these things, says the Saint, make one chary of condemning any of their actions.[2] Again, Gedeon with his 300 and their lamps and pitchers is "magnum sacramentum" or a mysterious fact full of a Divine significance.[3] The story of his fleece and the dew could not have had significance for Gedeon alone; since the story is enshrined in God's Bible and someone was inspired to write it, it must have a Divine meaning, therefore a meaning for all time, and it is the reader's business to discover what such episodes can say to his soul.[4]

IV. The Date of the Composition of the Book and its Authorship.

Judges is clearly a compilation from documents, whether written or merely orally preserved; the two portions of the introduction, the various accounts of the Judges, the insertion of the story of Abimelech who was not a "Judge," and the two appendices, abundantly prove this. Yet the materials have been skilfully welded together, the moral purpose of the compiler serving to unify the whole, thus note the formula used in the case of nearly all the Judges to point out the fidelity of God and the infidelity of Israel. Jewish tradition[5] points to Samuel as the compiler, but modern inter-

[1] *Ep.* liii. 8. [2] *Quæst. in Heptat.* VII xlix.

[3] *Enarr.* i. 32 in Ps. lxvii.

[4] *Enarr.* i. 11 on Ps. xlv, i. 9 on Ps. lxxi, *De Unitate*, 10, etc.

[5] *Baba Bathra*, xiv. 6 "Samuel wrote his book, and the Book of Judges and the Book of Ruth." This may enshrine an ancient tradition, but it can hardly be quoted as an authority.

preters are inclined to attribute its ultimate compilation to the time of the *Scribes after the return* from the Captivity. Mediæval tradition, *e.g.* Hugo à S. Caro, *c.* A.D. 1240, referred it to the Scribes who worked for *Ezechias*, Prov. xxv. 1. But there is more evidence for attributing the compilation of the whole to Samuel than is commonly conceded. It would be hazardous to insist that the appendices are necessarily later than the body of the book,[1] but if they are so, then the frequent recurrence of the formula "in those days there was no king in Israel," xvii. 6, xviii. 1, 30, 31, xxi. 25, is noteworthy, for it shows that when the compiler worked there was a king of Israel. But when he attributes the disorders of the time to the want of a king we cannot but question whether he could have witnessed the miseries of the schism in 975. Further, i. 21, xix. 10, he speaks of Jerusalem as "Jebus," and says that the Jebusites still inhabited it "until this present day"; he wrote, then, before David expelled the Jebusites, 2 Sam. v. Moreover, he could hardly have spoken so enthusiastically of a king had he witnessed the deplorable struggle between David and Saul. This would indicate the time of Samuel, and a comparison between 1 Sam. xii. 8-15, and Judg. ii. 11-23, shows a remarkable affinity between *Samuel* and the compiler of *Judges*. The references to the house of God in Silo and to the presence there of the Ark, xx. 18-27, show the early date of the story, while the qualification "At that time the Ark of the Lord was there" indicates that when the compiler wrote the Ark was no longer there, *cf.* 1 Sam. iv 11. Similarly there is no trace in *Judges* of any conflict with Assyria or Egypt unless it be the oppression by Cushan Rishathaim, iii. 8-10.

But while conceding the compilatory character of the book it is impossible to deny the reality of the living pictures thus preserved for us. The stories of Samson, Ehud, Jephte and Deborah must always rank among the most forceful

[1] As matter of fact these appendices are inserted by Josephus, *Ant.* V. ii. 8-iii. 2, immediately after his paraphrase of chap. i. As we have remarked elsewhere Josephus treats the Bible with a freedom which, were it not for the evidence of the earlier Septuagint version, would almost lead us to think that his Bible differed very materially from ours in arrangement.

pieces of character-painting in all literature. The fact, too, that the same must be said of the story of Abimelech who has no place among the "Judges" shows clearly that *Judges* is not merely a collection of idealized portraits of deliverers of Israel.

One factor in any estimate of the date at which the original documents were written must not be overlooked. In xviii. 30 we are told that it was a grandson of Moses[1] who ministered in the tabernacle set up in Dan, and this well accords with the early date assigned to all the events narrated in the book. And when the compiler adds that "his sons were priests in the tribe of Dan down to the day of their captivity" we should be tempted to refer this to the harrying of Dan and Nephtali and the deportation of many of them at the hands of Tiglath Pileser, *c.* 740 B.C., were it not that Josephus takes for granted that there was some earlier captivity not recorded in the Bible when he says that they were oppressed by Chusan Risathaim, *Ant.* V. iii. 1-2, *cf.* Judg. iii. 8-10.

A study of *Josue* and *Judges* will show that the conquest of the land by the Hebrews was a very slow process the salient features in which are alone given us. The stories preserved in the appendix possess a peculiar interest in that they take us as it were behind the scenes and afford us glimpses of the everyday life the ordinary men and women were leading during those days of gradual penetration and Hebraization of the land. The student of the history cannot but regret that similar glimpses are not afforded into the daily lives of the Canaanites, Moabites, etc.

Petrie has proposed an arrangement of the various "judgeships" which would reduce the whole period covered by the book to about 120 years.[2] But Egyptologists have, as a rule, small respect for Biblical data, least of all for chronological details, and Jephte's statement, when he was claiming a prescriptive right to the land, that his people had dwelt in it for 300 years, xi. 26, *cf.* *Ant.* V. vii. 9, cannot be simply thrown overboard.

[1] For the treatment meted out to this text by the Massoretes see vol. i., p. 163.

[2] *P.S.B.A.* xviii (1896), *The Period of the Judges*, pp. 243-249; *cf.* his *History of Egypt*, iii, pp. 115 and 222.

Modern critics of course trace the fatal hand of the "Deuteronomist" in *Judges*:

"The sweeping condemnation of the whole period—Israel forsook its own God, Yahweh, and worshipped the Baals and Astartes of Canaan—and the religious pragmatism which makes unfaithfulness to Yahweh the one unfailing cause of national calamity and return to Him the signal for deliverance, are characteristic of the historiography of the end of the seventh century and in still more marked degrees of the sixth century, under the influence of Deuteronomy, the prophets Jeremiah and Ezekiel and the Exile itself."[1]

V. The Septuagint Version.

The Septuagint text of *Judges* has many interesting features.[2] Thus numbers differ from those in the Hebrew, *e.g.* "thirty-two" three times over in x. 4 for "thirty"; in xiv. 10 some copies have inserted "seven" days, *cp.* verse 15, yet in the last-named verse the LXX has "on the fourth day" instead of the seventh. The chariots of iron always seem to have presented a difficulty[3] and בִּירֶכֶב בַּרְזֶל becomes ὅτι Ρεχὰβ διεστείλατο ἀυτοῦς. In i. 27 we read of Bethsan ἥ ἐστι Σκυθῶν Πόλις, a designation due to a much later time. In iv. 8 Barac adds "for I know not the day on which the Lord may send His Angel with me." In i. 16 the sons of the Cinites are identified with the sons of Jethro the Cinite.[4]

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[1] Moore in the *Encycl. Biblica*, *s.v. Judges*.

[2] See note on xi. 14-15.

[3] See note on Jos. xvii. 16.

[4] The Septuagint text can be most conveniently studied in Swete's edition; but see also *The Book of Judges in Greek according to the Text of Codex Alexandrinus*, Brooke and Maclean, Cambridge University Press, 1897; also Lagarde, *Septuaginta-Studien*, i. 1 *ff.*, 1892.

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THE BOOK OF RUTH

I. The Contents and Purpose of the Book.
II. Its Date.
III. Various Points of Interest.
IV. Modern Critical Views.
V. Bibliography.

I. Contents and Purpose of the Book.

This little book contains the story of a Moabitess who had married Mahalon, i. 2, iv. 10, the son of Noemi, a beautiful woman of Bethlehem, who in a time of famine, i. 6, had passed over into Moab. Ruth, on the death of Noemi's husband and two sons, insists on accompanying her on her return to Bethlehem. For this constancy she is rewarded by being married to Booz of the tribe of Juda, and thus becoming the mother of Obed the father of Isai (Jesse), the father of David. The book opens with the words: "In the days of one of the Judges," and reads like Judg. xvii-xxi, the appendix. It affords us a glimpse of pastoral life among the Hebrews in a time of peace; it also shows what their marriage customs were.

II. The Date of the Book.

That the story belongs to a very early period is admitted by everyone, though it does not necessarily follow that it was written at the same early date. Arguments for assigning its composition to a post-Exilic date are, however, insufficient. Thus in i. 1 the story is presented as having happened in a remote past, but if, as many

think, Samuel wrote the book,[1] and if the events took place "in the days of the Judges," we should have a sufficiently long interval. Similarly the marriage customs are narrated as archaic, iv. 7, and practically accord with Deut. xxv. 5-10. Certain affinities with the Books of Samuel should be noted; thus the expression in i. 17, iii. 13, "the Lord do so and so to me and add more," frequently occurs in *Samuel*, *e.g.* 1 Sam. iii. 17, etc. God is also spoken of as "the Almighty," Shaddai, a term apparently confined to the earlier books.

Ruth was always held in veneration by the Hebrews who, for liturgical reasons, placed it among the Hagiographa, and classed it as one of the five "Megilloth" or "rolls," *viz. Canticles*, *Ecclesiastes*, *Lamentations*, *Esther* and *Ruth*; they thus separated it from *Judges* which in the Vulgate it follows immediately. So, too, implicitly Josephus who reckoned it as one with *Judges*.[2] In *Baba Bathra*, xiv. 6, *Ruth* is placed first among the Hagiographa, even before *Psalms*. The Jews read it at Pentecost.

III. Various Points of Interest.

It is possible to refer the famine mentioned in i. 1, to that which took place during the Midianite invasion which Gedeon repelled, Judg. vi. 3-4; possibly, too, the retirement of Noemi into Moab may have been due to the Moabite invasion, Judg. iii. 12-30. There would seem to be a connection between David's Moabitic descent through Ruth and the fact that when himself in straits he sent his parents to Moab for succour, 1 Sam. xxii. 3-4. In addition to the references to the marriage customs, note the Levirate law, iii. 9, 12, iv. 1-10; the connection between the right to buy the field and the consequent duty of carrying out the Levirate law is not brought out in Deut. xxv. 5-10, but *cf.* Lev. xxv. 25. The judgement in the city gate should be compared with 2 Sam. xv. 2 and xix. 8. Note also the salutation in ii. 4, and the beautiful expression in ii. 12, "the Lord . . . under whose wings thou art fled."

[1] In the Talmudic treatise *Baba Bathra*, xiv. 6.

[2] Josephus, *contra Apion*, i. 8, gives the number of books of the Bible as twenty-two; this he could only do by grouping *Ruth* with *Judges*.

St. Jerome says: "Ruth the Moabitess fulfils the prophecy of Isaias: 'Send forth, O Lord, the Lamb, the Ruler of the earth, from Petra of the desert to the mountain of the daughter of Sion';"[1] and again: "Ruth and Esther and Judith are of such glory as to have given their names to sacred volumes."[2]

IV. Modern Critical Views.

Modern critics assign the book to the period after the Exile and even to a time considerably removed from that date.[3] The archaic forms are regarded by them as "conscious archaisms,"[4] and the genealogy of David at the close is supposed to be a later addition.[5] Others, on the contrary, maintain that the Hebrew of the book is remarkably pure.[6] The modern attitude can hardly be better expressed than in the words of Ewald: "We have here a narrator of a perfectly individual character who, without anxiously concealing by his language all traces of the later age in which he wrote, had obviously read himself into the spirit of the ancient works both of history and of poetry, and thus produces a very striking imitation of the older work on the kings."[7] Perhaps the climax in criticism is reached, however, when it is seriously maintained that this

[1] *Ep.* liii. 8. [2] *Ep.* lxv. 1.

[3] *E.B. s.v. Ruth.*

[4] Thus the personal pronoun in its archaic form אָנֹכִי seven times, in the ordinary form אֲנִי twice, see Cheyne in *E.B. s.v. Ruth*, Driver, *L.O.T.*, 6th ed., pp. 454-455.

[5] Driver, *l.c.*

[6] Margoliouth, *H.D.B.* iii. 32. It is curious that the use of the abbreviated form of the relative, ־שֶׁ for אֲשֶׁר, should be accounted a proof of a late date, or at least of origin in the northern kingdom, *E.B. l.c.*, for that would demand that *Judges* should be referred solely to the northern kingdom, see note on Judg. v. 7; in *Ruth* only the full form occurs.

[7] *History of Israel*, i, p. 154. A certain affinity with 1 *Samuel* will appear from a comparison between Ruth i. 17, the adjuration, and 1 Sam. iii. 17 and on ten other occasions; iv. 4 and 1 Sam. ix. 15; iv. 15 and 1 Sam. i. 8; i. 19 and 1 Sam. iv. 5; iv. 1 and 1 Sam. xxi. 3; ii. 3 and 1 Sam. vi. 9, xx. 6.

story of a marriage of a Hebrew with a Moabitess was meant as a protest against the marriage reforms instituted by Esdras, Esdr. ix.[1]

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[1] So Kuenen, quoted in *E.B. s.v. Ruth.*

THE BOOKS OF SAMUEL AND KINGS

I. General Introduction.
II. Main Divisions of the Four Books.
III. Certain Noteworthy Features in the Four Books.
IV. The Question of their Authorship.
V. The Supernatural Character of the Books.
VI. The Typical Character of the Kings of Juda.
VII. The Chronology.
VIII. 1 Samuel: Analysis and Notes.
IX. 2 Samuel: Analysis and Notes.
X. 3 Kings: Analysis and Notes.
XI. Chronological Table.
XII. 4 Kings: Analysis and Notes.
XIII. Chronological Tables.
XIV. The Historical Trustworthiness of these Narratives.
XV. Bibliography.

I. General Introduction.

Just as *Josue* and *Judges* are dependent upon the Pentateuch, so are the Books of Kings dependent upon the preceding books. Just as *Ruth* and the appendix to *Judges* really form supplements to the history already given, so too the early portions of the Books of Kings; for there is nothing to distinguish between the rôles of Eli and Samuel on the one hand and those of Jephte and Samson, for example on

the other—they are all "Judges." At the same time the advent of Samuel marks a transition, the Theocracy is coming to a close and the *Monarchical rule* is at hand.

The four books have not the same author; the two former ones constituted one book, *Samuel*, שְׁמוּאֵל, the two latter another, *Kings*, מְלָכִים. In the Septuagint all four have the common title of Βασιλειῶν, "kingdoms"; in the Hebrew text, and in the majority of versions made direct from the Hebrew, the two former are known as the Books of Samuel, the two latter as the Books of Kings; thus the *Second* Book of Kings in the mouth of a non-Catholic corresponds to the Catholic's *Fourth* Book.

II. The Main Divisions into which the Four Books fall.

A. 1 Sam. i-vii. The story of Samuel, *c.* 1150-1060;[1] the Philistine oppression; failure of the government by "Judges."

B. viii-xxxi. The founding of the monarchy.

viii-x. The election of Saul at the wish of the people. xi-xv. His early victories; his subsequent failure; his rejection by God. xvi-xxxi. David is anointed at the express command of God; the consequent struggle between "God's chosen" and the chosen of the people. Death of Saul and Jonathan, B.C. 1055.

C. 2 Sam. i-xx. The consolidation of the kingdom in the line of David.

i-iv. David's rule at Hebron, 1055-1048. v-xx. At Jerusalem, 1047-1015. v-x. His prosperity. xi-xx. His sin and its consequences.

D. An appendix containing.

xxi. 1-14. An account of the famine due to the sins of Saul; sacrifice of the surviving sons of Saul. 15-22. Heroic doings in the wars with the Philistines. xxii. 1-51. David's psalm of thanksgiving, an interesting recension of Ps. xvii. xxiii. 1-7. David's "last words." 8-39. A catalogue of his heroes. xxiv. 1-25. David's census of the people with an account of the Divine punishment inflicted for the pride involved in this act; his repentance; the threshing-floor of Areuna, probably the site of the Temple.

E. 3 Kings i-xi. The reign of Solomon, B.C. 1015-975.

i-ii. His enthronement; the death of David. iii-iv. Solomon's marriage; his Divinely-bestowed wisdom; his officers, riches, etc. v-viii. The building and dedication of the Temple, B.C. 1012. ix-x. God's promise of fidelity to him and his stock; his relations with Hiram of Tyre and with the Pharao of Egypt; his piety, riches, and

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[1] These figures are of course only approximate.

his fleet; the visit of the Queen of Sheba; again of his fleet and his riches. xi. Solomon's fall; punishment is threatened; his adversaries: Adad, Razon and Jeroboam; the prophecy of Ahias to Jeroboam; death of Solomon.

F. 3 Kings xii-4 Kings xvii. The history of the schism and of the divided kingdom.

xii-xiv. The history of Roboam, B.C. 953-932, and Jeroboam, 953-927. xv. Abiam, 932-929, and Asa, 929-871, in Juda, Nadab, 927-925, and Baasa, 925-901, in Israel; Asa makes an alliance with Benhadad of Syria against Israel.

xvi-4 Kings ix. History of the House of Achab, B.C. 899-843. xvi. Of Baasa, Ela, Zambri, and Amri, father of Achab. xvii-4 Kings ii. The story of Elias. xx-xxii. The Syrian war, with the episode of Naboth's vineyard. xxii. Of Josaphat, king of Juda, 871-848. 4 Kings ii-viii, xiii. The story of Eliseus. iii. The war with Moab. 4 Kings ix-xv. The history of the House of Jehu in Israel, 843-749. xi. The usurpation by Athalia in Juda, 843-837, daughter of Achab and Jezebel; her death, Josias succeeds her, 837-797. xii. The restoration of the Temple. xiii-xiv. Joachaz, 816-798, and Joas, 798-790, in Israel; Eliseus; Amasias, 797-763, in Juda; Jeroboam II, 790-749, in Israel. xv. Azarias, 763-740, and Joatham, 740-734, in Juda; Zacharias, 749, the last of the House of Jehu; Sellum, Menahem, Phaceia and Phacee, a series of usurpers in Israel, 748-722. xvi. Achaz, 734-726, in Juda, he wars with Israel and Syria, he makes a league with Tiglath-Pileser against them. xvii. Osee, 730-722, reigns in Israel; Samaria is taken by the Assyrians, 722, and the tribes of the northern kingdom are deported to Assyria.

G. 4 Kings xviii-xxv. The history of the southern kingdom to the fall of Jerusalem in 586 B.C.

xviii-xx. The reign of Ezechias, 726-697; Sennacherib, 705-681, invades Palestine, his threats against Jerusalem, an angel slays 85,000 of the Assyrians; sickness of Ezechias, the ambassadors of the Babylonian, Merodach-Baladan, visit him; for his complaisance in the proposed alliance with Babylon, Isaias is instructed to foretell to Ezechias the Babylonian captivity.

xxi. Reigns of Manasses, 697-642, and Amon, 642-640.

xxii-xxiii. Reign of Josias, 640-609; restoration of the Temple, discovery of the Book of the Law; his reform, the great Passover is celebrated; Josias is slain by Nechao, Joachaz succeeds him, 609.

xxiv-xxv. Reigns of Joachim, 609-597, Joachin, 597, and Sedecias, 597-586; sieges of the city by Nabuchodonosor, its fall in 586 B.C.; Godolias the governor is slain; Evil-Merodach raises up Joachin in captivity, 561 B.C.

III. Certain Noteworthy Features in the Four Books.

The peculiar features of this compilation will best appear from an examination of the following facts:

(*a*) The four books cover a period of 538 years, or from

B.C. *c.* 1100 to 562; but this period is very unequally divided over the four books, thus:

1 Samuel covers from			1100-1055.
2 Samuel	,,	,,	1055-1014.
3 Kings	,,	,,	1014-889.
4 Kings	,,	,,	889-562.

(*b*) While 1 *Samuel* is concerned with Samuel, Saul, and David, 2 *Samuel* is concerned with David only. Again, 3 *Kings* treats of Solomon and the first four of his descendants as well as of the first seven kings of Israel; 4 *Kings*, on the other hand, treats of the thirteen remaining kings of Juda and the remaining twelve kings of Israel.

(*c*) The Books of Samuel and the Books of Kings are compiled on very different principles; thus in *Samuel* we have the plain history set before us, the compiler gives us no hint as to his own views, he neither praises nor condemns, nor does he tell us what sources he has used. In *Kings*, on the other hand, the biographical character disappears, it is not so much the monarchs as the monarchy which interests the author; moreover, he is scrupulous in assigning the sources whence he has drawn his material, he mentions the *Acts* of Solomon once, those of the kings of Juda fifteen times, those of Israel eighteen times, only omitting to refer to the *Acts* of Ochozias and the three last kings of Juda, and to those of Osee and Joram of Israel. These *Acts* are cited according to a definite formula which will repay study. In the opening formula for each king of Juda, except Achaz, 4 Kings xvi. 1, and Joram, viii. 16, he gives the name of his mother; but he does not do so for the kings of Israel. The closing formula is always adverse to the kings of Israel; but kings of Juda are condemned or praised according to the standard laid down in Deut. xii. 2-3. The place of burial of most of the kings of Juda is mentioned; Ezechias seems to have been the last king buried in the tomb of David. Lastly, a brief account is given of the king's deeds as well as of the sources of information used by the compiler.

(*d*) Unlike the author of 3-4 *Kings*, the compiler of 1-2 *Samuel* does not indicate the sources whence he derived his information; but from 1 Paral. xxvii. 24, where we read of "the chronicles of King David," also from xxix. 29, where

we are told that Samuel, Nathan and Gad, were responsible for these same "chronicles," we can conclude that the compiler made use of first-hand sources, namely the chronicles apparently kept at every court, see more in *Introduction* to *Chronicles*. For an interesting indication of the different character of the Hebrew text which the Septuagint translators used, see the additions in the Septuagint of 2 Sam. viii. 7 and xiv. 27.

(*e*) The compiler of 3-4 *Kings* has given us a wonderful proof of the pains he took; the synchronistic history of Juda and Israel, 2 Kings xii–4 Kings xvii, is made up of short historical epitomes abstracted from the annals of the two kingdoms, with longer narratives inserted touching the two great Prophets Elias and Eliseus, for whose history he indicates no authorities. In this synchronous history he takes each kingdom in turn, states all that is requisite for the presentation of a particular reign, and then passes to the contemporary king in the other kingdom; the accession year of each king is dated by the regnal year of his contemporary. These Old Testament chroniclers did not write history as we do, yet they accomplished a task which, putting aside all question of its inspired character, is unique; we have absolutely nothing like it in the world. Babylonia and Assyria, Egypt and Asia Minor, have in these latter years given us of their stores, but amongst all the inscriptions, etc., which have been unearthed there is absolutely nothing which can be dignified with the name of history.

(*f*) But while *Samuel* is cast in a different mould from *Kings*, and while the authors of the two collections are different, the moral unity between them must not be overlooked. For the underlying note of the four books is that, however unfaithful man may be, yet God always remains faithful to His promises. This is the thread which runs through all four volumes—if we may so term them—and this, perhaps, is precisely the revealed doctrine for the preservation of which the authors were inspired to write as they did. This undercurrent of thought gives such homogeneity to the whole that some have even supposed that a subsequent author must have revised the whole in order to bring this idea into full prominence.

(*g*) The moral purport of the four books and the unity of

thought which thus governs them is clearly shown in the orderly way in which the history develops:

(1) The rejection of the theocracy.

(2) The institution of the people's king.

(3) His failure.

(4) The institution of the king "after God's own heart."

(5) The Divine promise of perpetuity to his race; for its material fulfilment this promise is dependent on their fidelity; its spiritual fulfilment is unconditional.

(6) The remaining portions of the books tell of the people's infidelity, but of God's steadfastness.

(7) The rest of Israel's history consists in their expiation of their fault, and in the gradual working out of the Divine promises.

(*h*) Further, the moral significance of the history is strikingly apparent in the sketch of the kingdom of Israel given us in 3 Kings xvi-4 Kings xvii. The author seems absorbed in the fortunes of the northern kingdom; thus in 3 Kings xvi-4 Kings ix he is occupied with the House of Achab, then in 4 Kings ix-xiv with the House of Jehu; in xv-xvi he tells of the decay of the kingdom, and in xvii of its fall. The framework of the whole seems to be the prophetical history of Elias and Eliseus; while the governing thought seems to be the presentation of God's attitude towards the two kingdoms shown mainly in the Prophets raised up to correct them. As this merciful correction was far more needed in Israel, so it was more wonderfully displayed there; so, too, the fall of the northern kingdom served as a moral lesson to which the author could point and which should have served to save Juda; note the author's moral reflections on Israel's fall, xvii, and compare the very brief reflections on that of Juda, xxiv. 2, 20.

IV. The Authorship of 1-4 Kings.

Who the final author of 1-2 *Samuel* was, it is, of course, impossible to decide; that it was not Samuel is clear from the fact that his death is told in 1 Sam. xxv; we have already indicated the sources of which he made use.

As for 3-4 *Kings*, it has been suggested that Jeremias the Prophet was the author, and though this cannot be proved,

it is yet not improbable. Thus, (*a*) Jeremias is the only contemporary Prophet whose name is not mentioned in 3-4 *Kings*. (*b*) 4 Kings xxv gives in almost exactly the same terms as Jer. lii, the story of the capture of Jerusalem by the Babylonians. (*c*) The moral burden of his prophecy and of 3-4 *Kings* is practically the same, namely the faithfulness of God and the unfaithfulness of the Davidic House, note the remarkable similarity between the promises made to the Davidic House in 3 Kings viii. 24-25, ix. 5, and in Jer. xiii. 13, xvii. 23, and xxxiii. 17. Compare also the threats regarding the future destruction of the Temple in 3 Kings ix. 8, Jer. xviii. 16, xix. 8, xxii. 8, and Lam. ii. 15.

V. The Supernatural Side of the Books of Kings.

David is a "theocratic king," that is he reigns essentially as God's vicegerent; hence he has, besides his purely historical character, a typical character. The Jewish nation was always and before all things the "Chosen People," not because they were chosen for their own sake, but for the world's sake, Exod. xix. 5-6, Deut. iv, vii. 1-10, etc. And the position which Israel held with respect to the rest of the 'nations" had its counterpart in that held by their divinely appointed king. He was the mediator between the people and their God, 2 Sam. xxiv. 17. He was also the head of all the nations, 2 Sam. xxii. 44, Ps. xxi. 28-29, lxxi. 8-11, etc. From the purely human point of view David's sin and its consequences are the central feature of the Books of Samuel; from the spiritual point of view, 2 Sam. vii is the key-note to his reign and to the whole subsequent history. There we are told of God's wonderful promises to David: *an eternal throne is promised to him and his children for ever*; the reflection of this is the key to much of the Psalter, Ps. xv, xxi, xliv, lxxxviii, cix, and especially cxxxi. But there is another side to this picture: "The gifts and the calling of God are without repentance," but man's co-operation is uncertain. In the conflict between these two facts are comprised the whole subsequent history of Israel and of the Church of God. Man, whose co-operation God deigned to regard as necessary, failed; yet not therefore did God fail. His promises will be fulfilled, not indeed in the same way

as they would have been fulfilled had Israel remained faithful, but in God's own way, and in a spiritual manner. Thus, only a few years after these promises had been made to David, Roboam by his foolish conduct brought about the schism and the tribes were rent asunder. The apostate nation was punished again and again, Samaria was blotted out—the lesson had no effect on Juda; Jerusalem was then blotted out and the stock of David was purified in the furnace of Babylonia; they came back haters of idolatry, but even then the old leaven was far from being thoroughly purged away, so that at last the Romans "came and took away their place and nation." But meanwhile the promises of God were being silently fulfilled and the tragedy of Calvary was the salvation of the world. It was the function of the Prophets to insist on this spiritual fulfilment of the promises; the failure of the carnal-minded Jews to realize it led to their persecution of the Prophets and to their own ultimate rejection, Isa. vii. 14, Jer. xxx-xxxiii, Dan. ix, Zach. ix. 9, Mal. i. 11, iii. 1-4, etc.

VI. The Typical Character of the Kings of Juda.

This can only be appreciated in the light of the foregoing. Just as the nation itself was a type or figure of the Church so was the anointed king a figure or type of the Head of the Church. He was anointed in a special manner, 1 Sam. xvi. 13, 2 Sam. ii. 4, v. 3, 3 Kings i. 34-39; hence his title of "Christus" or "anointed," in Hebrew "Messiah." What David and his children, then, were in figure, He whom they represented was in reality, the Christ, "the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world." This typical character of the Davidic stock is well shown in those passages of the Prophets which speak of the future Messias as "David," Ezech. xxxiv. 23, xxxvii. 24-25, Os. iii. 5, Jer. xxx. 9, etc. See also the use made all through the latter part of Isaias of the expression "Servant of the Lord."

VII. The Chronology.

That of 1-2 *Samuel* is obscure, but the following points should be noted:

(*a*) In Judg. xiii. 1 the Philistine oppression is said to have lasted 40 years; possibly the Judgeship of Samson, xv. 20, coincides with the first 20 years of this period, while that of Heli may have coincided with the last 20 years, so that the oppression would have ceased with the battle of Ebenezer, 1 Sam. vii.

(*b*) Saul was apparently young when elected; the enigmatical "two years" in xiii. 1, is given as "thirty years" in some Greek versions; anyhow Jonathan was a full-grown warrior at the battle of Machmas, xiii-xiv.

(*c*) David may have been of about the same age as Jonathan, he was certainly 30 when he began to reign in Hebron, 2 Sam. v. 4.

(*d*) These considerations make it probable that there is a considerable gap between chaps. ix and xiii; such a gap would explain the defection of Saul, otherwise remarkably sudden.

We suggest as a working chronology the following scheme:

B.C. 1150. Birth of Samuel.
B.C. 1137. His "call."
B.C. 1127. Death of Eli, and battle of Ebenezer, 1 Sam. iv.
B.C. 1127-1107. A period of oppression by the Philistines, vii. 2.
B.C. 1107-1089. Samuel's Judgeship; battle of Masphath, 1107, end of the Philistine oppression.
B.C. 1089-1079 (?). Judgeship of Samuel's sons.
B.C. 1079. Saul elected.
B.C. 1065. David anointed.
B.C. 1059. Death of Samuel.
B.C. 1055. Death of Saul.

The Chronology of David's Reign.—We have little to guide us, yet certain points may serve to indicate the lapse of time; thus in iv. 4, Mephiboseth, son of Saul, is only five years old, but in ix. 12, when David becomes acquainted with him, he already has a son. Further, Solomon would seem to have been born very shortly after David's sin, yet he was certainly young at the time of his accession, 3 Kings iii. 7,

1 Paral. xxii. 5; Josephus, indeed, says he was only 14 years old, see 1 Paral. iii. 5, which makes him the youngest of Bathsheba's children. Again, the famine, xxi, was because of the House of Saul, and therefore belongs to a period subsequent to David's meeting with Miphiboseth, ix; yet it was apparently antecedent to Absalom's rebellion, for Semei seems to make allusion to the cruel slaughter of the sons of Saul, xvi. 7-8. Lastly, the whole picture of David's last years and of Solomon's early years shows that David's reign closed in peace. These various indications permit of the following working chronology:

B.C. 1055-1048. David at Hebron.
B.C. 1052. Birth of Absalom.
B.C. 1050 1048. Civil war between the adherents of David and those of Saul.
B.C. 1048-1015. David at Jerusalem.
B.C. 1045-1035. Period of foreign wars. About this time, too, the famine may have taken place.
B.C. 1035 (?). David's sin.
B.C. 1034. Murder of Amnon.
B.C. 1023. Absalom's rebellion.
B.C. 1023-1015. Period of tranquillity during which we should probably place the census and the consequent plague, xxiv.
B.C. 1015. David's death.

The accompanying chronological tables may prove useful. But note:

(*a*) That the Hebrews often used round numbers, as the recurrence of the number 40 seems to indicate; compare the statements on the *Moabite Stone* with the chronological details regarding Achab in 2 Kings xvi.

(*b*) There are certain patent contradictions in the text as it now stands, compare the data furnished in 4 Kings xv. 30, 32, xvi. 1 and xvii. 1.

(*c*) The Assyrian *Eponym Canon* shows us that Achab took part in the battle of Qarqar in 854 B.C., and therefore did not die in 898 B.C.; also that Jehu paid tribute to Shalmaneser II in 842, and therefore did not die in 856; lastly that Menahem paid tribute to Tiglath-Pileser in 738. Whence it seems certain that the chronology drawn up by Archbishop Ussher by adding together the regnal years of the various kings is practically forty years too early at many points. Hence chronologists have drawn up a revise

Chronological Table: Saul to Solomon.

Dates.	*Palestine.*	*Babylonia.*	*Assyria.*	*Egypt.*
1095	**Saul** (Acts xiii. 21). Naas, King of Ammon (1 Sam. xi. 1). Agag, King of Amalec (1 Sam. xv. 32).	Nebuchadnezzar I, *c.* 1145-1122. Marduk-nadin-akhe, *c.* 1100.	Tiglath-Pileser I, *c.* B.C. 1115-1103.	Dyn. XXI, *c.* B.C. 1102-952.
1055	**David** reigns at Hebron.			
1047	**David** reigns at Jerusalem. Hiram, King of Tyre. Hanun, King of Ammon.		Shalmaneser II, *c.* 1030-1019.	
1015	**Solomon.**			
1012	The Temple is begun (3 Kings vi. 1).			

chronology which may be accepted in its broad lines though the details are disputable. It at least removes the *interregna* which we have otherwise to admit in the series of kings of the northern kingdom.

(*d*) St. Jerome's advice is practical: "Read once more all the books of the Old Testament, and you will find such discrepancies in the years, such a confusion of numbers between Juda and Israel, that is between their respective kingdoms, that it would seem rather the business of a lazy man than of a studious man to occupy himself with such a question."[1]

VIII. The First Book of Samuel: Analysis and Notes.

Analysis of 1 Samuel.

A. i-iii. The early life of Samuel.

i. 1-23. His conception and birth.

ii. 1-10. The *Canticle of Anna*;[2] 11-17, the sins of the sons of Heli; 18-26, growth of Samuel; 27-36, "a man of God" denounces the negligence of Heli with regard to his sons; iii. 1-21, the call of Samuel.

B. iv-viii. The loss of the Ark; the Philistine domination.

iv. 1-22. The Philistines capture the Ark; v. 1-vii. 6, the Ark at Azotus, Accaron, Bethsames and Cariathiarim. vii. 7-15. Defeat of the Philistines at Masphath; 16-17, a summary of Samuel's work; viii. 1-22, the demand for a king.

C. ix-xv. The reign of Saul, his early successes, his failure.

ix. 1-x. 27. The call of Saul, he is anointed and solemnly dedicated; xi. 1-15, he defeats the Ammonites; xii. 1-15, Samuel's final adjuration, he demands fidelity to their king. xiii. 1-xiv. 46. Battles in Gabaa and Machmas; xiv. 47-52, Saul's victories over Moab, Ammon, Edom, Soba and the Philistines. xv. 1-35. The destruction of Amalec by Saul; his final disobedience.

D. xvi-xxxi. The history of David; his conflict with Saul and his gradual rise to power.

xvi. 1-13. David is anointed; 14-23, Saul's madness; xvii. 1-58, renewed war with the Philistines, Goliath is slain; xviii. 1-30, David's friendship with Jonathan; Saul's jealousy of David's reputation, but he gives him his daughter Michol in marriage; xix. 1-17, Saul attempts

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[1] *Ep.* lxxii. 5.

[2] On the *Canticle of Anna* see St. Chrysostom, *P.G.* liv. 631-676, lxiv. 501-512; St. Cyril of Alexandria, *P.G.* lxxix. 1273-1276; Origen, *P.G.* xi. 995-1012; *R.B.*, July, 1907, for a critical study.

David's life and he flees; xix. 18-24, David goes to Samuel at Rama; xx. 1-43, the compact between David and Jonathan; xxi. 1-9, David to Nob, to Achimelech the priest who gives him the loaves of proposition; 10-15, he takes refuge with Achis king of Geth and feigns madness; xxii. 1-4, he goes to the cave of Odollam and thence to Moab where he places his parents in security; 6-23, at Saul's bidding Doeg the Edomite slays all the family of Achimelech except Abiathar who goes to David.

xxiii. 1-12. David in Ceila; 13-23, in the desert of Ziph; 24-28, in the desert of Maon; xxiv. 1-23, in Engaddi; xxv. 1-2, the death of Samuel, David in the desert of Pharan; 2-38, the story of Nabal and Abigail, David marries the latter, also Achinoam; Michol is given to Phalti. xxvi. 1-45. David again in the desert of Ziph; xxvii. 1-12, and again takes refuge with Achis of Geth. xxviii. 1-25. Hard pressed by the Philistines Saul consults the witch of Endor; Samuel appears and foretells his approaching doom; xxix. 1-11, the Philistines refuse to allow David to fight with them; xxx. 1-31, he defeats the Amalecites at Ceila; xxxi. 1-13, the defeat and death of Saul on Mount Gelboe.

NOTES.

i. 3, 7, 21, ii. 19. "The appointed days," *cf.* Exod. xxiii. 14-19, Lev. xxii, Deut. xvi.

i. 7. "The Temple" better "House of the Lord," not the more technical היכל, a term generally used of the Temple of Solomon, but *cf.* iii. 3; in ii. 29, 32, the word here rendered "temple" is peculiar, and generally regarded as unintelligible.

i. 11. "The Lord of hosts," ii. 3, xvii. 45, this expression here occurs for the first time. Samuel was to be consecrated as a Nazarite, Num. vi, *cp.* the case of Samuel, Judg. vi. 7, and of St. John the Baptist, Luke i. 15.

ii. 10. "The horn of His Christ"; the "horn" is regarded as a symbol of power, Ps. lxxiv. 5-6. "Christ" or "the anointed" may stand here primarily for God's anointed people as in Ps. civ. 15, Heb. xi. 26, secondarily for Jesus the "Christ" *par excellence*, Hab. iii. 13; of Him the "anointed" kings were types, 1 Sam. xii. 5, xxiv. 7, xxvi. 9, etc. The *Canticle of Anna* must of course have been familiar to the Blessed Virgin, *cp.* her *Magnificat*, Luke i. 46-55, *R.B.*, July, 1907.

ii. 11-17. The sons of Heli infringed the law of Lev. vii. 30; though it will not therefore follow that that law then existed in its present written form, yet it does follow that a minute ritual legislation was already in force, there is no reason why it should not have been already committed to writing.

ii. 18. "A linen ephod." This "ephod" seems to have been the distinctive priestly garment, 1 Sam. xxii. 12, and in the case of Aaron and his sons was of peculiar splendour, Exod. xxviii. 4, xxxix. 2, where however St. Jerome renders it "superhumerale." In the case of Samuel, who did not belong to the Levitical priestly family, "Samuel Levita, non sacerdos, non Pontifex," St. Jerome, *Adv. Jovin.* i. 23, but was attached to the service of the sanctuary, Ps. xcviii. 6, this linen

ephod may have been a sort of alb. From many passages it seems clear that there was also an "ephod" which was not worn but carried, Judg. viii. 27, xvii. 5, xviii. 14, 17, 18, 20, and which became the centre of an idolatrous form of worship. Even in the time of David the High Priest possessed such an "ephod" from which in some way now unintelligible to us Divine responses were given, 1 Sam. xxiii. 6, xxx. 7, *cp.* xiv. 36-37, thus note how the priest speaks of the sword of Goliath as being "behind the ephod," xxi. 10. Josephus says that when Jonathan went on his unauthorized raid Saul "bade the High Priest take the garments of his High Priesthood and prophesy to him what success they should have," *Ant.* VI. vi. 3, also that David "desired the High Priest Abiathar to put on his sacerdotal garments and to enquire of God, and to prophesy to him," *ib.* xiv. 6. See *Expos. Times*, October, 1917, W. K. Arnold, *Ephod and Ark: A Study in the Records and Religion of the Ancient Hebrews*, 1917.

ii. 35. "A faithful priest," *cp.* iii. 20, "a faithful Prophet."

iii. 1. "No manifest vision," חָזוֹן, the common name for a "seer" was חֹזֶה, *cf.* Amos vii. 12-14, where however the terms Chozeh and Nabhi, נָבִיא, are regarded as interchangeable. In what this "manifest vision" consisted we do not know, see note on "ephod," ii. 18 and on ix. 9.

iv. 1. "Stone of help" in Hebrew "Ebenezer." This stone was only called so after the battle at Masphath, vii. 12; the writer is speaking from a later point in time, *cf.* "unto this day," v. 5.

iv. 8. The Philistines are said to have feared on hearing of the Exodus, Exod. xv. 14, Jos. ii. 10.

vi. 14. They slew the cattle on the stone so as to allow the blood to drain away, *cf.* Lev. xvii for the prohibition of eating blood, also 1 Sam. xiv. 33.

vi. 15. The Levites. Bethsames was a Levitical city, Jos. xxi. 16; the writer takes for granted that his readers will know this, an instance of undesigned coincidence.

vii. 2. "The twentieth year" presumably from the beginning of Samuel's judgeship.

vii. 14. The reference to the Amorrhites is unexpected; the Philistines were of course not Amorrhites.

vii. 17. Samuel apparently built an altar where he chose; nor can it be said that he infringed the Deuteronomic law, Deut. xii, in so doing, for the law of a central sanctuary there enacted is expressly said to come into force when "the Lord should have given them rest," *cp.* 3 Kings v. 3-4, viii. 16. Moreover the law of a central sanctuary did not preclude sacrifices for everyday needs of eating, Exod. xx. 21. For a summary account of Samuel's life see Ecclus. xlvi. 15-23.

viii. 5. This demand for a king is based apparently on dissatisfaction with the lives of the sons of Samuel who gave no promise of leading the people successfully. Such a demand meant however the end of the theocracy, verse 7, or direct government by God. Yet as a matter of fact God had always ruled them through His appointed vicegerents, Moses, Josue, and the successive Judges, xii. 6-11.

viii. 11. "The right," the right, that is, which he will, in keeping with other despots, arrogate to himself.

ix. 9. A very important statement: the "Prophet" or נָבִיא of the days when the writer of *Samuel* lived was, in the actual days of Samuel called a "seer" רֹאֶה. Yet נָבִיא, nabhi, is the word used throughout *Genesis*, *e.g.* xx. 7, also of Aaron as the mouthpiece of Moses, Exod. vii. 1, of Moses, Deut. xviii. 15, 18. The term רֹאֶה, rohe, is used of Samuel himself, v. 9, 11, 18, 19, and of the "seers" as a class, Isa. xxx. 10.

ix. 12, 14, 19. "The high place," see note on vii. 17. This worship on "the high places" בָּמוֹת, was afterwards condemned, when, that is, it became possible to enforce the Deuteronomic law, 3 Kings iii. 2, xxii. 44, 4 Kings xv. 35, xviii. 4, xxiii. 5-9, 19-20. The compiler of 3-4 Kings passes judgement on the various kings according as they removed or failed to remove these "high places." Modern critics see in such comments an echo of what they regard as the recently written *Deuteronomy*.

ix. 21. "The least tribe in Israel," *cf.* Judg. xx. 47-xxi.

x. 8. Galgal was regarded as a natural meeting-place since the events narrated in Jos. iv-v. "Seven days shalt thou wait"; the fulfilment of this is referred to xiii. 8, but it is impossible to fit in all the events narrated in x-xiii, *cf.* xi. 3.

x. 25. "The law of the kingdom," see Deut. xvii. 14-20; it is said to have been "written in a book," Exod. xvii. 14, see the references given in the note there.

xi. 8. The allusion to Israel and Juda would indicate that the compiler lived later than the schism under Roboam, 3 Kings xii. 16, *cf. infra* xv. 4, and note on 2 Sam. ii. 9.

xii. 11. Badan, probably a misprint for Barac as in the LXX version.

xii. 12. Compare the reason here assigned for their demand for a king with that given in vii. 5, the demand may have found fuller expression in this emergency.

xiii. 3. Note the term "Hebrews," verse 7, xiv. 11, 21, and *cp.* Gen. xl. 15.

xiii. 5. The extent of the Philistine domination appears from their presence east of Bethaven, *cf.* xiv. 23, xxxi.

xiii. 8. "Waited seven days," see note on x. 8.

xiii. 19-22. As the Hebrews had already fought against the Ammonites, xi, they must have had weapons; this may, then, be a summary statement describing in general terms the domination exercised by the Philistines.

xiv. 3.

HELI
|
Phinees
|
Achitob — Ichabod
|
Achias

Achias and Achimelech, xxi. 8, xxii. 20, are probably to be identified unless they were brothers and the latter succeeded the former.

xiv. 15. "A miracle," literally "a trembling" or an earthquake.

xiv. 18. It is somewhat remarkable that they should have ventured to take the Ark into battle again after their former loss of it, chap. v.

xiv. 33-34. It was a sin to eat blood, Lev. xvii. 10-15; for the stone see vi. 14, 18, and note.

xiv. 35. *Cp.* vii. 17. The meaning is that it was then that Saul began to erect an altar, with the apparent implication that he was exceeding his powers.

xiv. 50-51. The precise relation of Saul and Abner is not easy to discover. From the genealogies given here and 1 Paral. viii. 33, ix. 35, we can construct the following:

ABIEL (JEHIEL ?)

Cis — Ner

Saul — Abner

Thus Saul and Abner would be first cousins as the Vulgate of 1 Sam. xiv. 50 has it, and Ner would be Saul's uncle as in the Revised Version.

xv. 2. *Cp.* Exod. xvii and Deut. xxv. 17-19.

xv. 4. Note the reference to divided Israel, *cf.* xi. 8, xvii. 52.

xv. 6. The Cinite, *cf.* Num. x. 29, xxiv. 21-22, Judg. iv. 11.

xv. 12. *Cf.* x. 8, xiii. 8. Thus Saul twice failed, here in offering the holocaust without waiting for Samuel, also in appropriating the spoils of Amalec, xv. 9-31.

xvi. 18-21. David is here described as of "great strength and a man fit for war," also as fit to be Saul's armour-bearer; throughout xvii he is spoken of as a stripling who returns from Saul to his flock, verse 15, who is unable to walk in armour, verse 39, and as hitherto unknown to Saul, verses 55-58. Yet again, xviii. 5, he is promptly set over the soldiers. There is clearly some confusion in the text; the Vatican Codex (B) of the Septuagint cuts the knot by omitting xvii. 11-33, 55-xviii. 6 "the women came out," also xviii. 17-19; but Codex Alexandrinus retains the passages.

xvii. 31. This reads as though David had already formulated a challenge to Goliath, but nothing is said of it in the text.

xix. 23-24. Saul "prophesies" again, *cf.* x. 12.

xx. 5. "The new moon," *cf.* verses 18, 27, 29, 34, and *cp.* Num. xxviii, 2 Paral. ii. 4, Ps. lxxx. 4, Isa. i. 13, etc.; see note on i. 3.

xx. 15. Jonathan clearly knows the promises made to David, *cp.* xxiv. 21, xxv. 30.

xxvi. David again in the desert of Ziph, *cf.* xxiii. 13-23; this, with the two stories of how David spared Saul, xxiv. 4-23 and xxvi. 5-25, have suggested that the compiler of the narrative had divers accounts of the same episodes. It is easy to understand how a number of legendary accounts of David's exploits would circulate round camp-fires. Yet if we merely say that the compiler simply set down all that he heard and left it to us as he found it without discriminating between the false and the true, it is hard to discover wherein precisely consisted

the mental illumination which Divine inspiration demands, quite apart from the fact that he would be misleading us regarding facts. See the decision of the Biblical Commission, 1905, *Aids* i. (1926), p. 111.

xxviii. 15. Samuel appears, *cf.* Ecclus. xlvi. 23 and note St. Thomas, *Summa Theol.* I. lxxxix. 8 *ad* 2, II-II. xcv. 4 *ad* 2, clxxiv. 5 *ad* 4.

xxxi. Bethsan, later Scythopolis. Excavations of this site are now in progress, and amongst other things this very temple of Ashtoreth has been discovered, *R.B.*, January, 1928.

xxxi. 4. Assur-bani-pal in his *Annals* says of the grandson of Merodach Baladan when conquered by him :

"Inclined to despair, his death before him he did not regard,
And he longed for death ;
To his own armour-bearer he said, 'Slay me with the sword.'
He and his armour-bearer with the steel swords of their girdles
Pierced through each other" (*R.P.* i. 90).

IX. The Second Book of Samuel: Analysis and Notes.

A. i. 1-27. The death of Saul and Jonathan ; David's lament over them.

B. ii. 1-iv. David's reign in Hebron. ii. 1-7. He is crowned ; 8-iii. 1, war with the House of Saul ; iii. 2-5, the family of David ; iii. 6-39, the treachery of Abner against the House of Saul, his murder by Joab ; iv. 1-12, the murder of Isboseth, son of Saul.

C. v. 1-3 Kings ii. 11. The reign of David in Jerusalem. v-x. His prosperity ; xi-xx, his sin and its punishment ; xxi-xxiv, an appendix ; 3 Kings i-ii. 11, his last dispositions and death.

(*a*) v-x. David's prosperous reign.

v. 1-5. He is made king over Israel ; 6-9, the capture of Jerusalem ; 10-16, his prosperity and his family ; 17-25, victories over the Philistines ; vi. 1-23, the Ark is brought into Jerusalem ; vii. 1-29, he proposes to build the Temple ; God's promises to him of an everlasting kingdom, David's consequent prayer ; viii. 1-18, victories over the Philistines, Moabites, Syria, Ammon, Amalec and Edom ; ix. 1-13, he befriends Miphiboseth, son of Saul ; x. 1-19, victories over Ammon and Syria.

(*b*) xi-xx. David's sin and its punishment.

xi. 1-27. His sin, adultery and murder ; xii. 1-25, Nathan denounces his crimes and David repents ; the child of Bethsabee dies but Solomon is born ; 26-34, victories over Ammon. xiii. 1-21. The second punishment, the crime of Amnon ; he is slain by Absalom who flees, 22-38. Joab procures his return, xiv. 1-33. The third punishment : the rebellion of Absalom and consequent flight of David, xv. 1-37. Events of the flight : Miphiboseth, son of Saul, accused of treason, xvi. 1-4, *cp.* xix. 23-30 ; Semei curses David, 5-13, *cp.* xix. 16-23, 3 Kings ii. 33-46 ; the counsel of Achitophel who had gone over to Absalom, xv. 12, is defeated by Chusai, xvi. 14-xvii. 23. Absalom is slain, xviii. 1-18. David's grief, xviii. 19-xx. 8 ; his return in triumph to Jerusalem, xix. 9-39 ; the beginnings of a schism between Juda and Israel with the rebellion of Seba, xix. 40-xx. 26.

D. xxi-xxiv. A species of appendix. xxi. 1-14. The three years' famine, a punishment for Saul's slaughter of the Gabaonites, *cp.* Jos. ix. Its vindication; 15-22, details of the wars against the Philistines. xxii. 1-51. David's psalm of thanksgiving for his deliverance, especially from Saul. xxiii. 1-7. David's "last words"; 8-39, a catalogue of the valiant men who fought his battles. xxiv. 1-25. The numbering of the people, a consequent plague, which is stayed at the threshing-floor of Areuna.

NOTES.

i. 17. "The use of the bow"; the text is probably corrupt; not all Greek texts have the word "bow"; no Greek or Latin, still less the Hebrew, has "the use of." If the word "bow" is to stand we may understand "the song of the bow" as signifying perhaps the name of the song, as seems to be the case in the "titles" of some Psalms, *e.g.* Ps. xxi. Note the thrice-repeated refrain, verses 19, 25, and 27, and *cp.* Ps. xli-xlii, xlviii.

ii. 1. "Consulted the Lord," see note on 1 Sam. ii. 18.

ii. 9. The division between the House of Saul and that of David is not quite the same as that between Juda and the Ten Tribes under Roboam, for Benjamin was with Saul; Juda seems practically to have absorbed Simeon, as later it absorbed Benjamin, so that we have a natural cleavage between north and south. This crystallized into the great schism between the two kingdoms; the allusions to such a cleavage in 1 Sam. xi. 8, xv. 4, need not then be an anticipation of the schism, nor even prove that the compiler wrote after the schism under Roboam.

iii. 39. The sons of Sarvia. The influence exercised by these men over David may be explained by their origin. Sarvia and Abigail are described as sisters of David, 1 Paral. ii. 16, and daughters of Naas, king of the Ammonites, 2 Sam. xvii. 25. If then Sarvia had been the wife of the king of Ammon before marrying Jesse these three "sons of Sarvia" would be David's half-brothers, considerably older than himself, and of royal stock (Josephus, *Ant.* VI. xiii. 9, VII. x. 1).

v. 8. "Get up to the gutters of the tops of the houses," an attempt at translating St. Jerome's "tetigisset domatum fistulas"; the Hebrew has "whosoever shall smite the Jebusite and get up by the gutter." This gutter, צִנּוֹר, has been identified with the subterranean passage uniting Sion or the Jebusite acropolis with the Virgin's Fountain. For a study of it with detailed plans see Vincent, *R.B.*, October, 1911, January, July, October, 1912, July, 1924, also *Jerusalem sous terre*, and for a comparison with similar aqueducts or tunnels see *P.E.F.*, October, 1890, pp. 200, 330, 1891, pp. 16, 224, July, 1908.

The "Millo" may—if derived from a Hebrew root—mean "a filling up," in which case it may refer to some fortification on a dam across the Tyropœan valley. It may however be a Jebusite word, *cp.* Judg. ix. 6, 20; the Millo played an important part in the subsequent history of Jerusalem, 3 Kings ix. 15, 24, 4 Kings xii. 27, 2 Paral. xxxii. 5.

v. 9. The city of David occupied the south-east spur below the Temple mount. This was the ancient city of the Jebusites, modern Jerusalem lies to the north and west and does not now embrace the original

Jebusite city. This spur is known as Ophel, עֹפֶל or "the swelling," 2 Paral. xxvii. 3, xxxiii. 14, Neh. iii. 26-27, Isa. xxxii. 14, Mich. iv. 8; for a similar place in Samaria *cf.* 4 Kings v. 24, though in most of these passages the Hebrew text is obscured in the Vulgate and Douay versions. Recent excavations have revealed the Jebusite city, see *P.E.F.* from 1922 onwards, *R.B.*, October, 1911 and throughout 1912, October, 1921, July, 1924, July, 1927.

v. 18. The vale of Raphaim or of the Giants, to the south of Jerusalem; Jos. xv. 8-9, xviii. 16 show its position, Josephus, *Ant.* VII. xii. 4.

v. 20. Baal Pharasim or "Lord of divisions," a play on words; the Pharisees were "separatists," from the same root word.

vii. 8-17. The Divine promise to David. Its full Messianic import is not clearly brought out here, but in what sense David understood it appears from Ps. xv, lxxxviii and cxxxi.

viii. 17. Sadoc and Abiathar. These two appear to have been the chief priests throughout the reign of David. Abiathar seems to have been of the race of Ithamar, son of Phinees, while Sadoc was descended from Eleazar, son of Phinees. Abiathar adhered to Adonias, while Sadoc adhered to Solomon during David's last hours, 3 Kings i. 7-8; for his share in these events Abiathar was cast out and with him disappeared the House of Eli, 3 Kings ii. 27, *cp.* 8, 1 Sam. ii. 27-36. For the genealogies see 1 Paral. vi. 4-15, 50-53, xxiv. 3-6.

xxi. 8-9. In judging of this action we must bear in mind the spirit of the times and the "Lex talionis," "an eye for an eye," Exod. xxi. 24.

xxii. This Psalm appears, though in a slightly different recension, as Ps. xvii of the Psalter. It, the opening verses of the next chapter, the lament over Saul and Jonathan, i. 18-27, also over Abner, iii. 33-34, are sufficient, quite apart from the Psalter, to justify David's claim to be a poet.

xxiii. 1-2. Note the claim to inspiration by God, also, verse 5, the reminiscence of the promises made in chap. vii.

xxiii. 8. Some of these proper names have been translated by St. Jerome instead of being simply copied from the Hebrew text.

xxiv. 1. The Semites attribute every action to God as being the First Cause of all things. In 1 Paral. xxi. 1 this "stirring up" is attributed to Satan; theologically speaking it comes to the same thing since Satan could only act by the Divine permission. Whether we are to regard the change of expression as due to altered theological ideas may well be doubted, *cf.* Amos iii. 6, "Shall there be evil in the city which the Lord hath not done?"

xxiv. 18. Ornan's threshing-floor was the site of the Temple.

In this compendious account of the troubles which came upon David as punishment for his sin we can also trace the workings of human passions. The House of Saul had not been forgotten; polygamy had brought with it the evils inherent in it, palace intrigues and rivalries. The men who might regard themselves as having "made" David, namely

the sons of Sarvia, are still powerful, and we shall see how these forces were still at work in the opening of the next reign. But the character of David stands out above all the pettinesses of ordinary men; his sins, his affectionate character, his weaknesses are all there; yet his repentance is there too.

X. The Third Book of Kings: Analysis and Notes.

A. 3 Kings i-xi. The reign of Solomon.

(*a*) i-ii. Last days of David.

i. 1-53. Palace intrigues: Adonias attempts to secure the kingdom; Solomon is crowned. ii. 1-11. David's last charge to Solomon; 12-46, Adonias, Abiathar, Joab and Semeia are put to death.

(*b*) iii-xi. Solomon reigns.

iii-iv. His wisdom and prosperity; his officials. v-ix. 9. Building of the Temple and the palaces. Hiram and preparations for erecting the Temple, v; God renews the covenant with David, vi. 12-13, *cp.* ix. 1-9; building of the palaces, vii. 1-12; furnishing of the Temple, vii. 13-51; dedication of the Temple, viii. 1-66. ix. 10-x. 29. Solomon's prosperity and wealth; visit of the Queen of Sheba. xi. 1-43. Solomon's fall, its punishment; his death. Adversaries are raised up against him: Adad, Razon and Jeroboam.

B. 3 Kings xii-4 Kings xvii. The schism and the history of the divided kingdom.

(*a*) xii-xiv. Roboam and Jeroboam. The apostasy of Jeroboam; the story of the Prophet who foretold the destruction of Jeroboam's altar by Josias, xiii. 1-34; apostasy of Roboam and Sesac's invasion, xiv. 22-26.

(*b*) xv-xvi. 15. Abiam and Asa in Juda, Nadab and Baasa in Israel; alliance of Juda with Syria against Israel. Deaths of Baasa, Ela and Zambri in Israel.

(*c*) xvi. 16-4 Kings ix. History of the House of Achab in Israel; with this is bound up the story of Elias and Eliseus. Josaphat, Joram and Ochozias in Juda. xvi. 16-27. Amri founds the House of Achab, he builds Samaria; 28-xxii. 40, the history of Achab: xvii. 1-24, the three years' famine, Elias at Sarephta; xviii. 1-46, the contest with the prophets of Baal at Carmel; xix. 1-18, Elias at Horeb; 19-21, Eliseus is called to succeed Elias; xx. 1-43, the wars between the Syrians and Israel; xxi. 1-29, the vineyard of Naboth; xxii. 1-40, alliance between Juda and Israel against Syria; 8-28, Micheas of Morasthi; the defeat of Israel and death of Achab; 41-49, Josaphat's good reign; 50-54, reigns of Ochozias in Israel and of Joram in Juda.

NOTES.

ii. 3. This is taken from Deut. xvii. 19. Modern critics pronounce it impossible for any writer of the age of Solomon to have quoted *Deuteronomy* which on their view was only written towards the close of the seventh century B.C.; they maintain, then, that this and similar

appeals to *Deuteronomy* in 3-4 Kings are simply due to an editor—if not to the original compiler—who was steeped in the spirit of that book.

iv. 31. Ethan and Heman were famous among the singers even in the early days of David, 1 Paral. xv. 17, when the Ark was brought into Jerusalem, *ib.* vi. 33, xvi. 41-42, xxv. 1-6, 2 Paral. xxix. 14, xxxv. 15, Ps. lxxxvii in the title. But for the modern critic "the three guilds of singers did not exist until the time of Alexander the Great: if this be true, the notices of Heman in *Chronicles* are unhistorical," *H.D.B.* ii. 348.

vi. 1. The month Ziv, *cf.* vi. 38, Bul, and viii. 2, Ethanim. These names, with Abib, are the only Canaanite names for the months preserved in the Bible. In the Prophets, especially in *Jeremias* and *Ezechiel*, the months are indicated by numbers, in post-Exilic days by their Babylonian equivalents, *e.g.* Nisan, Sivan, Casleu, etc. The appearance, then, of these Canaanite names in these chapters furnishes an argument against those who regard them as of late date.

viii. 8. "Unto this day," so when the writer penned these words the staves were still to be seen in that position, consequently he wrote previous to the Exile. The same seems to follow from "And Israel revolted from the House of David unto this day," xii. 19, in other words he wrote before Israel had been carried into exile at the fall of Samaria in B.C. 722.

ix. 15. "And Millo." In Hebrew the word always has the article "the Millo." The LXX sometimes transliterates, Μελλὼ, 3 Kings ix. 15, 24, at other times they render by ἀπὸ τῆς ἄκρας, 2 Sam. v. 9; the translator of *Chronicles* omits it altogether, 1 Paral. xi. 8, or renders by ἀνάλημμα, 2 Paral. xxxii. 5. There seems to be some connection between the Millo and the steps that led down from the city of David, Neh. iii. 15, xii. 37; see *P.E.F.*, 1891, p. 187.

ix. 16. This Pharao would seem to be the same who invaded Palestine under Roboam, *viz.* Shishanq I, whose reign is probably assigned to B.C. 952-930.

ix. 25. These three solemn sacrifices presumably coincide with the three great feasts, Deut. xvi.

x. 1. The Queen of Sheba. Sargon in his *Annals* speaks of tribute received from "Samsie the Queen of Arabia and Itamar the Sabean," *R.P.* vii. 34.

xii. 27. Evidently then the people were in the habit of going up in the time of Solomon to the central sanctuary at Jerusalem in accordance with Deut. xii, etc. Modern critics, who assign *Deuteronomy* and its teachings on the necessity of this central sanctuary to the close of the seventh century B.C., would call this passage a "Deuteronomic addition." Yet it is no case of moral reflection, as in the judgements passed on the kings of Juda, *e.g.* 3 Kings xxii. 44, but of a plain historical fact on which the whole subsequent religious history of the northern kingdom may be said to depend.

xii. 28. Was this pure idolatry? In other words, did Jeroboam repudiate Jehovah who had brought them out from Egypt, and try and induce the people to believe it? That idolatrous worship was familiar to the people is clear from Solomon's case, xi. 1-7, but it seems hardly

credible that Jeroboam would have proposed so outrageous a thing as a formal apostasy with a view to retaining the sympathies of the populace. Far more probable that, accustomed as he was through his sojourn in Egypt to see various animals, more especially the calf, Apis or Mnevis, worshipped as a symbol of the Deity in theory—though in practice it led to positive idolatry—he offered Israel a visible symbol of Jehovah as a compensation for the visible celebrations they had been accustomed to at Jerusalem. That this of course led to gross idolatry was only natural, see the condemnations fulminated by Osee xii. 4-5, Amos iv. 4, v. 5, vii. 13, also in 4 Kings xxiii. 5, 2 Paral. xi. 14, xiii. 9. Josephus puts into Jeroboam's mouth this statement to the people: "You know that every place has God in it, nor is there any one determinate place in which God is, He everywhere sees and hears them that worship Him. Wherefore I do not think it right that you should go so long a journey to Jerusalem, an enemy's city, to worship Him. It was a man that built that Temple; so I, too, have made two golden calves dedicated to the same God," *Ant.* VIII. viii. 4, *cf. Wars* IV. i. 1; and note St. Jerome "prætermissa lege Dei," on Ezech. xxiii. 10. For the site of "the Temple of the Golden Calf" near Daphne; see *P.E.F.*, April, 1880, October, 1882, *Expos. Times*, February, 1913, *Expositor*, August, 1922.

xiv. 25. Sesac or Shishanq I of the twenty-second dynasty, *c.* B.C. 952-930.

xvi. 16-27. Amri or Omri established a dynasty, "the House of Omri," which was well known outside Palestine. Thus Rimmon Nirari, B.C. 812-783, says that he subjugated Tyre, Sidon, the land of Omri, Edom and Philistia, Schrader, *l.c.* i. 206; similarly Tiglath-Pileser III in his campaign of B.C. 734 speaks of Phacee as king in the land of Omri, that is long after the House of Omri had disappeared, *R.P.* v. 52, and Sargon, B.C. 722-705, "plundered the district of Samaria and the entire house of Omri," *R.P.* vii. 26; see R. Dussaud, *Samaria au temps d'Achab* in *Syria*, vii. 9-23.

xvi. 29. According to Ussher's chronology Achab reigned, B.C. 918-897, but Shalmaneser III, B.C. 859-824, states that at the battle of Qarqar, which took place in 854, he took "of the country of Damascus 700 chariots, 700 litters (?), 10,000 men from Irkhuleni the Hamathite, 2,000 chariots and 10,000 men from Achab the Israelite," *N.S.* iv. 70. There seems to be no room for doubting the accuracy of the dates assigned to Shalmaneser for they are derived from the Assyrian lists of Consuls or Eponyms, one of whom is dated by an eclipse so that the whole series can be dated. But this means that we have to reduce the whole Ussherian or "traditional" chronology by some forty odd years, see Schrader, *l.c.* i. 208-216, 252.

xviii. 46. Achab, despite his crimes, has more than one side to his character. Thus he shows a certain nobility of mind, xx. 4, 9, 11, xxii. 35; he is peculiarly favoured by God, xx. 13, 22, 28, 35, xxi. 17; he is capable of generosity, xx. 32-34, but his weakness appears, xix. 1, 25, also his temper, xx. 43, xxi. 4, and his unscrupulousness, xxi. 16, xxii. 30; he is certainly under the domination of Jezebel, xxi. 20, 25, and she seems to have taken advantage of the childish streak in him, xxii, 8. 18, and thus counteracted the sound principles he sometimes exhibits, xxi. 27.

XI. Chronological Tables: Roboam to Josaphat.

Dates.	*Revised Dates.*	*Juda.*	*Israel.*	*Assyria.*	*Egypt.*	*Other Persons and Events.*
975	953 or 930	**Roboam** (the *Schism*).	**Jeroboam.**	Tiglath-Pileser II. *c.* 966-934.	Shishank (Sesac). Dyn. XXII. *c.* 952-930.	Ahias the Prophet. (3 Kings xi. 29; xiv.)
969	949	Jerusalem taken by Sesac. (3 Kings xiv. 25.)				Shemeias the Prophet. (2 Paral. xii. 5, 15.)
				Assur-Dan II. *c.* 933-912.		
957	932	**Abiam.**				
955	929	**Asa.**			Zerah (? Osorkon). Dyn. XXII. (2 Paral. xiv.) *c.* 930-894.	The Prophets: Azarias. (2 Paral. xv. 1.) Hananias. (2 Paral. xvi. 7.) Jehu. (3 Kings xvi. 1.) Addo (2 Paral. xii. 15 xiii. 22.)
954	927		**Nadab.**			
953	925		**Baasa.**			

Chronological Table: Roboam to Josaphat (*Continued*).

Dates.	*Revised Dates.*	*Juda.*	*Israel.*	*Assyria.*	*Egypt.*	*Other Persons and Events.*
930	901		**Ela.**			Benhadad I, King of Syria.
929	899		**Zambri.**			Ethbaal, King of Sidon.
			Amri. Samaria founded. (3 Kings xvi. 24.)			
918	875		**Achab.** The Syrians invade Israel. (4 Kings xx.)	Assur-nasir-pal, 884-860.	Osorkon II. *c.* 879-856.	Mesha, King of Moab. Elias the Prophet. (3 Kings xvii-4 Kings ii.)
914	871	**Josaphat.**	Battle of Ramoth-Gilead. (3 Kings xxii.)	Shalmaneser III, 859-825. Defeats Achab at battle of Qarqar, 853.		Micheas, son of Jemla. (3 Kings xxii. 8.)

xxii. 11-12. These "false prophets" seem to have deluded themselves into thinking that they were led by the Spirit of God. Presumably they yielded to motives of ambition or even jealousy of such men as Micheas and Jeremias, *cf.* Jer. xxiii and xxviii, whence God permitted them to be delivered up to the influence of an evil spirit, *cf.* verses 20-24.

XI. The Fourth Book of Kings: Analysis and Notes.

A. i. 1-18. Moab rebels; Elias brings down fire from heaven; Ochozias of Juda dies and Joram succeeds him; ii. 1-25, Eliseus succeeds Elias, he sweetens the waters of the fountain, the episode of the bears; iii. 1-27 Joram of Israel, Josaphat of Juda and the king of Edom attack Moab, and through the help of Eliseus defeat the Moabites; death of Josaphat; crime of the king of Moab.

v-viii. Further miracles wrought by Eliseus: v. 1-37, he raises the son of the Sunamite from death; 38-44, the poisoned pottage; v. 1-27, the cure of Naaman and the punishment of Giezi; vi. 1-7, the axe-head is made to swim; 8-23, Eliseus deceives the Syrians; vi. 24-vii, the Syrians besiege Samaria, which is miraculously succoured; viii. 1-2, the seven years' famine; 3-15, Hasael murders Benhadad; 16-24, Joram son of Josaphat succeeds in Juda, the revolt of Edom; 25-29, Ochozias in Juda and Joram in Israel.

B. ix-xv. The history of the House of Jehu in Israel.

Jehu is anointed at the command of God; he slays Joram of Israel and Ochozias of Juda, and abolishes the worship of Baal though not of the golden calves. The sons of Joram and the relatives of Ochozias are put to death, and thus the curse on the House of Achab, 3 Kings xxi. 21-24, 4 Kings ix. 7-10, was fulfilled.

xi-xii. The reign of Athalia and of Joas son of Ochozias in Juda; the Temple is repaired. Joachaz and Joas of the House of Jehu in Israel.

xiv-xv. Joachaz son of Jehu in Israel; the last acts and death of Eliseus. Amasias son of Joas in Juda defeats Edom, but is himself defeated by Joachaz who captures Jerusalem; Azarias (Ozias) succeeds to Amasias. In Israel Jeroboam II reigns forty-one years, but with, the murder of his son Zacharias the House of Jehu comes to an end and a series of usurpers succeeds—Sellum, Menahen and his son Phaceia, Phacee, and Osee the last king in Israel. Joatham reigns in Juda.

D. xvi-xvii. The end of the northern kingdom or Israel.

Achaz, perhaps the worst of all the descendants of David; when assailed by Syria and Israel he calls in the help of Tiglath-Pileser of Assyria and embraces his religion. Samaria under Osee is captured by Shalmaneser of Assyria, xvii. 1-6; reflections on the reason of its destruction; the Cuthæans are established there by the king of Assyria, and a priest of Israel is sent back to teach them the law of God; the mixed race and their idolatries, 7-41.

E. xviii-xxv. The end of the kingdom of Juda.

xviii-xx. The reign of Ezechias, the best of all the descendants of David. Sennacherib besieges Jerusalem, but his army is destroyed by a plague and he is murdered in Nineveh. The sickness and recovery of Ezechias; he receives the ambassadors of Merodach Baladan of

Babylon and is rebuked for so doing. His son Manasses reigns for fifty-five years and wickedly. Josias succeeds him, but after various reforms is slain in battle by Pharao Nechao, xxii-xxiii. 29. Joachaz succeeds, but Nabuchodonosor replaces him by Eliachim whom he calls Joachim; he rebels and dies; Joachin succeeds, but has to pay tribute and is carried off to Babylon, while his uncle Matthanias or Sedecias reigns in his stead. On the latter's rebellion Nabuchodonosor captures Jerusalem and deports Sedecias who ends his days in Babylon. This is the beginning of the seventy years' captivity.

Notes.

ii. 24. "Non tam crudeliter quam mystice" is St. Augustine's comment, *Enarr. in* Ps. xlvi. 2.

iii. 7. In the Moabite stone we have one of the very rare extra-biblical accounts of the same events, told of course from the standpoint of the Moabite king.

v. 19. This seems in opposition to the law in Deut. xx. 19, but *cp.* Deut. xxiii. 1-8.

vii. 6. See 3 Kings x. 29.

viii. 7. There were a series of Benhadads, *cf. Expos.*, May, November, 1911, January, 1918, *P.E.F.*, October, 1917, p. 180, for a new Benhadad; for the name see Pinches, in *P.S.B.A.*, February, 1883, p. 71.

viii. 8. The name of Hasael occurs on the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser III, "Hazael of Damascus . . . his fortresses I took," 11, 97-98, 103, *R.P.* v. 34-35; also in the *Annals* of Sargon II, *R.P.* vii. 42; and again in the *Annals* of Assur-bani-pal, viii. 9, *R.P.* i. 93, where he is spoken of as an Arabian.

ix. 2. No reference is made to it in the Bible, but on the Black Obelisk one of the sculptures has for its epigraph:

"The tribute of Yahua son of Khumbri: silver, gold, bowls of gold, vessels of gold, lead, sceptres for the king's hand and staves, I (Shalmaneser III, B.C. 858-823) received." It is curious that in the long annals which cover this obelisk and narrate the military expeditions of thirty-one years there is no mention of an assault on Israel despite this epigraph, *R.P.* v, p. 41. See Schrader, *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, i. 199-200, and for an account of Shalmaneser's wars in Syria, *P.E.F.*, October, 1917. For a slightly different translation of the epigraph see *R.P.N.S.* iv, p. 52. Another monolith gives an account of Shalmaneser's campaigns and mentions Achab but not Jehu, *N.S.* iv, pp. 53-71, see note on x. 35. Tiglath-Pileser III in an inscription from Nimroud tells us that "Jehoahaz of Judah" paid him tribute, *N.S.* v, p. 126.

x. 35-xiv. 28. It seems strange to read that Jehu restored Damascus to Israel, for we do not know that it ever had actually belonged to them, though presumably it fell within the limits of the "Promised" land, *cf.* Num. xxxiv. 11. How Jehu came to be able to take Damascus is made clear by an inscription of Samsi-Adad, 825-812 B.C., who tells us that he had reduced Syria-Damascus to a pitiable condition, Schrader, *l.c.* i. 206-208.

xiv. 25. This must be a reference to some prophetic activity of Jonas outside his written prophecy.

xv. 1. In fragmentary inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser III, 745-727, "Azarias of the land of Judah" is mentioned five times as a tributary, *R.P.* v, pp. 45-46, Pinches, *l.c.* 347-348, though the Bible nowhere mentions the fact that he came in contact with the Assyrians, *cf.* Schrader, *l.c.* i. 208-214, 245.

xv. 8-11, 19. "Phul king of the Assyrians." There seems no room for doubt that Phul was the Babylonian official name of Tiglath-Pileser III. The name Phul occurs in the Babylonian *Canon of Kings* and presumably from this was copied into the *Canon of Ptolemy*, *cf.* Schrader, *l.c.* i, pp. 219-221, 230, Pinches, *l.c.*, p. 357. That Menahem ("Minihimmi of the city of Samirinai") paid tribute to Tiglath-Pileser is stated in the fragmentary inscription of that king, *R.P.* v. 48, as also did "Hirummu of the city of Zurai" or Hiram of Tyre, *ib.* Pinches, *l.c.* 350, Schrader, *l.c.* i. 245-254. It is impossible to identify this Menahem of Samaria with the "Minhimmu of the city of the Samsimurunaa" in the *Taylor Cylinder* of Sennacherib, as Pinches, *l.c.*, p. 374, seems to do, for Sennacherib only came to the throne in 705 B.C., but see Pinches, *l.c.* i. 215-216.

xv. 25-32. "Phacee the son of Romelia." The fragmentary inscription of Tiglath-Pileser III affords a curious commentary on this: "The land of Beth-Omri . . . the population . . . the goods of its people . , . to the land of Assyria I sent. Pakaha their king they had slain. . . . Husih (Osee) to the kingdom over them I appointed. 10 talents of gold, 1,000 of silver . . . I received from them as their tribute," *R.P.* v. 52, Pinches, *l.c.* 354-355, Schrader, *l.c.* i. 251-252, *cf. ib.* 215-217.

xv. 29. In fragments of his *Annals* Tiglath-Pileser III says: "The tribute of Razinu of the land of Damascus, of Minihimme of the city of Samirinai, of Hirummu of the city of Zurai . . . of the city of Hamath . . .," *R.P.* v. 48. This siege of Damascus is referred to 733-732 B.C., *cf.* Schrader, *l.c.* i. 246-248, 256, Pinches, *l.c.* 354-355. xvi. 5-10, Isa. vii. The appeal to Assyria for help was an apostasy from the God of Israel.

xvi. 15. Thus the ritual of Num. xxviii was well known and in use.

xvii. 3. This was Shalmaneser V, 727-722 B.C., but no records of him have come down to us, though Josephus, *Ant.* IX. xiv. 2, tells us that in the archives of Tyre, translated by Menander into Greek, there was an account of a siege of Tyre by Shalmaneser which lasted five years and even then had to be raised. It was presumably at the same time that Shalmaneser laid siege to Samaria, see Schrader, *l.c.* i. 258, Pinches, *l.c.* 358-359.

xvii. 4. This Sua, סֹוא, is thought to have been Shabaka who had been field-marshal to the Pharao and himself reigned 715-707 B.C., Schrader, *l.c.* i. 261, ii. 88, Pinches, *l.c.* 363, 365, Petrie, *History of Egypt*, iii. 283-284. There can be little doubt that it was not Shalmaneser who actually captured Samaria, and, strictly speaking, the Bible does not say that he did so. His successor Sargon is only mentioned in the Bible in Isa. xx. 1, but his lengthy *Annals* have been recovered from his palace at Khorsabad; Sargon says:

"I besieged and occupied the town of Samaria and took 27,280 of its inhabitants captives. I took from them 50 chariots, but left them the

rest of their belongings. . . . Hanun, king of Gaza, and Sibe, field-marshal of Egypt, allied themselves at Raphia to oppose me; they came before me, I put them to flight. Sibe yielded before my cohorts, he fled and no one has seen any trace of him since," *R.P.* ix. 5, and vii. 28. A slightly different translation is given by Pinches, *l.c.*, p. 363. In another place Sargon summarizes this campaign: "I plundered the district of Samaria and the entire house of Omri. . . . I overpowered Egypt at Raphia," *R.P.* vii. 26, and again in an inscription on a bull-statue, *R.P.* ix. 18, see Thureau-Dangin, *Huitième Campagne de Sargon II*, 1912. The fall of Samaria took place 722 B.C., Schrader, i. 263-264.

xvii. 8-23. This condemnation of Israel is couched in the language of *Deuteronomy*, and modern criticism would argue that this is no proof at all of an early date for *Deuteronomy* but merely shows that a late editor or even compiler of *Kings* was using *Deuteronomy* which was itself only written two hundred years previously.

xvii. 13. This seems to be a quotation from Jer. xxv. 5.

xvii. 7-41. These Cuthæans came from Cutha, the modern Tell-Ibrahim, north-east of Babylon, see Josephus, *Ant.* IX. xiv. 3, X. ix. 7, XI. iv. 3-8. The *Annals* of Sargon tell of numerous deportations of conquered peoples and among them it is interesting to read of "the remote inhabitants of the land of Bari whom the learned and the wise men had not known, no one among the kings my ancestors had ever heard this name. . . . I pulled them out of their dwellings and placed them in the town of Samaria," *R.P.* vii. 34; see Olmstead, *Western Asia in the Days of Sargon of Assyria*, 1908, also Boutflower, *In and About the Book of Daniel*, p. 130.

xvii. 34-39. Reminiscent of Exod. xx. 4-5 and parts of *Leviticus*.

xviii. 13. "In the fourteenth year of Ezechias," 726-697 B.C., would mean 712, and as Sennacherib only came to the throne in 705 this would seem to be an anachronism; no date is given in 2 Paral. xxxii. 1, but in Isa. xxxvi. 1 we have the same date assigned for the coming of Sennacherib. It is possible that in the case of Isa. xxxvi. the date has been misplaced and should belong to xxxviii. 1, for, the fourteenth year being 712, fifteen added years would bring us to 697 the date of his death, see more *s.v. Isaias.*

xviii. 17. Tharthan, Rabsaris and Rabsaces are not personal names, but of offices, thus Tiglath-Pileser III says "My general the Rab-shakeh, I sent," the *Nimroud Inscription*, 66, *R.P.N.S.* v. 126.

xviii. 13-xix. 37. There are many perplexing features in this narrative. Why, for instance, did Sennacherib take the fenced cities, 13? What did Ezechias apologize for, 14? Why, after the heavy fines had been paid, did the Assyrian send his army to insult and jeer at the people of Jerusalem and yet never proceed to an actual siege, xix. 32? Lastly, are we to understand from xix. 36-37 that Sennacherib was murdered almost immediately on his return to Nineveh? Sennacherib himself affords us an answer to some of these problems in the *Taylor Cylinder*:

"In my third campaign to the land of Syria (the Hatti or Hittites) I went." This was in B.C. 701. He proceeds to say how he conquered Sidon, Cyprus, Acco and Sarepta; he continues:

"Then Menahen king of Ussimiruna" and the kings of Sidon, Azotus, Beth-Ammon, Moab and Edom amongst others less known, made their submission. Ascalon however held out and was punished; so too Accaron:

> "The chief priests, nobles and people of Accaron
> Who Padiah their king (holding the faith and worship of Assyria) had placed in chains of iron, and unto Ezechias king of Juda had delivered him."

This shows wherein Ezechias' offence had lain and why he apologized; possibly he had not known that Padaiah was a vassal of Assyria.

Egypt now came to the succour of these and other recalcitrants, but Sennacherib defeated the allies at Eltekeh (Jos. xix. 44) and proceeded to execute vengeance on Accaron.

> "Padiah their king from the midst of Jerusalem
> I brought out, and on a throne of royalty set over them. . . . And Ezechias
> King of Juda, who had not bowed down at my feet,
> Forty-six of his strong cities, his castles, and the smaller towns
> In their neighbourhood beyond number
> With warlike engines. . . .
> I attacked and captured, 200,150 people, small and great, male and female,
> Horses, mares, asses, camels, oxen
> And sheep beyond number, from the midst of them I carried off
> And distributed them as a spoil. He himself, like a bird in a cage, inside Jerusalem
> His royal city I shut him up. . . . Siege towers against him I constructed
> . . . I diminished his kingdom.
> Beyond the former scale of their yearly gifts to my majesty I augmented
> And imposed them upon them. He himself Ezechias
> The fearful splendour of my majesty had overwhelmed him;
> The workmen, soldiers and builders
> Whom for the fortification of Jerusalem his royal city
> He had collected within it, now carried tribute
> And with thirty talents of gold, 800 talents of silver; woven cloth,
> Scarlet embroidered; precious stones of large size;
> Couches of ivory, moveable thrones of ivory, skins of buffaloes (?),
> Teeth of buffaloes . . . unto Nineveh my royal city
> After me he sent; and to pay tribute
> And to do homage he sent his envoy."[1]

The same account with minor variations is engraved on a human-headed bull at Khorsabad, *R.P.* vii. 63, and a reference to this "third campaign" occurs in an inscription from Nebi Yunus, *R.P.* xi. 51. See R. Sinker, *Hezekiah and his Age*, 1897; D. Luckenbill, *The Annals of Sennacherib*, 1924.

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[1] The *Taylor Cylinder*, cols. ii-iii, *R.P.* i, pp. 38-39, *N.S.* vi. 90 *ff.*

Here Sennacherib says that he did lay actual siege to the city though he dares not say that he took it. But by, so it would seem, inserting here the account of the tribute paid by reason of the imprisonment of Padiah he succeeds in leaving the impression that he only raised the siege on condition of the fine being paid. He then goes on to give accounts of his fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh and eighth campaigns. Is it possible that the vainglorious Assyrian has shrewdly mixed together the accounts of two widely distant campaigns in the west so as to give the impression of unbroken success?

Josephus, *Ant.* X. i. 4-5, says that in accordance with the prophecy of Isaias Jerusalem was not at that time besieged by Sennacherib, but that later, when occupied with a lengthy siege of Pelusium on the border, he was obliged to raise the siege owing to the news that Tirhaka was coming to oppose him; Josephus adds from Herodotus that a plague of mice had destroyed their bowstrings, also from Berosus the Chaldean historian that 185,000 Assyrians were destroyed by a plague, whereupon Sennacherib fled and shortly after was slain at Nineve "in his temple called Araske." The Biblical narrative is so condensed as to be, as in the case of the prophecies, almost timeless, especially when referring to the doings of nations other than Israel; see Johns in *P.S.B.A.*, May, 1899, pp. 174 *ff.*

xix. 9. "Tharaca king of Ethiopia" is the famous Tirhaka of the XXVth or Ethiopian dynasty. He ruled either as regent or as sole king B.C. 701-667, Petrie, *History*, iii. 294, and was twice defeated by Esarhaddon. A famous statue represents the latter king leading two captive kings with rings in their noses, one of these may have been Tirhaka, possible even Manasses whom Esarhaddon treated in the same way according to a probable rendering of 2 Paral. xxxiii. 11, *cf.* Pinches, *l.c.* 384, and Ball, *Light from the East*, p. 198, for reproductions.

xix. 12-13. Note the identification of the kings of cities with their tutelary deities, *cp.* xviii. 33-35.

xix. 15-19. This wonderful prayer dwells on the attributes of God and affords remarkable testimony to the Hebrew monotheism, *cp.* Isa. xliii-xlv especially.

xx. 1-11. Given again in Isa. xxxviii. 1-8 which goes on to add the prayer of Ezechias in his sickness; xx. 12-19 appears again in Isa. xxxix. 1-8.

xx. 12. "At that time Merodach Baladan," that is on Ezechias' recovery from his sickness in B.C. 712 and therefore long anterior to the invasion by Sennacherib, 705-681, see note on xviii. 13. This Merodach Baladan did homage to Tiglath-Pileser III in 731, and later, Sargon, on his accession to the throne, 722, found him in possession of Babylon, *Annals*, *R.P.* vii. 29; in his twelfth and thirteenth years, B.C. 710-709, Sargon carried out an intensive campaign against him, and mentions incidentally that "during twelve years Merodach Baladan had been sending ambassadors"; finally Sennacherib found on acceding to the throne in 705 that he still had to deal with the same crafty veteran, see the *Bellino Cylinder*, *R.P.* i. 25-32, the *Taylor Cylinder*, *ib.* i. 40 and *N.S.* vi. 95. Esarhaddon had to deal with the son when he acceded in 681. Schrader assigns the date of the embassy after Ezechias' sickness to B.C. 704-703 though on what grounds it is hard to

discover, *l.c.* ii. 29. The spelling *Berodach* in 4 Kings xx. 12 is in accordance with the Hebrew though elsewhere correctly Merodach.

xx. 21-xxi. 18. In 2 Paral. xxxiii we learn of his captivity in Babylon and his subsequent repentance and reformation. The Bible does not tell us who this king of the Assyrians was, but an inscription of Esarhaddon, 681-668, says :

> "I assembled the kings of Syria and of the nations beyond the sea ;
> Baal king of Tyre, Manasses king of Judah,
> Kadumukh king of Edom, Mitzuri king of Moab,
> Reuben (?) king of Gaza, Mitinti king of Ascalon . . .
> Buduel king of Beth-Ammon, Ussur-Milki king of Azotus
> . . . .
> Altogether 22 kings of Syria and the sea-coast and the islands, all of Them, and I passed them in review."[1]

xxii. 4. *Cp.* xii. 9.

xxii. 8, 11, 16. What precisely was this "Book of the Law"? It is commonly supposed to have been *Deuteronomy* and certainly the references to a covenant, xxiii. 3, to a Passover, xxiii. 21, and to diviners, xxiii. 24, can be paralleled in Deut. xiii, xviii. 10-14 respectively, but the ritual for the Passover in xxiii. 21 finds no parallel in *Deuteronomy* and the reference would seem to be rather to Exod. xii ; similarly xxiii. 9 finds its equivalent in Lev. vi. 16-18 rather than in *Deuteronomy*. Since however the whole point of the reform carried out by Josias lay in the insistence on the restoration of the one central sanctuary so emphatically taught in Deut. xii, xvi, xxi, etc., there is no doubt that it was the Deuteronomic portion of the law which left the most vivid impression. But beyond this it seems impossible to discover any valid reason for saying that it was *Deuteronomy* only that was then discovered, much less that it was then written in the interests of the priesthood which would profit by the fact that there was now to be but one central sanctuary, and that they therefore "salted" the ground with this fictitious "Law of Moses," see more *s.v. Deuteronomy*. See Naville, *La Découverte de la Loi*, 1909, *cf. R.B.*, October, 1910, p. 620.

xxiii. 29. This was Pharao Nechao II, 610-594 B.C., of Dynasty XXVI. When he went to attack Assyria Josias as a vassal of that state resisted him and was slain, *cf.* 2 Paral. xxxv. 20, Zach. xii. 11. Nechao seems to have speedily returned from his advance against Assyria after the death of Josias, for in verse 33 he is back again at Reblah. He returned however, for in the fourth year of Joachim son of Josias he was defeated at Carchemish by Nabuchodonosor, B.C. 605, Jer. xlvi. 2, after which he kept within his own territory, 4 Kings xxiv. 7 ; see Petrie, *History*, iii. 335-339, Schrader, *l.c.* ii. 43 ; for an account of his Syrian campaign, *J.T.S.*, October, 1916.

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[1] *R.P.* iii. 106-107, the last statement about the twenty-two kings is repeated in another column, *ib.*, p. 120 ; Pinches, *l.c.*, pp. 386-387 ; Schrader, *l.c.*, pp. ii, 22. Much the same list is given by Assur-bani-pal, among them Manasses king of Juda, Schrader, ii. 41.

XIII. Chronological Tables: Josaphat to the Captivity.

Dates.	*Revised Dates.*	*Juda.*	*Israel.*	*Assyria.*	*Egypt.*	*Other Persons and Events.*
914	871	**Josaphat.**		Shalmaneser III, *c.* 859-824.		Hazael, King of Syria.
898	853		**Ochozias.**			Eliseus the Prophet. (4 Kings ii-xiii.)
897	851		**Joram**			
893	848	**Joram.**				
885	844	**Ochozias.**				
884	843	Athalia.	**Jehu.**			
878	837	**Joas.**		Adad-Nirari II, *c.* 810-782.	Shishanq II, *c.* 837-786.	
856			**Joachaz.**			
842	798		**Joas.**			(?) Joel the Prophet.

Chronological Tables: Amasias to the Captivity (*Continued*).

Dates.	*Revised Dates.*	*Juda.*	*Israel.*	*Assyria.*	*Egypt.*	*Other Persons and Events.*
841	797	**Amasias.** Jerusalem taken by Joas, King of Israel. (4 Kings xiv. 13.)				
826	790		**Jeroboam II.**	Adad-Nirari III, 812-783, took Damascus *c.* 800.	Dyn. XXIII *c.* 820 (?).	Jonas the Prophet. (4 Kings xiv. 25.)
811	763	**Azarias.**		Shalmaneser IV, *c.* 782-773.		
773	749		**Zacharias.**	Assur-Dan III, 773-764.		First Olympiad, 776.
772	748		**Sellum.**	Assur-Nirari V, 755-745.	Dyn. XXIV. Bocchoris, 772-729, defeated by Sabaka (? So) of Dyn. XXV.	

Chronological Tables: Josaphat to the Captivity (*Continued*).

Dates.	*Revised Dates.*	*Juda.*	*Israel.*	*Babylonia.*	*Assyria.*	*Egypt.*	*Other Persons and Events.*
772			**Menahen.**			Dyn. XXV, *c.* 748-560.	
770			**Phaceia.**				
768			**Phacee.**				Isaias the Prophet.
758	740	**Joatham.**		Nabonassar, 747-734.	Tiglath-Pileser III, 745-727.		Rezin, King of Syria.
742	734	**Achaz.**				Shabaka, *c.* 715-707.	Rome founded, 753.
730			**Osee.**	Merodach-Baladan, *c.* 730-710.	Shalmaneser V, 727-722.	Tirhaka, *c.* 701-667	
726		**Ezechias.**					
721	722		Samaria taken by Sargon. *End of the Northern Kingdom.*	Phul or Tiglath-Pileser III, 728-727.	Sargon, 722-705.	Battle of Raphia. Egypt defeated by Assyria.	Micheas the Prophet.
720				Babylonian Ambassadors visit Ezechias.			
712		Illness of Ezechias.					
705					Sennacherib, 705-681.		

Chronological Tables: Ezechias to the Captivity (*Continued*).

Dates.	*Juda.*	*Babylonia.*	*Assyria.*	*Egypt.*	*Other Persons and Events.*
701				Battle of Eltekeh. Egypt defeated by Assyria. Tirhaka, Dyn. XXV, *c.* 700-668.	
689		Babylon taken by Sennacherib.	Esarhaddon, 681-668.	Nechao I, 678-672.	
697 681	**Manasses.**		Assur-bani-pal, 668-626.	Psammetichus I, 664-610.	
668				Thebes taken by Assyria, 666.	
642	**Amon.**				Nahum the Prophet.
640 625	**Josias.**	Nabopolassar, 625-604. (Founder of the Neo-Babylonian Empire.)			Jeremias. Huldah. Sophonias.

Chronological Tables: Josaphat to the Captivity (*Continued*).

Dates.	*Juda.*	*Babylonia.*	*Assyria and Persia.*	*Egypt.*	*Other Persons and Events.*
609	**Joachaz.**			Necho II, 610-594.	
608	**Joachim.**				The Medes, under Astyages according to Berosus; under Cyaxares according to Herodotus.
612			Niniveh is destroyed by the Medes.		
604		Nebuchadnezzar II, 604-561.			Ezechiel. Daniel. Habacuc.
597	**Joachin.**				
	Sedecias.				
594				Psammetichus II, 594-589.	Cyaxares, King of Media, 624-584.
588 or 586	Destruction of Jerusalem by Babylonians.		Cyrus, King of Anzan.	Hophra, 589-570.	
561		Evil-Merodach, 561-559.		Amasis, 570-526.	Alyattes, King of Lydia, 617-560.

xxiv. 8. "Nohesta," this hardly seems a complimentary name in view of "Nohestan," xviii. 4.

xxiv. 18-xxv. 30 is practically repeated in Jer. lii.

xxv. 22-30. The absence of any mention of Jeremias who lived through these stirring scenes is remarkable and may confirm the notion that he was the author of 4 Kings, at least of this section; nor is he named in Jer. lii.

xxv. 27. Evil-Merodach, 561-559 B.C. A collection of contracts from his reign is preserved in the British Museum, see *Guide to Assyria and Babylonia*, 1922, p. 150.

XIV. The Historical Trustworthiness of these Narratives.

Looking back on the history portrayed in *Samuel* and *Kings* we must ask how far and in what sense these narratives can be described as "historical." We are conscious of many features which place them in a category apart, and the question arises, to what precise rules of criticism are these narratives subject? To take but a few of the phenomena: There is first of all the ever-recurring Divine interposition, and that, too, in the case of folk often far removed from being saints; the story really seems to be that of the conflict between good and evil, and it is not always the former that prevails. Again, while nothing compels us to suppose that the narrative in its present form was written by one contemporary with the events, yet how long after was it written and from what distance of perspective? Further, the narrative is abbreviated, indeed, ruthlessly condensed. Whoever the compiler, he certainly used documents which claim to be contemporary with events. But he is clearly using them with a purpose as, of course, every writer must do. Still, when a man writes history with a purpose can we trust him to be perfectly accurate? This aspect of the problem becomes acute when we compare the treatment meted out by the Chronicler to the very same events as those given in *Samuel* and *Kings*. The Levitical author of *Chronicles* might, for all the interest he shows in them, have never heard of the sovereigns of the Northern Kingdom; he might never even have heard of David's sin.

We must, however, start from the premiss that these narratives are inspired, and that means that they have God

for their Author. Therefore they are absolutely true. But modern critics question the validity of such a claim for *Kings* and *Chronicles* when they present such opposite pictures of the same events, when, too—as so many maintain—the chronicler has a habit of exaggerating numbers as well as other details.

It comes to this: What is truth? Or rather, what is historical truth? If it means presenting things precisely as they actually took place, then no historian has ever yet told the truth, since to do so he would have had to give every conceivable detail of every minutest thing that ever took place in the sphere of his story. Historical truth, then, would seem to lie not in the preservation of every detail, but in the real accuracy of the picture presented to the reader's mind. A thumb-nail sketch of some great historical personage may be as true to life as a critical modern biography. Yet how much it omits! It has caught and photographed but one single feature perhaps, yet that was sufficient to secure a life-like portrait. It is an inadequate picture, of course. But is not that precisely the character of the Biblical narratives? They are and must be inadequate. For no matter how brilliant the mental illumination it must always be question of the finite endeavouring to mirror the Infinite. The Prophet or inspired writer's grasp of the truth communicated to him must always be inadequate; his expression of it by the spoken word must be still less adequate; his expression of it finally in the halting instrument which is the written word must be further inadequate; while lastly the comprehension of it which we who read his message in a language alien to us and at a time far distant from his must be still further removed from comprehension.[1]

[1] St. Augustine expresses this in his own inimitable fashion when commenting on the words of Ps. xxxv. 9, "Inebriabuntur ab ubertate domus Tuæ": "He wishes to express it, he does not, he cannot; shall we, then, grasp it? I would go so far as to say even of those holy tongues and hearts through whom the truth is declared unto us that what they would declare cannot be said, it cannot even be thought. For what they would declare is a great thing and unspeakable; even they themselves only saw it in part and in a dark manner, as the Apostle himself says: 'We see now in part and in a dark manner, but then face to face,'" *Enarr.* i. 14 *in* Ps. xxxv. See Albanesi, *La Verità nella S. Scrittura e le Questioni bibliche*, 1925.

There are, moreover, certain practical considerations which have to be borne in mind.

In the first place, the Israelites might truly be described as the last-comers on the scene of pre-Christian history in the East. Moreover, they, as compared with the mighty nations with whom they came in contact, were insignificant; so much so that it should rather be matter for surprise when references to them do occur in the *Annals* of Egypt, Babylon or Assyria; it would antecedently be more natural to find that these great peoples simply ignored the Hebrews. Secondly, so far as any history at all of the contemporary nations exists, it is written solely from the standpoint of the nation in question, the only apparent exception to this being the so-called *Synchronous History of Babylon and Assyria*. The same applies to Hebrew history, it too is told from one peculiar angle; for it is not so much the history of the Jewish people as of God's dealings with the Hebrew people. One immediate consequence of this is an amazing compression, so that only the briefest possible skeleton of events is given in the professedly historical books, while—since it is their religious history that interests them—the Prophetic writings occupy a quite disproportionate space.

These facts serve to set in its true light the all-important question of the real value to be assigned to historical details set down in the Bible. For it might be asked whether—since history as such does not interest the Hebrew writers—the details they do vouch us can be trusted. Further still, many of the details narrated date from very remote times, *e.g.* the story of Samson, and they are used rather to point a moral than for the preservation of facts. Have we, then, any guarantee that the facts took place as narrated? Some even suggest that the writer simply used these early legends and presented them in his own naïf way, much as Homer, for example, tells the story of Troy through the medium of a host of legends.

Again, it is urged that the Biblical writers are lacking in a sense of historical perspective; they view events through the spectacles of their own times. A good example of such procedure would be furnished if it were certain, as modern writers insist, that the Philistines only appeared in Palestine in the thirteenth century B.C., for the writer of *Genesis*

certainly seems to regard them as already in the land in the days of Abraham. A further example might be adduced from the story of the entrance of the Hebrews into Egypt and their departure from it—the Exodus: Did these events actually take place as narrated in *Genesis* or *Exodus*, or have we in those narratives an account, in language stereotyped by frequent repetition, of a whole series of events which indeed figure in Egyptian *Annals* and even in Josephus, but where they are given as the history of the entry of the Hyksos into Egypt and their subsequent expulsion?

Yet in the former case the inspired Biblical writer would have been guilty of a very gross anachronism, and that presumably through ignorance of the true state of the case. But need he have known the facts? When God inspired him by illumining his intellect and then moving his will to commit certain things to writing, was He bound to correct any false notions he might have unwittingly formed? Certainly, if such false notions were calculated to lessen our confidence in the author's reliability; much more if such notions imperilled any doctrine. Were it, then, proved true that the Philistines had not yet arrived in Palestine in Abraham's day, would this demonstrated anachronism on the author's part lessen our trust in him in the historical details he adduces? Assuredly, for we should never know where else he might be misleading us. Still more would this be the case were it proved that his ideas on the entry of the Hebrews into Egypt and their exodus thence were based on a complete misunderstanding of the facts; for the Biblical account of those events lies at the root of all the subsequent history of Israel, as also of the Redemption which the Exodus with its marvels prefigured. The doctrine of Biblical Inspiration alone guarantees the truth of such historical details.

Moreover it can confidently be maintained that the Bible has never been *proved* at fault in its historical statements. One very simple instance will suffice. The reader of 4 Kings xvii. 3-6, xviii. 10,[1] would not unnaturally conclude that it was Shalmaneser himself who actually captured Samaria, and Josephus so understands it;[2] yet we know that it was

[1] In the Vulgate and Septuagint text, but not in the Hebrew.
[2] *Ant.* IX. xiv. 1.

Sargon, Shalmaneser's successor, who captured the city.[1] The writer of the account probably himself thought it was Shalmaneser who stormed the city, yet he does not actually say so. Is it ridiculous to say that he was divinely precluded from expressing in words the idea that was in his mind?

In this connection it is worth noting that the sudden expansion of David's kingdom and his continued series of victories coincided as we now know with a remarkable period of decay both in Egypt and in Assyria; it was this that made such expansion possible. Tiglath-Pileser I, *c.* 1115-1103, had broken the power of the Hittites in the north,[2] but he had not touched Palestine itself, and when, after a period of decay, the warlike Assur-nazir-pal and Shalmaneser II, *c.* 1050-1020, began their invasions of the west they did not come to Palestine which, in point of fact, remained inviolate until the reign of Shalmaneser III, 859-824, when he made Jehu tributary. Still even this was but a transitory affair, and it was not until the rise of the famous Tiglath-Pileser III, 745-727, that Palestine was systematically invaded. It was much the same with Egypt; the famous Ramesside dynasty, the XXth, had died out ingloriously by B.C. 1100; the XXIst was divided between Tanis and Thebes; the XXIInd, *c.* 966-750, was far more aggressive, but we only have Shishanq's invasion during the reign of Roboam; then came the ill-starred XXIIIrd and XXIVth dynasties, *c.* 750-700, so that it is not till the rise of the XXVth dynasty with Sabaka (or So) and Tirhaka, that Egypt becomes a real menace to Palestine.

Thus contemporary history serves to confirm at least the broad lines of the Biblical narrative.

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THE BOOKS OF PARALIPOMENA OR CHRONICLES

I. Introductory Remarks.

In Greek Παραλειπομένων; in Hebrew דִּבְרֵי הַיָּמִים, *Dibre hayyamin*, or, as St. Jerome renders it,[1] "Words of the Days," to which the title *Chronicles* corresponds, a title, too, which more fittingly expresses the contents and purport of the book than the Greek title "Paraleipomena," or "things left out," that is in 1-4 *Kings*. The two books originally formed but one in the Hebrew text, and the Massoretes say that 1 Paral. xxvii. 25 is the central verse. It is possible, too, that *Chronicles*—as we shall henceforth term the book—once formed one book with *Esdras* and *Nehemias*; the last verses

[1] "Septimus (among the Hagiographa) Dabra ajamim, דברי הימים, id est verba dierum, quod significantius Χρονικὸν totius divinæ historiæ possumus appellare. Qui liber apud nos Παραλειπομένων, primus et secundus inscribitur," *Prologus* (Galeatus) *in libros Samuel et Malachim*, *P.L.* xxviii. 554.

of 2 Chronicles are identical with Esdr. i. 1-3*a*. The author gives us the history of the kingdom of Juda from the standpoint of the Levitical body.

II. Contents and Divisions.

1 Chronicles.

i-ix. A series of genealogies serves as an introduction to what follows by summing up the past history and bringing down the family histories to the Restoration period.

x. The death of Saul told as an introduction to xi-xxix. The history of David, or rather, of the Davidic house. This history is presented from a moral standpoint only ; the author wishes to show that according as the House of David was faithful to the Law or unfaithful to it, the result was a manifestation of God's mercy or of His justice. This theme is especially prominent in 2 Chronicles, where the author dwells at length on the reigns of the good kings while passing over, with a few words of condemnation, those who were unfaithful.

2 Chronicles.

(*a*) i-ix. Solomon as the builder of the Temple.

(*b*) x. The schism. x-xii. Roboam ; his building and his wars ; he is condemned, xii. 14. xiii. Abiam is presented in a most favourable light, but see 3 Kings xv. 3. xiv-xvi. Asa is praised at the outset, xiv. 2 ; this praise is modified, xv. 17 ; he is criticized severely, xvi. 10-12. xvii-xx. Josaphat is praised at the outset, xvii. 3-6 ; he is condemned, xix. 2, for his alliance with Achab ; and the unstinted praise first given is much qualified at the close, xx. 32-33. xxi. Joram is unhesitatingly condemned. xxii-xxiv. Ochozias and Athalia are both condemned, and much stress is laid on the part taken in the deposition of the latter by Joiada the priest.

(*c*) xxiv. Joas begins well, xxiv. 2, but after the death of his counsellor Joiada he falls away, xxiv. 18-22. xxv. Amasias begins well, though the praise accorded him is qualified, xxv. 2-4 ; afterwards he fell into idolatry, xxv. 14, 27. xxvi. Azarias (Ozias or Uzziah), like his immediate predecessors, began well, xxvi. 4 ; but later his heart was lifted up and he attempted to arrogate to himself the prerogatives of the priesthood, xxvi. 16. xxvii. Joatham is praised unstintingly ; but, contrary to his usual habit, the chronicler assigns him a very brief account. xxviii. Achaz is in some senses the worst of all the Davidic house.

(*d*) xxix-xxxii. Ezechias, the ideal king, is praised most highly, and even his behaviour on occasion of the visit of Merodach-Baladan's ambassadors is not so forcibly stated as in 4 Kings xx. 14-19 and Isa. xxxix. xxxiii. Manasses and Amon are both utterly corrupt, yet the former repents after condign chastisement has been inflicted upon him. The words in xxxiii. 19 gave rise to the apocryphal *Prayer of Manasses*, still preserved in the appendix to the Vulgate Bible. xxxiv-xxxv. Josias is, perhaps even more than Ezechias, the ideal king ;

no word of blame is attached to him. xxxvi. Joachaz, Joakim, Joachin and Sedecias are all irretrievably bad; the city is stormed by the Chaldeans.

This brief analysis shows that the chronicler treats the history in very different fashion to that adopted by the authors of 1-4 *Kings*, as will be more apparent from the following statistics:

(*a*) 1-4 *Kings* contains 107 chapters all devoted to the history of the kingdom or to the immediate preparation for it.

(*b*) 1-2 *Chronicles* contains only 65 chapters; the first nine of these are devoted to the genealogies, leaving but 56 for the actual history.

(*e*) The whole of 1 Chron. x-xxix is taken up with the history of David. The history from David's death to the fall of the city is all given in 2 Chronicles.

(*d*) The history of Israel is not touched upon at all except in so far as it is necessary for the understanding of the history of the Davidic house.

III. Historical Outlook of the Chronicler.

That the history is presented from the Levitical standpoint will be at once apparent from an examination of the chronicler's long series of *additions* to the history as presented in 1-4 Kings. We give them in order:

1 Chronicles.

1. xi. 42-46. Additions to the list of "heroes" in 2 Sam. xxiii.
2. xii. 1-40. A new list of "heroes" who accompanied David to Siceleg.
3. xiii. 1-4. David's address regarding the removal of the ark.
4. xv. 1-24. Levitical arrangements for the transportation of the ark.
5. xvi. 4-42. The procession of the Levites and the Psalms they sang.
6. xxi. 6-7. The statement that Levi and Benjamin were not numbered owing to Joab's unwilling obedience to the decree.
7. xxi. 29-30. The statement that the tabernacle was at Gabaon; also that David feared at the sight of the Angel.
8. xii-xxix. David's enactments regarding the Temple and its ritual.

2 Chronicles.

1. vii. 1. The "fire" is not mentioned in 3 Kings viii.
2. xi. 5-xii. 1. Roboam's buildings, etc.

3. xii. 5-14. The words of the Prophet Semeias.
4. xiii. 3-22. Abiam's speech to his army, his victory over Jeroboam.
5. xiv. 5-xv. 15. The victory of Asa over Zera, the Prophet Azarias encourages him.
6. xvi. 7-10, 14. The Prophet Hanani rebukes Asa for seeking help from the Syrians. The account of Asa's burial.
7. xvii. 1-19. Josaphat's reforms; the Philistines and Arabians bring tribute; his captains.
8. xix. 1-xx. 30. Josaphat's further reforms; his judges; the Prophet Jehu rebukes him for helping Achab; Josaphat's defeat of Moab, Ammon and Syria; the words of Jahaziel the Levite on that occasion.
9. xxi. 2-4. Josaphat's sons.
10. xxi. 12-20. Elias' letter to Joram son of Josaphat.
11. xxii. 6. Ochozias' wounds.
12. xxiv. 15-22. Joas' apostasy; death of Zacharias the Prophet.
13. xxv. 5-16. Amasias hires Israel; he is rebuked by a "man of God"; he worships Edomite gods; he is rebuked by a Prophet.
14. xxvi. 5-21. Ozias' power; his building; his defection; his leprosy.
15. xxvii. 3-6. Joatham is a good king; his building.
16. xxviii. 5-15. Israel attacks Achaz; the Prophet Oded rebukes Israel.
17. xxix. 3-xxxi. 31. Ezechias' speech previous to the purification of the Temple; his Passover; his reformation; the tithes.
18. xxxii. 2-6. Ezechias' preparations against Sennacherib.
19. xxxiii. 11-17, 20. Manasses' captivity; his repentance; his release; his building.
20. xxxiv. 11-14. Details of Josias' preparation for building the Temple.
21. xxxiv. 32*b*-33. The effects of Josias' reform.
22. xxxv. 2-19. Josias' Passover.
23. xxxv. 21-27. Details of Josias' death at the hands of Pharaoh Nechao.
24. xxxvi. 22-23. Cyrus' decree.

Curious additions to the history can be traced in the genealogies, see iv. 39, 42, v. 17, 18, 26, vi. 48-49, ix. 1-2.

Many of these additional remarks are concerned with ritual, as, for instance, in 1 Paral. xv-xvi, xxii-xxvi, xxviii-xxix, 2 Paral. xxiii, xxiv, xxvi, xxix, see too v. 12-13, vii. 1-6, viii. 14-15. Others are moral reflections on the Divine reason for certain disasters, as in the cases of Shishaq, 2 Paral. xii. 2, of Joram, xxi. 10-19, the letter from Elias, xxi. 12-15, the wreck of the ships, xxi. 37, and finally of Amasias, xxv. 14-16, Ozias, xxvi. 16-21, and Josias, xxxv. 21-22. But there remain others which are distinctly personal, even political in their character, those for example regarding Roboam, 2 Paral. xi. 5-23, the

Ethiopian invasion, xiv. 9-15, the use of mercenaries, xxv. 6-15, and the invasion of Juda by Israel under Phacee, xxviii. 5-15.

Nor are the omissions less startling. Samuel is often mentioned, 1 Paral. vi. 28, 33, vii. 1, ix. 22, xi. 3, xxvi. 28, xxix. 29, 2 Paral. xxxv. 18, but no account is given of his work. More significant still, the whole story of David's sin and its consequences is omitted, 2 Sam. xi-xxii, *cp.* 1 Paral. xx. Even Solomon's story omits all reference to his idolatries, his love of strange women, to the adversaries raised up against him; not even the account of his accession is given nor of the wisdom divinely bestowed upon him.

IV. The Historical Value of Chronicles.

St. Jerome says that "the book of things omitted, or the epitome of the Old Dispensation, is of such importance and value that anyone who without knowing this book should claim a knowledge of the Bible would make himself a laughing-stock."[1] To many this will seem an exaggeration, yet not to those who realize that the inspired character of the work gives to its statements a quite peculiar sanction.

(*a*) **The Sources used by the Chronicler.**—Moreover, even a cursory reader must be impressed by the care with which the author cites his authorities. Some fifteen times he indicates the sources at his disposal. They fall into two groups: (i) The regular chronicle apparently kept at the court; the title of this work is variously given as: "The Book of the Kings of Judah and Israel," 2 Chron. xvi. 11, xxv. 26, xxviii. 26; or with Israel first, *ib.* xxvii. 7, xxxv. 26; or more briefly: "The Acts of the Kings of Israel," xxxiii. 18; these may of course be distinct works. (ii) The *Acts* of various Prophets; a study of the varying titles assigned to such *Acts* is interesting. Thus for David we are referred to "the Book of Samuel the Seer," to "the Book of Nathan the Prophet" and to "the Book of Gad the

[1] *Ep.* liii. 8, and again in his *Preface* to his lost translation from the Greek: "Finally, I would remark that all Biblical learning is contained in this book, and that narratives either omitted or but lightly touched upon in other places are here by brief remarks made clearer (per quædam verborum compendia explicentur)" (*P.L.* xxix. 403).

Seer," 1 Chron. xxix. 29. Similarly, three sources for the reign of Solomon are given: "The Words of Nathan the Prophet," "the Books of Ahias the Silonite" and "the Vision of Addo the Seer against Jeroboam," 2 Chron. ix. 29. For Roboam we are referred to "the Books of Semeias the Prophet" and "the Books of Addo the Seer," where his doings are said to have been "diligently recorded," 2 Chron. xii. 15.[1] The same Addo has "written diligently"[2] the acts of Abia, *ib.* xiii. 22, while the acts of Josaphat "are written in the words of Jehu the son of Hanani which he digested (entered) into the Books of the Kings of Israel," *ib.* xx. 34. Of Joas we are told that "concerning his sons and the sum of money which was gathered under him, and the repairing the House of God, they are written more diligently in the Book of Kings," *ib.* xxiv. 27.[3] This "Book of Kings" is certainly not our present Fourth Book of Kings which gives no details of the sons of Joas though it does tell us much about the collection of money for the repair of the Temple, 4 Kings xii, and refers us for further information to "the book of the words of the days of the kings of Judah," *ib.* xiii. 12. The Acts of Ozias "first and last were written by Isaias the son of Amos, the Prophet," *ib.* xxvi. 22; similarly "the acts of Ezechias and his mercies (good deeds) are written in the Vision of Isaias the Prophet, the son of Amos, in the Book of the Kings of Judah and Israel," *ib.* xxxii. 32.[4] The crimes of Manasses "are written in the words of Hozai," *ib.* xxxiii. 19.[5]

[1] xii. 15. "Diligenter," the Hebrew לְהִתְיַחֵשׂ probably means "for enrolment," *cf.* 1 Paral. v. 1.

[2] Why St. Jerome has rendered this "diligenter" is a mystery unless he derived it from his Jewish instructors, for the word used means "a copy," *cp.* Deut. xvii. 18 in the Hebrew text. The Revised Version has "commentary," a rendering which seems equally hard to justify," *cf.* xxiv. 27.

[3] "Diligentius," see note 2.

[4] The Douay Bibles in many editions omit the words "in the Vision of Isaias the Prophet, the son of Amos." Both the Septuagint and the Vulgate insert an unfortunate "and," *viz.* "in the Vision . . . *and* in the Book," presumably owing to the fact that the story of Ezechias appears in Isa. xxxvi-xxxix as well as in *Kings* and *Chronicles.*

[5] "Our Samuel and Kings and nothing earlier (with possible exceptions) underlie Chronicles in its narrative portions . . . it is however improbable that the chronicler used these canonical books directly, as the chief source

That there was an official court-recorder is expressly stated, 2 Sam. viii. 16-18, 1 Chron. xviii. 15-17, and we notice that in the case of David his *Acts* are expressly derived from precisely those Prophets, Samuel, Nathan and Gad who were his contemporaries. When it is said of Jehu that he "entered all the *Acts* of Josaphat into the Book of the Kings of Israel," 2 Chron. xx. 34, we seem to envisage a daily chronicler setting down day by day events as they took place, and then finally compiling a record of the reign of each king under whom he lived. The case of Isaias and the record of the reign of Ezechias is even more interesting, for the chronicler tells us that "the rest of the words of Ezechias and his mercies (good deeds), behold they are written in the Vision of Isaias the son of Amos in the Book of the Kings of Judah and Israel." This "Book of the Kings of Judah and Israel" cannot be the latter half of our Fourth Book of Kings, for Israel, or the northern kingdom, had by then ceased to exist, nor can the "Vision" be Isa. vi, so that again we seem to be in the presence of an official chronicle into which the official recorder made his entries.

A further source may be indicated in the various references to what appears to have been a census-book: Reuben and Gad were numbered in the days of Joatham and Jeroboam, 1 Paral. v. 17; a census seems to have preceded the captivity, *ib.* ix. 1; David ordered an official census of the Levites, *ib.* xxiii. 27; the census begun by Joab "was not put into the account (? census) in the chronicles of King David," *ib.* xxvii. 24 (see the Hebrew text).

An instance of the independent sources used by the

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of his historical material. . . . Most likely, therefore, he found them in the document which was his main source for other matter . . . this source was probably the Book of the Kings of Judah and Israel, which was in that case based on our Samuel and Kings" (Brown in *H.D.B. s.v. Chronicles*). But see Robertson Smith and Driver in *E.B.*: "That the Book of the Kings of Judah and Israel is not the canonical Kings is manifest. It must have been quite an extensive work, for among other things it contained genealogical statistics as well as other particulars not mentioned in the existing Book of Kings, and it incorporated certain other writings of (or about) prophets . . ." (p. 767).

chronicler is furnished in the accounts given of the murder of Ochozias in 4 Kings ix. 21 and 2 Paral. xxii. 9 respectively.

The foregoing remarks make it difficult to endorse the following somewhat sweeping statement:

> "All these writings must have been *post*-Exilic works; nor is it probable that, except for some of his statistical information, the chronicler had access to any sources of early date other than the canonical histories of the Old Testament. The style is conclusive evidence that no part of the additional matter peculiar to Chronicles is an *excerpt* from any pre-Exilic writing. The general conclusion is that it is very doubtful whether the chronicler used any historical work not accessible to us, with the exception of this *lost* Book of the Kings."[1]

(*b*) Possible Additions to his Narrative.—In 1 Paral. iii. 19-24 Hanani is six generations removed from Zorobabel, or about B.C. 350; similarly in the list of high priests in the days of Nehemias Jaddua is the sixth from Josue who had come over with Zorobabel, Neh. xii. 1-11. But it would be precarious to date *Chronicles* by features which may well have been added later, as was the case apparently with Ruth iv. 18-22. Moreover, in confirmation of this, Nehemias has to deal not with Jaddua but with his grandfather Joiada, the son of Eliasib, Neh. xiii. 28.

(*c*) The argument from vocabulary is always a delicate one by reason of the isolated position of the Bible; we have no other pre-Christian Hebrew literature with which we can compare it. But it is certain that a large number of words used are peculiar to *Chronicles*, *Esdras*, *Nehemias*, and *Esther*, while others are listed as Exilic and post-Exilic usages but very characteristic of *Chronicles*, others again as pre-Exilic but also largely used by the chronicler.[2]

(*d*) The figures given by the chronicler are certainly startling at times. Thus the three trans-Jordanic tribes are said to have captured in a raid on the Agarites 50,000 camels, 200,000 sheep, 2,000 asses and 100,000 men, 1 Paral. v. 20-21. The numbers are not impossible, but, as St. Jerome pithily remarks of these nomad tribes: "non tam pugnæ aptæ sunt quam latrocinio."[3] The total census

[1] Robertson Smith and Driver in *E.B.* 768.
[2] See Brown in *H.D.B. s.v. Chronicles* for lists.
[3] *On* Jer. xii. 5.

of fighting men available on David's accession works out at 340,822, 1 Paral. xii. 23-37; again the figures are not impossible, indeed there is a certain consistency in them, for example in the explanation of the scanty numbers from Benjamin, *viz.* 3,000, "for hitherto a great part of them followed the House of Saul," note, too, that the writer does not know the number from Issachar, ver. 32, while the figure 120,000 for the three trans-Jordanic tribes is in just proportion to the rest. The amazing quantity of gold stored up by David, 1 Paral. xxii. 14, makes us rub our eyes, yet Egyptian records indicate the presence of fabulous quantities of gold: Tushratta King of Mitanni writes to Amenophis III, *c.* B.C. 1500: "Send me so much gold that it cannot be measured, more gold than that thou didst send to my father; for in my brother's land (Egypt) gold is as common as dust";[1] while Diodorus states that the yearly income in gold which flowed into the coffers of Ramses II was no less than £80,000,000 sterling. Some figures however may really seem incredible. Thus Jeroboam II, 2 Paral. xiii. 3, 17, met the 400,000 men of Abias with 800,000; such numbers are not impossible, but when it is added that Abias succeeded in slaying no less than 500,000 out of the 800,000 the sceptic seems justified. Indeed there seems to be a tendency to make these armies larger and larger; Asa has an army of 580,000, 2 Paral. xiv. 8-9; Azarias, *ib.* xxvi. 13, has 310,100; Amasias has 300,000 and hires another 100,000 from Israel, *ib.* xxv. 5-6; Phacee of Israel slew 120,000 of Judah and captured 200,000 women, *ib.* xxviii. 6-8. Yet if we try to test these figures by similar Egyptian records they seem justified; in repelling an invasion by the Greeks Meneptah reckons up 24,216 slain, 9,376 prisoners and 120,214 yoke of horses;[2] Ramses III has left us in the famous *Harris Papyrus* an account of his donations to the temples at Thebes and at Heliopolis where the seemingly fabulous figures are set out with meticulous care, the gold alone, in one section alone, amounts to 282,330 grammes.[3]

[1] Budge in *Guide to the Egyptian Collections in the British Museum*, 1909, p. 98.

[2] *R.P.* iv., pp. 41-47.

[3] *R.P.* vi. 37.

There are only two instances in which we can test the chronicler's figures by comparing them with parallels in 1-4 Kings: (*a*) In 1 Paral. xviii. 4, xix. 18, David is said to have taken from Adarezer 1,000 chariots, 7,000 horsemen and 20,000 infantry; in 2 Sam. viii. 4, x. 18 no chariots are mentioned, and while the 20,000 infantry remain the cavalry are given as 1,700. (*b*) In Paral. xxi. 25 David is said to have paid Ornan 600 shekels of gold, but in 2 Sam. xxiv. 24 this is given as 50 shekels of silver.

A recent critic comments on the above facts as follows:

"The combination of these various peculiarities of the author gives a very different aspect to the history from that found in the earlier books. The pre-royal time has only a genealogical interest for him. The beginning of the kingdom, the attempts of Saul's dynasty to maintain itself, are no concern of his. David and Solomon are kings of almost spotless excellence, and enjoy undisturbed prosperity. The ceremonial law of the priests' code is recognized and observed by David, even before there is a Temple. The service is stately and rich. After the division of the kingdom the ten tribes are not of importance enough to be mentioned, except incidentally. Interest is concentrated on Judah and Jerusalem. All good Judæan kings, trained in the law of one exclusive sanctuary, of course forbade the high places. Sins, when they do occur, are sternly punished by God, and public calamities are due to sins. Huge numbers give majesty and importance to many scenes, and to the kingdom in its continuous history, and central in that history is the hand of God, His Temple, His solemn ordinances, His ceremonial and impressive worship."[1]

While there is truth in this there is also the unspoken suggestion that the chronicler is not to be trusted since his bias is so extreme. But does it follow that because a writer is silent about—or even suppresses—certain facts, that he is therefore indifferent to them? His readers have the fuller history elsewhere, in the sources he refers to so frequently; the chronicler is not ignorant of those facts, nor can he wish his readers to remain ignorant of them when he keeps on telling them where they will find them. What he wishes to do is to present the history of the Davidic house from another angle. We are furnished with a curious and instructive parallel to these divergences between *Chronicles* and *Kings* by the discovery of some of the original tablets used apparently by the Babylonian chronicler when compiling what is known as *The Synchronous History of Assyria*

[1] Francis Brown in *H.D.B.* i. 394.

and Babylonia. For the author of the latter—or rather its compiler—has omitted from his compilation everything in the tablet which might reflect unfavourably on the Assyrians.[1] No one can accuse him of untruthfulness in so doing; he has simply told the story from his own angle and for his own particular ends, and has therefore omitted what would not have served his purpose.

Once we grasp this aspect of *Chronicles* we can see why the book is, so to speak, "scrappy"; it is made up of excerpts which are selected on a definite plan and for the definite purpose of presenting a history of the people of God during the monarchy, a history written from what may be called "the ecclesiastical standpoint." The chronicler's omissions, then, are not due to ignorance. Nor are the peculiar features of the book due to the time at which he wrote; for all his materials are old, so old as to be contemporary with the events they record—unless, that is, we are to say that the chronicler is lying throughout or that he was not capable of making a right use of his materials.

At the same time it would be idle to deny that there are many difficulties to be faced when we compare *Kings* with *Chronicles*. St. Jerome complains more than once of the corrupt state of the text of *Chronicles*, and at times the commentator has to fall back on St. Augustine's dictum: "If I light upon anything in the letter of Scripture which seems to be contrary to the truth, I have no hesitation in saying that either the text is faulty, or that the translator has erred, or that I have failed to understand."

V. The Theology of the Chronicler.

The chronicler, writing at a later date than the compiler of *Kings*, has made certain changes in his exposition of God's dealings with men; thus *cp.* 1 Chron. xxi. 1 and 2 Sam. xxiv. 1; also the account of God's promises to David in 2 Sam. vii and 1 Chron. xvii. Among other theological statements due to the chronicler note 1 Chron. x. 14, the moral of Saul's fall; xv. 2, the choice of the Levites; xix. 11, their position; xvii. 17-18, contains additions; xvii. 1,

[1] See *R.P.N.S.* v. 106-114, and see the *Synchronous History* in *R.P.* iv., p. 7.

the identification of Ornan's threshing-floor with the Temple site.

A comparison of 2 Paral. i. 3 with 3 Kings iii. 3-4 indicates the chronicler's attitude towards the high places; we cannot suppose, however, that he deliberately invented his explanation that Solomon went to Gabaon because the Tabernacle was there.

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THE BOOKS OF ESDRAS AND NEHEMIAS

I. General Introduction.
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I. General Introduction.

These two books are sometimes called 1 and 2 Esdras, but the distinction of names is useful as indicating the persons whose "acts" are given in each. The two books were originally one,[1] and the Massoretes give Neh. ii. 32 as the central verse of the combined books. They deal with the restoration of the Jews owing to the decree of Cyrus after his conquest of Babylonia in 538 B.C.; *Esdras* treats of the rebuilding of the Temple, *Nehemias* of the rebuilding of the city walls. The two books cover the period from the decree of Cyrus, 538, to a few years after the thirty-second year of Artaxerxes I, Longimanus, or 432 B.C., roughly speaking, one hundred years.[2]

The Historical and Moral Importance of the Books.— These two books cover a period for which we have no other

[1] St. Jerome, *Præf.* in Esdras, *P.L.* xxviii. 1403.
[2] But see below.

evidence of real value; we see portrayed in them the Jews as they were after the captivity. While that stern discipline has purged away all idolatry from their midst they are yet not free from other grave faults which threaten to ruin them once more; Esdr. ix-x, Neh. v and xiii, show the grave abuses which soon prevailed after the restoration. Esdras and Nehemias, by their rigid enforcement of the Mosaic law, Neh. viii-ix, saved the Chosen People from incurring the same punishment as had fallen upon their fathers. The moral of the two books may be summed up as confidence in the Divine faithfulness, Esdr. i. 1, Neh. ii. 20, iv. 20, etc. These books should be read with the prophecies of Aggeus, Zacharias, and Malachias.

II. Main Divisions and Contents.

Esdras.

A. i-vi. *The return under Zorobabel.*

i-iv. 7. A description of what took place under Zorobabel.

i. The decree of Cyrus. ii. The list of those who returned, *cf.* Neh. vii. iii. The altar is set up; they keep the feast of tabernacles; the foundations of the new Temple are laid. iv. 1-7. The opposition of the Samaritans throughout the reigns of Cyrus, Darius Hystaspis, 521-485, Assuerus, 485-465 (Xerxes), and Artaxerxes.

iv. 8-vi. 18. Various documents in *Chaldaic* relative to the attempts at stopping the progress of the rebuilding of the city walls, 12-13.

(*a*) iv. 8-23. The appeal against the Jews to Artaxerxes, and its success.[1]

(*b*) iv. 24-v. 2. The Jews renew their attempt to rebuild the Temple[2] in the second year of Darius; they are stimulated by the Prophets Aggeus and Zacharias.

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[1] This document is given by way of digression; the author had said, iv. 7, that appeal had been made in the reigns of Xerxes and Artaxerxes and immediately inserts the documents containing this appeal, but in iv. 24 he takes up the thread dropped at iv. 5.

[2] Note that up to the opening of the reign of Darius I, 521-485, it had only been question of the rebuilding of the Temple, i. 2, iii. 10, and the opposition of the people from Cutha, iv. 2, *cp.* 4 Kings xvii. 24-41, had only been directed against this, iv. 1-3, nor are these opponents named. But the later appeal under Artaxerxes I, 465-425, expressly refers to the rebuilding of the city walls, iv. 12-13. For some account of this second Temple see *P.E.F.*, April, 1886, *J.T.S.*, January, 1924.

(*c*) v. 3-vi. 18. A fresh appeal against them is lodged with Darius who orders an investigation regarding the alleged decree of Cyrus; the decree is found and Darius orders its execution.[1]

vi. 19-22. An account, in Hebrew, of the Passover kept after the return; the king is called "the king of the Assyrians."[2]

B. vii-x. *Esdras describes his own return* in the seventh year of Artaxerxes I, *i.e.* 458 B.C.[3]

vii. The return; the decree in his favour from Artaxerxes, the first person is used from vii. 27-ix. 15.

viii. A list of his companions; the sacred vessels.

ix. He mourns for the sin of the people in that they have married wives of other nations.

x. All agree to put away these wives; a list of those who had so married.

Nehemias.

A. i-vii. *Nehemias' account of his return* from Babylon in the twentieth years of Artaxerxes I, *i.e.* 444 B.C.; the rebuilding of the city walls.

i-ii. Nehemias' grief at the news that the city is still desolate and its walls broken down;[4] he gets permission from Artaxerxes to return; his journey and his first tour of the city walls by night; the opposition of Sanballat, Tobias and Gosem commences.

iii-vi. The walls are built in fifty-two days in spite of the violent opposition of Tobias and his friends; the rich Jews are blamed for oppressing their poorer brethren.

vii. Nehemias finds the list of those who came up with Zorobabel.[5]

B. viii-x. *The reading of the law and the renewal of the covenant.*

viii. The solemn reading of the law in the seventh month of the twentieth year of Artaxerxes; the feast of Tabernacles is kept. ix. The public repentance; the public recitation of God's mercies throughout the history of Israel. x. The covenant is signed; the names of the

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[1] In vi. 14-15, the apparent chronological inversion by which ver. 15 seems to contradict ver. 14, will disappear if we bear in mind that the author is speaking of things which happened long before his time, for he is writing in or after the reign of Artaxerxes.

[2] It seems certain that Neh. i-vii should be inserted here, *cf. infra*, p. 164.

[3] More probably the seventh year of Artaxerxes II, or B.C. 398, *cf. infra*, p. 361.

[4] It is incredible that Nehemias should here be speaking of the ruin wrought by Nebuchadnezzar, B.C. 586, or one hundred and forty-two years previously; he is surely referring to the ruined state of the walls which the Jews had begun to repair on their return under Cyrus but which they had been compelled to leave unfinished, Esdr. iv. 12-23.

[5] This list is the same as that in Esdras ii, though certain names are variously given and the numbers are very different, yet the ultimate total, 42,360, is the same.

signatories, as also the contents of the covenant; the first person is used throughout this account of the covenant.

C. xi-xii. The restoration of the city is concluded and the walls are blessed.

xi. A catalogue of the inhabitants. xii. A list of the priests; the succession of High Priests; the dedication of the walls.

D. xiii. Various abuses are rectified by Nehemias who returns after an absence in Babylon whither he had gone in the thirty-second year of Artaxerxes I.

1-9. Tobias the Ammonite is ejected from the Temple in accordance with Deut. xxiii. 3. 10-14. Tithes are exacted. 15-22. Profanation of the Sabbath is put a stop to. 23-31. Strange wives are put away.

III. The Documents Used.

Though the foregoing divisions may seem straightforward enough it will appear on examination that *Esdras-Nehemias* is a very composite work and that it is by no means easy to follow the order of events as depicted. We have endeavoured to facilitate matters by the notes inserted. A list of the documents cited will be useful.

1. The decree of Cyrus, Esdr. i. 2-4.
2. The epistle of the Satraps to Artaxerxes I, iv. 9-16.
3. The reply, iv. 17-22.
4. The epistle of the Satraps to Darius Hystaspsis, v. 7-17.
5. His reply, vi. 3-12.
6. The decree of Artaxerxes I, in accordance with the decree of Cyrus which he has discovered, vii. 12-26.
7. Catalogue of those who returned under Zorobabel, ii. 1-70; the same repeated, Neh. vii. 7-69.
8. Catalogue of those who returned with Esdras, Esdr. viii. 1-14.
9. List of those who put away their wives taken from foreign nations, x. 18-43.
10. List of those who signed the covenant, Neh. x. 1-27.
11. List of the inhabitants after the walls had been set up, xi. 3-36.
12. List of the priests and Levites in the city, xii. 1-26.

The sudden changes from the third to the first person, and *vice versa*, should be noted; thus in Esdr. v. 4 we have the first person used quite unexpectedly, nor is it persisted in. This portion is referred to the time of Darius.

vii. 27-ix. 15. Esdras' narrative of his arrival, in the first person throughout.

Neh. i-vii. 5. The narrative of Nehemias' arrival in the seventh year of Artaxerxes, all in the first person.

x. 30-38. The covenant reads as though it were given by one who took part in it; while Nehemias' name is given, x. 1, among the signatories, Esdras' name, in spite of xii. 1, 26, 35, is wanting; it is

conceivable, then, that he wrote the account and therefore omitted his own name.

xii. 27-41. The account of the dedication of the walls is undoubtedly by Nehemias himself, and is given in the first person.

xiii. 1-31. Also in the first person, and by Nehemias himself.

We are, then, in the presence of numerous personal documents and also of official statements to which the compiler had access. And this compiler can hardly have been either Esdras or Nehemias, for when we read in Neh. xii. 26 that the Levites there mentioned "were in the days of Joachim the son of Josue the son of Josedec, and in the days of Nehemias, the governor, and of Esdras the priest and scribe," these latter seem to be referred to as already dead some time; *cf.* xii. 46, for a similar remark. Again, in Neh. xii. 10-22, we seem to have a chronology drawn up according to the succession of High Priests, *viz.* Eliasib, Joiada, Johanan and Jaddua, but the last-named was, we know, High Priest in the days of Alexander the Great, *c.* 332 B.C.[1] Another sign of the date at which the compiler lived occurs in the distinction between "King Darius," Esdr. v. 5-7, vi. 1, 12-15; and "Darius the Persian," Esdr. iv. 5, 24, Neh xii. 22; a comparison of these passages will show that while the compiler always speaks of "Darius the Persian," the original documents of the time of Darius the Great, Hystaspis, 520-485, always, and naturally, speak of him simply as "Darius" or as "Darius the King." These features, combined with the sudden changes from the first to the third person, and *vice versa*, combined also with the fact that certain passages are given in Chaldaic, *viz.* Esdr. iv. 8, vi. 18, vii. 12-26, with the fact, too, that the period between B.C. 516 and 458 is passed over in silence, all suggest a compiler who had at his disposal many original documents, amongst them the actual memoirs of Esdras and Nehemias and the Chaldaic letters written to and received from the kings of Persia, as well as the early catalogues drawn up at Jerusalem. These he has welded together faithfully, and his inspiration consisted in the light vouchsafed him to do this correctly.[2]

[1] Josephus, *Ant.* XI. viii. 4; for the confusion in Josephus regarding Esdras see *Ant.* XI. ii. 1, iii. 4-6, 8, 10, iv. 1-2.

[2] See vol. i. (1926), pp. 77-103.

IV. Proposed Rearrangement of these Documents.

It is, however, hard to accept the arrangement of the documents as we now have them and the following rearrangement is in substance accepted by many critics. The need for it will appear as we consider each point, but see more especially F and G below.

A. Esdr. i-iii. Zorobabel returns under Cyrus and starts the rebuilding of the Temple, *c.* B.C. 530.

B. Esdr. iv. 1-5. Zorobabel is precluded from finishing the work by the opposition of the Cuthæans during the reign of Cyrus, B.C. 538-521; iv. 5-23 gives a summary account of the way in which, as a matter of fact, this opposition continued throughout the reigns of Cyrus, Darius, Xerxes, and part of the reign of Artaxerxes I, that is from B.C. 528-445.

C. Esdr. iv. 24-vi. 22. On the accession of Darius I, 522-585, the edict of Cyrus in favour of the rebuilding of the Temple was renewed and the work was finished "in the seventh year of Darius," B.C. 516.

D. The rebuilding of the city walls had also been begun, Esdr. iv. 12-13, but had been hindered by the opposition of Beselem and others, iv. 6-23, down to "the twentieth year of Artaxerxes," or B.C. 445, Neh. ii. 1. It is at this juncture that Nehemias appears on the scene. He learns at Susa, from Hanani, the result of the continued opposition summarized in Esdr. iv. 6-23, namely that the walls which they had begun to rebuild had now been destroyed. He obtains leave to raise them up, Neh. ii. 5, 8; he surveys them secretly; Sanballat resists him, ii. 10, 19, iv. 1-8, vi. 1-14, 17-19. The walls are repaired, iii-iv, and finished in fifty-two days, vi. 15; usurious oppression by the Jewish nobles is stopped, v, and the list of those who had returned under Zorobabel is discovered, vii.

E. "In the seventh month" after the return of Nehemias from Susa, Esdras the scribe reads the law to the people, they repent of their misdeeds and make a covenant with the Lord, Neh. viii-x; lists of those who dwelt in Jerusalem and of those who came up with Zorobabel; the dedication of the walls; certain abuses, xi.-xiii. 5, B.C. 445-432. Quite a secondary part is assigned to Esdras at this period; he is

the priest and the scribe, Neh. viii. 1-2 *ff.*, xii. 26, but his name is absent from the list of those who subscribed to the covenant, x, also from the list of the governors, xii. 46, while it is impossible to identify him in B.C. 445 with the Esdras who came up with Zorobabel, xii. 1, in B.C. 530.

F. After twelve years in Jerusalem "in the two and thirtieth year of the king," Neh. xiii. 6, B.C. 432, Nehemias returned to Susa and then, after apparently a short space, came back once more to Jerusalem where he found many abuses, amongst others intermarriages between the Jews and their heathen neighbours, xiii. 23 *ff.*

G. "In the seventh year of Artaxerxes the king" came Esdras the scribe, Esdr. vii. 1-8. From its place in *Esdras and Nehemias* and the comparison with "the twentieth year of Artaxerxes," Neh. i. 1, ii. 1, it would be natural to regard this as "the seventh year" of Artaxerxes I, or B.C. 458. But certain features in the narrative combine to make this impossible.

(*a*) We learn that during the sojourn of Esdras in Jerusalem the reigning High Priest was Eliasib, Neh. iii. 1, xii. 10, xiii. 28, whereas during the sojourn described in Esdr. x. 6 the priest was Johanan son of Eliasib.

(*b*) Esdras, Esdr. x. 1-44, proposes a solemn covenant whereby the people undertake not to enter into marriages with the heathen and agree to put away such foreign wives as they have already taken. But if this took place in the seventh year of Artaxerxes I, or B.C. 458, is it likely that such a covenant would have been so completely forgotten by that king's twentieth year, 445, as to produce the state of affairs depicted in Neh. xiii. 23-29? We seem to have here the germ of the chaotic state at which things had arrived when Esdras came in the seventh year of Artaxerxes II, *viz.* 398 instead of the seventh year of Artaxerxes I, or 458.

If these positions are justified we shall have the following series of events:

A. The first return, under Zorobabel, Esdr. i-vi.

B. The second caravan, under Nehemias, Neh. i.-xiii. 8, when Esdras, a young and hitherto inconspicuous personage, reads the law, Neh. viii-x, the twentieth year of Artaxerxes I, or B.C. 445.

C. Esdras' official visit in the seventh year of Artaxerxes II, or B.C. 398, Esdr. vii-x.[1]

V. Some Other Points of Interest.

(*a*) The *Nathinites*, Esdr. ii. 43-54, viii. 20, Neh. iii. 26, vii. 73, x. 39, xi. 21, are of peculiar interest; they are only mentioned elsewhere in 1 Paral. ix. 2; in Esdr. viii. 20, they seem to be identified with "the servants of Solomon"; they lived on Ophel; they had certain privileges in common with the priests and Levites, Esdr. vii. 24; but they seem to have been hewers of wood and drawers of water, and thus correspond to the Gibeonites. In Neh. x they are not tithed, nor are any of them mentioned as having strange wives, presumably because they themselves belonged to a strange nation.

(*b*) The title *Tirsatha* has been corrupted in the Septuagint, Vulgate, and Douay version into Athersatha, as though it were a proper name, but the *A* is only the article, the word means "the governor."

(*c*) The identity of Sassabassar, Esdr. i. 8, 11, v. 14, 16, is disputed. The statement that he laid the foundations, Esdr. v. 16, is made again in Zach. iv. 9, where the laying of the foundations is attributed to Zorobabel with whom many identify Sassabassar and regard that name as merely the Babylonian name for Zorobabel.[2]

(*d*) In Esdr. iv. 2, 10, we find mention of Esarhaddon the king of Assyria, 681-668, and of Asenaphar who is almost certainly the successor of the preceding, namely Assurbanipal, 668-626. These names are interesting as showing us how incomplete are the records in *Kings*.

[1] For the detailed discussion of these points see M. Van Hoonacker, *Néhémie et Esdras: une nouvelle étude sur la chronologie de la Restauration*, 1890; *Zorobabel et le second Temple: Étude sur la chronologie de six premiers chapitres du livre d'Esdras*, 1892; *Néhémie en l'an vingt d'Artaxerxes I, Esdras en l'an sept d'Artaxerxes II*, 1892; *Nouvelles Études sur la Restauration Juive*, 1896. See also *R.B.*, 1894, pp. 56 *ff.*; 1895, pp. 186 *ff.*; January-April, 1901, April, 1902, October, 1923, January, 1924; Emery Barnes in *The People and the Book*, pp. 293 *ff.*; also, for an adverse criticism, Ruffini, *Chronologia Veteris et Novi Testamenti*, pp. 42-46, 1924.

[2] For the identification of Esdras with Salathiel see *J.T.S.*, 1917, p. 167, and 1918, p. 347.

VI. Chronological Tables: The Restoration to the Period of the Ptolemies.

Dates.	*Juda.*	*Babylonia.*	*Other Persons and Events.*
559		Neriglissar, 559-555.	Crœsus, King of Lydia, 560-546.
555		Nabonidus, 555-538.	
		Belshazzar, his son, co-regent with his father.	
538		Darius the Mede takes Babylon. (Dan. v. 30-31.)	
538	Edict for restoration of the Jews.	**Cyrus**, (?) 538-529.	
529		Cambyses, 529-521.	Egypt taken by Cambyses.

The Restoration to the Ptolemaic Period.

Dates.	*Juda.*	*Persia.*	*Other Persons and Events.*
521	Salathiel. Zorobabel.	Darius I, Hystaspis.	Æschylus, *b.* 528.
520	Aggeus and Zacharias prophesy.		
490			Battle of Marathon, 490.
486		Xerxes I, 486-465.	
480			Battle of Thermopylae, 480. Battle of Salamis, 480.
465		Artaxerxes I, Longimanus, 465-424.	
458	Mission of Esdras.		
444	Mission of Nehemias.		
432	Nehemias' Second Mission.		

The Restoration to the Ptolemaic Period (*Continued*).

Dates.	*Juda.*	*Persia.*	*Other Persons and Events.*
429			Plato, 429-348.
424		Darius II, Nothus, 424-404.	
404		Artaxerxes II, Mnemon, 404-358.	Aristotle, *b.* 384.
401			Battle of Cunaxa.
382			Demosthenes, *b.* 382.
359			Philip, King of Macedon.
358		Darius Ochus, 358-336.	
341	Jaddua, High Priest.		
336		Darius Codomannus, 336-330.	Philip of Macedon slain, 336.
332	Jaddua goes out to meet Alexander the Great (Josephus, *Ant.* XI. viii. 5).		
331			Battle of Arbela, 331.
330		Darius slain. *End of the Persian Empire.*	
323			Alexander the Great dies.
323-301			Struggles between Alexander's generals.
321	Onias I, High Priest.		
320	Jerusalem taken by Ptolemy Lagi.		
312			Seleucus Nicator established in Syria.
301			The Battle of Issus. Seleucus defeats Antigonus.

- ACHÆMENES
  - Teispes, *c.* 730
    - Cambyses
      - Cyrus
        - Teispes
          - Cyrus, King of Anzan
            - Cambyses
              - Cyrus the Great (the deliverer of the Jews), 559-529
                - Smerdis
                - Cambyses, *d.* 521
          - Ariaramnes
            - Arsames
              - Hystaspis
                - Darius the Great (Hystaspis) (*m.* daughter of Cyrus), 521-485
                  - Xerxes, 485-464
                    - Artaxerxes I (Longimanus), 465-424
                      - Xerxes II 1 month
                      - Sogdianus 6 months
                      - Darius Nothus (*m.* Parysatus his sister), 424-404
                        - Cyrus (*d.* 401 in trying to oust Artaxerxes II from the throne. He was the hero of Xenophon's *Anabasis*)
                        - (Son)
                          - Darius III (Codomannus), 338-331. The Persiam Empire destroyed by Alexander the Great
                        - Artaxerxes II, 404-358
                          - Artaxerxes III (Ochus), 358-338

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THE BOOK OF TOBIAS

I. Contents and Divisions.
II. The Text.
III. The Date of the Book.
IV. The Historical Character of the Book.
V. Its Place in the Canon of the Old Testament.
VI. Bibliography.

This book is a perfect idyll. It gives us the story of Tobias, one of the captives carried away by Shalmanesar; Tobias is faithful to the law and is rewarded, though by God's permission he is sorely tried at first. Into the main story is woven that of Sara, a kinswoman of Tobias; she also is sorely afflicted, but triumphs by the power of prayer.

I. Contents and Divisions.

i-iii. The virtues of Tobias and Sara; their afflictions; their prayers are heard in heaven.

iv-xii. The Angel Raphael is sent from heaven to deliver them both from their afflictions.

xiii-xiv. The epilogue.

II. The Text.

St. Jerome writes to the Bishops Chromatius and Heliodorus who had urged him to translate the book:

"I can hardly refrain from wondering at your insistent demands; for you actually beg me to translate into Latin a book written in Chaldaic, even the Book of Tobias, which the Hebrews decline to place in the catalogue of the Holy Scriptures but class among the Apocrypha. I have done enough to satisfy your wishes, but not enough to satisfy

my own studies. For the studious Hebrews reprove us and charge us with adapting to Latin ears a book which is contrary to their Canon. Yet thinking it better to displease the Pharisees and to obey Bishops, I have done as I best could. Since, then, the Chaldean speech is allied to the Hebrew, I found someone who spoke both languages readily, and, snatching a day's work, what he said to me in Hebrew that I rendered into Latin to a notary whom I employed."[1]

The Vulgate Latin is, then, the result of this "day's work," a rendering of a Chaldaic original. But an Old-Latin version exists, also at least three Greek versions which differ among themselves considerably. Four Hebrew versions and one Aramaic or Chaldaic version are also known.[2] Scholars have long disputed which of these texts more nearly represents the original, but until the discovery in 1896 of a Hebrew MS. of the third Hebrew text, none at all corresponded to the Vulgate of St. Jerome, and even in this there are divergences which make it probable that it does not represent the text from which St. Jerome translated—he says indeed that he used a Chaldaic and not a Hebrew original.[3] The Latin and Greek texts differ considerably:

Vulgate.	*Greek MSS.*
i. 14. Tobias has leave to go where he pleases.	He is the purveyor to the king.
i. 19. He flees with his wife and child.	He flees alone.
ii. 10. A swallow makes him blind.	Sparrows.
ii. 12-18. The example of Job.	Omitted.
iii. 10. Sara fasts.	She wishes to strangle herself.
iii. 19-24. Sara's prayer.	Much omitted.
vi. 16-18, 20-21. The teaching regarding chastity.	Omitted.
viii. 4-5. The same.	Omitted.
ix. 6. The four servants.	Only one.
ix. 8-12. The feast in the house of Raguel.	Omitted or much changed.

[1] *Præfatio in Librum Tobiæ.*

[2] For two Hebrew versions see Gaster in *P.S.B.A.*, June and December, 1896. For the Latin texts see *H.D.B.* iii. 59.

[3] *The Book of Tobias, a Chaldee Text from an Unique MS. in the Bodleian*, Neubauer, 1878. On the Hebrew text underlying the Vulgate, *P.S.B.A.* xviii., p. 208; an unknown recension of portion of chap. xii in a papyrus of (?) the third century B.C., *cf. J.E.A.*, January, 1918.

Vulgate.	*Greek MSS.*
xiv. 6. The destruction of Nineveh is at hand, for the word of the Lord must be fulfilled.	"Go to Media, my son, for I am convinced of whatsoever Jonas the Prophet spoke concerning Nineveh, that it be destroyed, whereas in Media there shall rather be peace for a season." In Codex *Sinaiticus* this appears as: "My son, take thy children and flee into Media, for I believe in the word of God against Nineveh which Nahum spoke, that all shall be destroyed and destruction be wrought on Ather (Assyria) and Nineveh. . . ."[1]

St. Jerome calls Raguel's wife, Anna, vii. 2, but in all the MSS. she is called Edna. In xi. 20 we are suddenly introduced to Achior and Nabath, but in the Greek, ii. 11, we have already made the acquaintance of the former, for Tobias says: "And I went to physicians and they availed me not, but Achior took care of me till I went to Elymais." Moreover, in the Vulgate and the Chaldaic version the whole story is in the third person, but in the other versions from i-iii. 6 is in the first person. In xii. 20, the Old-Latin, the Greek, and at least two of the Hebrew texts, have the Angel's command: "Do you write all that has come to pass in a book"; and in xiii. 1, "And Tobit wrote a prayer for rejoicing."

III. The Date of Tobias.

It is commonly supposed that the book was written during the captivity, or in the sixth century B.C., but certain features make it hard to accept this early date. Thus Shalmanesar is named as the king who removed Nephtali into captivity, in the Greek texts Ennemesar; but in 4 Kings xv. 29, Tiglath-Pileser III is given; it is of course possible that there were two deportations of Nephtali. Again, Sennacherib is called, i. 18, the son of Shalmanesar,[2] whereas

[1] The whole section should be read in Swete's edition of the Septuagint.

[2] Thus implying that the Shalmanesar already mentioned was Shalmanesar V who besieged Samaria, and that consequently the author is not confusing him with Tiglath-Pileser who carried off Nepthali into captivity. But see F. C. Conybeare, *The Story of Ahikar*, 1913, where the right order appears in the Aramaic text.

he was the son of Sargon; further it seems to be implied that Tobias was actually a boy when, in 975 B.C., Jeroboam I set up the calves in Bethel, i. 4-6. There are many similar difficulties when the other versions are taken into account: for example, the Greek text of vi. 6 implies that the Tigris was between Ninive and Ecbatana. It may be, then, that we have in *Tobias* the work of a Jew who wrote at a time when the details of Assyrian history and geography were not known and the writer gives names and places "according to the opinion of the time," as some would say.[1] This seems supported by the theological and moral teaching which accords with that in *Judith*, *Esther*, and *Ecclesiasticus*. Thus note the insistence upon fasting, almsdeeds, tithes, prohibited meats, continence, the burial of the dead, etc., and compare Ecclus. vii. 34-36, xxix. 12-13, xxxviii. 16-24, xl. 24, etc. In the Vulgate of i. 7 we have a reference to proselytes, and in the Greek an apparent reference to the difference between the Temple of Solomon and that of Zorobabel, xiv. 5, *cf.* Esdr. iii. 12. In ii. 6, both in the Greek and in the Vulgate, Amos is quoted by name; it may be doubted whether such a quotation is likely in the seventh century. In xiv. 6, one Greek text has "as Jonas the Prophet said," another has, "as Nahum said"; such references are hardly probably at an early date. Moreover Nahum did not prophesy before 668 B.C.

IV. The Historical Character of the Book of Tobias.

We have already indicated certain passages which seem to conflict with the historical details given in *Kings* or with data derived from Assyrian annals. We can of course take refuge in the very uncertain state of the text, though that is never a very satisfactory explanation of such difficulties. We might—as suggested above—say that the author wrote at a time when the historical details had become obscured and that he was writing "according to the opinions on such subjects in vogue in his time." Some

[1] This must, of course, be read in the light of the Encyclical "Spiritus Paraclitus," 1920; Denzinger, *Enchiridion*, 17th ed., nos. 2186 *ff.*

would even go further and maintain that he is not writing history at all but using it for his own peculiar purposes and without troubling about precision in historical statements. By way of illustration they would urge that no one could accuse Sir Walter Scott, for example, of untruthfulness—perhaps not even of inexactitude—when, while employing an historical background for his romances, he allowed himself to take liberties with the facts of history for his own purpose, which was to give us an historical romance. Is it possible, then, that in such a book as *Tobias*, we have an example of historical romance, where, that is, the writer is not so much writing history as using history freely, because he wishes "to point a moral and adorn a tale"?

But if we say that, then what becomes of the truth of the Bible? It is the ever-recurring question: What is Truth? It has been urged that in the realm of history the truth of the history of the origins of a people—still more of the origins of the world—has not the same standards as formal annalistic history such as we have in *Samuel* and *Kings*, and that consequently we cannot apply the same criteria in judging of their value. If, in opposition to this view, we were to complain that the author of *Tobias* was misleading us, that we could not see where to trust him in his historical details and where not, some theologians would reply that we had no one but ourselves to blame, since we were simply disregarding the ordinary canons of criticism and treating as history what was never meant to be so treated. They would refer us to the parables in the Gospel and ask if we could logically question Christ's truthfulness because He told us things that were patently not true. Would not Christ answer such criticism by saying, "I was but telling you a story and using historical details in order to embellish it; I was not giving you history for history's sake"? It is further urged that since there is no such thing as objectively true history—for that would demand the retention of every tiniest detail in the million happenings of the world from the beginning—it must follow that all history is essentially an affair of proportion, of selection and choosing, a question of the angle from which the writer looks at events and wishes his readers to look at them.

Yet whereas we could say that a merely human writer has

chosen a wrong angle, has got his facts out of focus, has a wrong purpose in view and wishes to make us see things not as they are but as he fancies they are, and that in consequence he is misleading us and is not to be trusted, we cannot say that when it is question of the Divine Author of the Bible. His angle must be correct; His purpose must be true; the aspect of the truth He wishes to bring into focus must be the one we ought to see. Yet this He brings about by using human agents to write, agents too whom He has created, endowed with certain qualifications, precisely in order that they might produce such narratives as He wants, and therein precisely lies their truthfulness. If we protest that that simply means that we are blindly to trust the Biblical writers, we are reminded that we have to apply to them the ordinary laws of sound criticism if we would read their message aright; that if they are writing plain history or chronicles we have to take their historical statements as plain truths for which they make themselves responsible; that if it is the history of the origins of the world which they are giving us, then—so they argue—that history is only incorrectly so-called since there was no one there to report it, and that consequently the writer can only have known his facts from Divine revelation or have acquired them from accounts current in the world in his day and due to human tradition. Moreover, whether due to men's efforts to express these facts or to Divine revelation they must, since they deal with things that no man could naturally know, be couched in legendary form and express the truth in ways adapted to human intelligence; they cannot constitute an objectively adequate account of what took place. They can only be a relatively exact expression of the truth, relative, that is, to the Divine purpose, and therefore perfectly true even though countless details are of necessity omitted and the facts presented not as they are but as the human mind is best able to appreciate them.[1]

Applying such principles to *Tobias* the adherents of such views would say that if it be true, as seems to be the case, that the story enshrined in our book is but a portion of a far larger cycle of stories current in various parts of the

[1] See St. Augustine's words, p. 141, note.

East and that the author has presented us with but a section of that, and that in so doing he has not always preserved the unities but has—almost inadvertently as it would seem —retained features of the main story, such as the references to Achior, which are out of place and simply disconcert the reader, this will not detract from the inspired character of the work. For it will simply show that while God illumined his mind to choose what was requisite for the Divine purpose and moved his will to commit that to writing, God saw no reason to correct the faults of expression perhaps natural to the writer. The Divine aim was not the production of a polished literary work but of a story naïvely told which, for the very reason of its naïveté—its crudeness if you will, its very lack of polish—should all the more effectively secure God's purpose.

V. Canonicity.

In spite of St. Jerome's theoretical view that no book was canonical unless it were written in Hebrew, *Tobias* has always found a place in the Church. We find it quoted in the Δίδαχη or "Teaching of the Apostles," Did. i. 2, and Tob. iv. 16; Did. iv. 6-8, and Tob. iv. 11 *ff*. St. Polycarp uses it, Clement of Alexandria speaks of it as "Scripture," Origen and St. Athanasius defend it, and St. Cyprian uses it in his treatise on Prayer. Lastly, it is given in all the official Church lists.

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THE BOOK OF JUDITH

I. Contents and Divisions.
II. The Text.
III. The Historical Character of the Book.
IV. Its Theological and Moral Teaching.
V. Its Place in the Canon.
VI. Bibliography.

THIS book tells the story of a Jewish heroine who, imitating Jael, saved Israel by cutting off the head of Holofernes, the general of Nabuchodonosor, when he was besieging Bethulia, a city of the Samaritan hills, overlooking the plain of Esdraelon.

I. Contents.

(*a*) i-vii. Nabuchodonosor's assault on the Jews.

i-iii. Having conquered the Medes in his twelfth year, Nabuchodonosor sends Holofernes to subdue the peoples of the west who had refused to submit to him. iv-vii. The Jews resist him, and he lays siege to Bethulia in spite of the warnings of Achior, captain of the children of Ammon; the dire straits of the besieged impel them to discuss the advisability of coming to terms.

(*b*) viii-xv. 8. The story of Judith, who protests against any such submission.

viii-ix. Her preparations for repelling the invader. x-xv. 8. Her heroic deed.

(*c*) xv. 9-xvi. The epilogue to the story.

II. The Text.

No early Hebrew text exists.[1] St. Jerome, to whom we owe the Latin translation in the Vulgate, says:

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[1] Though Gaster claims that the version discovered by himself is as near the original as can be hoped for, *P.S.B.A.*, April, 1894, pp. 156 *ff.* A translation of a Hebrew text will be found in Wace's *Apocrypha*, by C. J. Ball. The Old-Latin is given in Sabatier, I. 744-790.

"By the Hebrews the Book of Judith is counted among the Apocrypha and its authority in confirmation of disputed points is doubtful; yet it is written in Chaldaic and accounted among the historical books.[1] But since we read that the Synod of Nicæa numbered this book among the Holy Scriptures, I have yielded to your request or rather demand, and, laying aside my pressing occupations, I have devoted to it one night's sitting and translated it, not so much word for word as sense for sense. I have removed (amputavi) the disgraceful discrepancies to which the MSS. bear witness, and I have only expressed in Latin those things which a sound understanding could discover in the Chaldaic. Receive, then, Judith the widow, an example of chastity, and sing her praises in triumphal song for ever. For God set her as an example not to women only but to men; He who was the rewarder of her chastity gave her power to conquer the unconquered of men and to overcome him whom none had overcome."[2]

The Vulgate Latin translation is, then, made from the Chaldaic and, as St. Jerome freely confesses, it is freely made. The Greek text exists in at least two distinct forms: one, that in the Codices A, B, and ℵ, and another in the cursive MS. 59 which agrees with the Old-Latin and Syriac texts. These Greek texts differ extraordinarily from the Latin, *e.g.* the geographical details in chap. ii, and the résumé of the history of the Hebrews given by Achior in chap. v; the geography in the Latin is frankly impossible, in the Greek it is better. But though the general geography is confused, that of the Samaritan hills is clear and precise; the author must have been intimately familiar with the neighbourhood.[3]

III. The Historical Character of the Book.

Nabuchodonosor is called "King of the Assyrians," i. 5, and is said to reign in Niniveh. But Niniveh was destroyed in 612 B.C., and Nabuchodonosor came to the throne of Babylon in 605; it sounds fanciful to say that he was king

[1] *Cf.* "Judith de Hebræa historia," *Ep.* lxxix. 4.

[2] *Præf. in Librum Judith*, *P.L.* xxix. 36.

[3] Some of the more striking omissions in the Vulgate—and presumably in the Chaldaic text from which St. Jerome hurriedly translated it—are worth noticing, *e.g.* geographical details, ii. 28, iii. 9-10, iv. 4, 6, xv. 4; speeches are considerably abbreviated, i. 13-16, ii. 7-10, vii. 17-19, 32, x. 17-18, 20, 22, xiv. 8-9. On the other hand the Vulgate has additions of its own, independently that is of the existing Greek texts, *e.g.* vii. 6-7, xi. 11, xiv. 9-12, xvi. 24, 31. There are besides innumerable additions of words and phrases as well as corresponding omissions; see *R.B.*, January, 1898.

in Niniveh since his father's forces had destroyed it. When, too, we find his general enjoying the Persian name of Holofernes, iii. 2, and notice that the story is placed after the restoration of the Jews in 536 B.C., v. 22-23, or some twenty years after the death of Nabuchodonosor, we feel that we are either in the presence of names which are purely symbolical, or that the text has been corrupted, as St. Jerome has told us. That the names may be only symbolical is not improbable, for Bethulia means "the virgin of the Lord," and Judith is simply "the Jewess"—much as St. Peter speaks of Rome under the symbolical name of Babylon, 1 Pet. v. 13. But even if it be a fact that the names are symbolical, this will not preclude us from accepting the book as containing a true history. The only difficulty will be to know at what precise point in Hebrew history we are to place it. Those who regard the names as historical endeavour to find a period in Hebrew history when there was no king, and when the Assyrians were a great power. And it is natural to see in the story of Manasses' captivity during the reign of Assurbanipal,[1] 668-626 B.C., a period when there was no king in Israel. But it is impossible to reconcile with this view all the statements in the book; thus Achior expressly states, v. 22-23, that the Hebrews had recently returned from captivity and "now possess Jerusalem again"; with this well accords Judith's statement, viii. 18-19, that there is now no idolatry in Israel. Hence it is far better to place the history in the post-Exilic period. Thus the High Priest Eliachim, iv. 5, is called Joachim, xv. 9 (and always in the Greek text); but the only Joachim among the High Priests was a son of Josue and a contemporary of Zorobabel, Neh. xii. 10. Yet

[1] So Vigouroux, Palmieri, Cornely, Kaulen. But Eusebius, *Chronicon*, i. 2, *P.G.* xix. 468, has preserved the tradition that according to the Hebrew Nabuchodonosor was but another name for Cambyses, *cf.* St. Jerome's translation of the *Chronicon*, *P.L.* xxvii. 435 Elsewhere, on Isa. xiv. 3, *P.L.* xxiv. 160, St. Jerome suggests that Nabuchodonosor may stand for Xerxes, the Ahasuerus of Esther. The identification with Cambyses was prevalent in the Middle Ages, so Ven. Bede, Nicolas de Lyra, Rabanus, Hugo à S. Caro; St. Augustine too seems to hold it, for when talking of Cyrus he says: "At the same time occurred those events which are narrated in the Book of Judith, though the Jews, it is said, do not admit that book into the Canon of Scripture" (*De Civit. Dei*, XXVIII. xxvi; *cf.* XVI. xiii. 1).

it is not easy to assign any definite post-Exilic period for the story. In the existing Hebrew versions of the story—none of them belonging to an early date as far as can be ascertained—Jerusalem, not Bethulia, is the city attacked, and Nicanor, 1 Macc. vii, is the general slain by Judith. Hence some see in the story a veiled account of the Maccabean wars. Sulpicius Severus long ago suggested[1] that Judith lived under Artaxerxes III (Ochus), 358-336 B.C., and not under Nabuchodonosor or Cambyses. Ochus certainly made an expedition against Phœnicia and Egypt about 350 B.C., and one of his generals was called Holofernes, and his eunuch was called Bagoas, as in Judith xii. 10.

IV. Its Theological and Moral Teaching.

The lesson of the book is the power of prayer, iv. 11-17, vi. 14, 16, 21, etc. Zeal for the Temple is prominent, iv. 2, ix. 11, etc, though this is much more clearly brought out in the Greek text. The author is familiar with the Psalter, ix. 16, xvi. 17-18. In the account of Judith's preparations, x. 5, of her daily life, viii. 6, of her behaviour in the camp of Holofernes, xii. 2, 7-9, etc., we see the dawn of the teachings of the Pharisees which developed later into the extravagance which our Lord found it necessary to reprove. God's providential care is beautifully insisted on, viii. 11-27, ix. 5; He is the only God and Creator of all, ix. 17-19. In xiv. 6, Achior becomes a proselyte. If any feel that Judith lied to Holofernes—explicitly in the Greek text—it must be remembered that we are not to judge of these things according to the ideas of our times; nor because a thing is narrated in Scripture does it follow that it is altogether praiseworthy.[2]

[1] *Historia Sacra*, II. xiv-xvi, *P.L.* xx. 137, and he is followed by such moderns as Wellhausen, Robertson Smith and Noldeke, whereas others would maintain that Holofernes stands for Pompey and his advance on Jerusalem, B.C. 63; see *Encyl. Biblica*, ii. 2645.

[2] St. Jerome quotes with disapproval Origen's statement that "when a man finds it incumbent on him to tell a lie he should be careful to do so only as a condiment and a medicine and must observe due moderation and not overstep the limits set by Judith who overcame Holofernes by a prudent dissimulation in words" (*Adv. Rufin.* i. 18, *P.L.* xxiii. 412).

V. Its Place in the Canon.

St. Jerome, see above, refers to a declaration on the part of the Council of Nice that the Book of Judith was canonical. No trace of this enactment is to be found, and it may be that he is only referring to the use the Fathers of that Council may have made of the book in their discussions. Judith is quoted by St. Clement, 1 Cor. lv, with *Esther*; Origen defends it,[1] and it is found in all the official ecclesiastical lists. In 1 Cor. x. 10, we have an apparent quotation of Judith viii. 25, in the Vulgate text, not in the Greek.

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[1] *Ad Africanum*, 13; Origen uses the book freely as equivalent to S. Scripture, *De Oratione* 13, *Hom.* xix. 7 on Jeremias, Delarue, iii. 271, *Selecta in Jerem.* xxiii. 28; St. Basil uses it, *De Spiritu Sancto*, viii. 19 For St. Jerome see above. "Judith and Esther," he says, "have given their names to S. Scripture," *Ep.* lxv. 1, but he speaks doubtfully of its authority, *Ep.* xlviii and liv. 16, and on Agg. i. 5 says "that is if anyone agrees to receive that woman's book," *P.L.* xxv. 1394.

THE BOOK OF ESTHER

I. The Contents of the Book.
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I. The Contents of the Book.

THIS heroic woman's name was originally Edissa, ii. 7, in the Vulgate and Hebrew text. She was of the tribe of Benjamin, and her uncle Mardochai had been carried off by Nabuchodonosor into Babylon at the time that Jechonias had been taken into captivity, ii. 5-6, 4 Kings xxiv. 10-16, 598 B.C. According to the story, the scene is laid in the Persian court of Ahasuerus or Xerxes I, 485-465 B.C., so that had Mardochai been only one year old when carried into captivity he would have been 113 years old at the time of Xerxes' accession. Vashti, the Queen of Xerxes, had refused to present herself at a royal banquet, and was in consequence dismissed from her position. Esther was chosen to fill it, and was thus enabled to ward off from the Jews a terrible danger which threatened them from their implacable enemy, Aman, who had determined on a wholesale destruction of the Jews throughout the Persian dominions, and had by lot (*pur*) decided on the 13th Adar as the day for carrying out his design. The tables were turned upon him, however, and the Jews rose up and slew their enemies. Hence was

established the feast of Purim or "Lots" to commemorate the event. The book is thus intended to afford an historical explanation of this feast.

II. The Text.

Esther exists in Hebrew and Greek. But the latter has many passages not to be found in the present Hebrew text. These Greek additions were gathered together by St. Jerome and placed at the end of the book in his Vulgate, and they are so found in the Douay version. Yet they are necessary for the understanding of the story, and should be inserted into the body of the text in the following order:

(*a*) *Greek.* xi. 2-xii. 6. Mardochai's dream; he detects a plot on the part of Bagatha and Thara, the porters of the palace, to slay the king; his action is recorded and he is honoured for what he has done.

(*b*) *Hebrew.* i-iii. 13. The story of Vashti's disobedience; Esther is advanced in her place; Mardochai detects another (?) plot on the part of two eunuchs who are annoyed at his advancement (in the *Cod. Vaticanus*, B, no names are given and the reason for their plot is stated as above). Aman is advanced by the king, but finding that Mardochai refuses to honour him he determines to destroy the whole Jewish nation.

(*c*) *Greek.* xiii. 1-7. The text of the decree which Aman obtains from the king for the destruction of the Jews.

(*d*) *Hebrew.* iii. 14-iv. 8. The couriers are sent out with the decree; the grief of the Jews.

(*e*) *Greek.* xv. 2-3. Mardochai's words to Esther urging her to defend her people.

(*f*) *Hebrew.* iv. 9-17. Esther's fast.

(*g*) *Greek.* xiii. 8-18. Mardochai's prayer.

(*h*) *Greek.* xiv. 1-19. Esther's prayer.

(*i*) *Greek.* xv. 4-19. Esther's visit to the king.

(*j*) *Hebrew.* v. 3-viii. 12 (v. 1-2 is omitted in the Greek which thus unifies the visits of Esther); she invites the king to a banquet with Aman; Mardochai is honoured at last for the discovery of the plot (ii. 21-23, xii. 5); Aman is hanged, Mardochai is advanced to his place, the edicts procured by Aman against the Jews are reversed.

(*k*) *Greek.* xvi. 1-24. Text of the reversed decree.

(*l*) *Hebrew.* viii. 13-x. 4. The reversed decree is sent out; the subsequent slaughter of the Gentiles; the establishment of the feast of Purim; finale, the growing glory of Xerxes and of Mardochai.

(*m*) *Greek.* x. 4-13. The epilogue; Mardochai realizes that the previously narrated events are but the fulfilment of his dream.

(*n*) *Greek.* xi. 1. The subscription saying that in the fourth year of Ptolemy and Cleopatra this epistle of Phurim was brought to Egypt.

III. The Historical Character of the Book.

Few books of the Bible present a more complicated problem than *Esther* which exists in at least three distinct texts. For in addition to the Hebrew text we have two widely differing Greek texts, and the Greek is considerably longer than the Hebrew. The main difficulty regards the identity of Ahasuerus; the name as it stands in the Hebrew text undoubtedly represents Xerxes but it does not follow that it was Xerxes who was originally meant. We have already pointed out one chronological difficulty, namely the improbable age of Mardochai at the time of the events recorded. That there was always some doubt regarding the identity of Ahasuerus is clear from the fact that in the Greek text he is called Artaxerxes. Further, while the names of Mardochai and Esther are Babylonian, thus according with the statement about Nabuchodonosor, ii. 6, the picture as a whole is Persian and the author betrays a remarkable knowledge of Persian customs. Again, the names are often symbolical; thus *Mardochai* means "the beloved of Marduk or Merodach," *Esther* is "Istar"; while in the Hebrew text Aman is said to be "of the race of Agag," iii. 1, 10, viii. 3, ix. 24, *cf.* 1 Sam. xv. 32; in the Greek additions he is termed a "Bugite," xii. 6, also a "Macedonian," xvi. 10, 14. In the Hebrew text, then, he seems to stand for some symbolical enemy of Israel, while in the Greek he stands for the Macedonian Alexander the Great, the enemy of the Persian Empire. But though the names are of small importance, for they may have been changed, the texts may have been corrupted, etc., yet the facts remain. And nothing has ever been brought forward to prove the impossibility of the facts stated in *Esther*. The book was intended to explain the origin of the feast of Purim, and it is an historical fact that this feast was a most ancient one.

The grandiloquent opening of the book is quite in accord with Darius' own words in his inscriptions. Thus in the famous inscription on the rock 400 feet above the plain at Behistun we have five columns divided into paragraphs and giving a trilingual account in Arian, Scythic and Semitic of the way in which Darius the son of Hystaspes literally

hewed his way to final victory despite ten rebellions. He is depicted as trampling on the prostrate body of Gomates the Magian who had claimed to be Bardes, son of Cyrus, slain by his brother Cambyses. There are nine other figures of rebels, among them Nadinta-belus, who claimed to be Nabochodrossor son of Nabonidus, Phraortes who said he was the rightful king of Media, and others who claimed kingship of various districts. Darius enumerates twenty-three provinces subject to him, amongst them Persia, Susiana, Babylonia, Assyria, Arabia, Egypt, Sparta, Ionia, Media, Cappadocia and Parthia. Each paragraph opens with the words "Says Darius the King" and the inscription begins with an account of his descent:

"My father was Hystaspes; of Hystaspes the father was Arsames; of Arsames the father was Ariyaramnes; of Ariyaramnes the father was Teispes; of Teispes the father was Achæmenes; on that account we are called Achæmenians."[1]

One of the generals employed in suppressing the revolts was Gobryas,[2] and over his figure at the tomb of Darius we read: "This is Gobryas, the Patischorian, the lance-bearer of King Darius."[3] In another inscription, at Nakshi-Rustum, Darius says:

"I am Darius the great king, the King of Kings, the King of the nations of every different tongue; the King of the vast and wide world; Son of Hystaspes the Achæmenian, a Persian, son of a Persian."

He then enumerates some twenty-eight provinces over which he ruled, amongst others Media, Susiana, Parthia, Bactria, India, Babylonia, Assyria, Arabia, Egypt, Armenia, Cappadocia, Sparta, Ionia.[4]

Exploration in Susiana, first begun by Loftus[5] in 1851, later carried on by Dieulafoy, 1884-86, then by Jequier, 1897-98, and finally by J. de Morgan, 1908-1913, when among other things he laid bare the palace of Darius,

[1] For the translation see *Records of the Past*, i. 107 *ff.*, iii. 85.

[2] *Ibid.* cols. iv. 18 and v; see *Introduction* to *Daniel.*

[3] *Ibid.* ix. 78. *Cf.* H. C. Tolman, *The Behistun Inscription of King Darius*, 1908.

[4] *Ibid.* v. 149 *ff.*

[5] Sir Kenneth Loftus, *Chaldea and Susiana,* 1857.

enables us to visualize the spot where Vashti stood when she refused to come to the banquet, while the story of Aman and Mordecai becomes a reality.[1]

IV. Its Place in the Canon.

Josephus[2] evidently reckons *Esther* amongst the twenty-two canonical books; elsewhere[3] he uses indifferently the Hebrew text and the Greek additions, thus he calls Aman an "Amalecite." Similarly, for Josephus the king is always Artaxerxes, not Xerxes. In 2 Macc. xv. 37, the 13th Adar is called "the day before Mardochai's day." Later there arose doubts among the Jews regarding the canonicity of *Esther* because of its secular tone, for the name of God is not once mentioned in the Hebrew text though frequent in the Greek additions. Some of the Fathers, too, doubted the canonicity of *Esther*, *e.g.* St. Athanasius and St. Gregory of Nazianzen; but Origen defends the canonicity of the Greek additions,[4] and St. Clement of Rome, 1 Cor. lv, uses them without qualification. St. Augustine regarded it as canonical,[5] and St. Jerome, while setting on one side the Greek additions as not occurring in the Hebrew, yet makes no disparaging remarks regarding them; on his theoretical principles, however, he must have considered them as extra-canonical. The book has always figured in the official catalogues of the Church, and the Greek portions must presumably be held to be included in the expression of the Council of Trent: "the entire books with *all their parts*."

V. The Date of Esther.

In the subscription, xi. 1, the book is said to have been translated by one Lysimachus, at Jerusalem, and to have been brought into Egypt in the fourth year of Ptolemy and

[1] See M. L. Pillet, *Le Palais de Darius Ire à Suse, Ve. siècle av. J. C.* See, too, Perrot et Chipiez, *History of Art in Persia*, 1892, though written long previous to these discoveries.

[2] *Contra Apion.* ii. 8.

[3] *Ant.* XI. vi. 1.

[4] See on the canonicity of *Wisdom*, p. 256 *ff.*

[5] "Esther cujus res gesta non longe ab his temporibus invenitur" (*Civ. Dei*, xviii. 36).

Cleopatra ; but as there were four Ptolemies who had wives called Cleopatra this does not help us to decide the date of its translation or its appearance in Egypt; the earliest of these Ptolemies was Ptolemy V, B.C. 205-182. In ix. 20, we read of Mardochai that he himself wrote the letters, hence it is not impossible that we have contemporary documents employed; but the whole tone of ix. 20-32 is against the idea that Mardochai wrote the book as we now have it in Hebrew.

VI. The Theological and Moral Tone of the Book.

As already remarked, in the Hebrew text the name of God is absent, and were it not for the practice of fasting, iv. 16, and the reference to a providential choice of Esther, iv. 14, it would not be easy to discern the Divine element in the Book. Possibly this is to be explained by the presence of the Jews in a heathen land where all expression of their religion was denied them, and where they had gradually absorbed the current ways of thinking; we find the same feature in 1 *Maccabees*. The greatest difficulty, to the modern mind, lies in the massacres of chap. ix, see especially Esther's request, v. 12-15, where she asks to have an extra day of slaughter allowed to the Jews. But we must judge of these things according to the ideas of those times, and it must be remembered that the Jews had received gross provocation from the cruel vindictiveness of Aman.

VII. Bibliography

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THE BOOK OF JOB

I. Contents and Divisions.
II. The Object and Scope of the Book.
III. Its Historical Character.
IV. The Date of Composition.
V. The Style.
VI. The Text.
VII. The Theological Teaching.
VIII. The Natural History.
IX. Bibliography.

"Job the example of patience, what mysteries are enshrined in his words! He begins with prose, he slips into verse, he ends with halting words. He employs all the devices of dialectic; he argues by propositions, assumptions, confirmations and conclusions. Every single word of his is full of meaning. To pass over other things: he so foretells the resurrection of the body that no one ever yet wrote more clearly of it nor yet more cautiously" (St. Jerome, *Ep.* liii. 8).

The *Book of Job* is arranged as a drama, and the various stages in its development may be presented as follows:

I. Contents and Divisions.

A. i-ii. *The Prologue* (in prose), Job's prosperity; Satan obtains from God power to touch first his substance and then his person.

B. iii-xxxi. *The dialogue* (in metre) *between Job and his three friends.*

(*a*) iii-xiv. *The First Scene.*

iii. Job curses the day of his birth; his three friends, each in turn, insinuate that he must have sinned, else God could not so afflict him. iv-v. *Eliphaz* rebukes him for his want of patience, iv. 6, urges that he *must* have sinned, and v. 17, bids him confess. vi-vii. Job answers

Eliphaz ; vi. 11, he has not lost patience ; vi. 25, 30, he maintains his innocence. viii. *Baldad* takes up the thread ; Job *must* have sinned, viii. 6. ix-x. Job answers Baldad ; no man is justified before God, ix. 2, *cf.* xiv. 16 ; he insists on this, ix. 20 ; but he confesses that he is puzzled, x. 2, 14. xi. *Sophar* takes up the charge and, in explicit terms, accuses Job of sin ; xi. 4, Job has insisted on his innocence yet Baldad hopes that God will convince Job of sin, xi. 5-6. xii-xiv. Job answers Baldad ; his friends mock him, xii. 4 ; they lie, xiii. 4 ; but his trust is absolute, xiii. 15 ; he reiterates his innocence, xiii. 18.

(*b*) xv-xxi. *The Second Scene.* The three friends return to the charge and, each in turn, insist in yet stronger terms that Job has sinned.

xv. Eliphaz declares that he is wicked and blasphemous, xv. 5 ; he paints in awful colours the fate of the wicked. xvi-xvii. Job is content to reiterate his innocence, xvi. 18, xvii. 2. xviii. Baldad angrily insists that Job is a wicked man ; he again, in vivid colours, paints the lot of the wicked. xix. Job once more replies that he is innocent, xix. 6 ; he complains of his friends' treatment of him, xix. 21 ; he makes an explicit declaration of his faith in the existence of his Redeemer, and in his own future resurrection, xix. 25-29.[1] xx. Sophar accuses Job of pride, and

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[1] On this famous passage see St. Jerome, *Ep.* liii. 8, *Contra Joann. Hieros.* 30; Swete, *Introduction to the O. T. in Greek*, pp. 337-338; *R.B.*, January, 1896, January, 1902. Wallis Budge surely exaggerates when he says that in Egypt "Osiris was regarded as the god-man who suffered, died, rose again, and reigned eternally in heaven. He was 'the king of eternity, lord of the everlastingness, the prince of gods and men, the god of gods, king of kings, lord of lords, prince of princes, the governor of the world, whose existence is everlasting !' . . . To the Egyptians . . . he was in all times the cause of their resurrection, and was also the *resurrection* itself. He was both god and man, and could sympathize with them in sickness and death. . . . 'Homage to thee, O my father Osiris ! Thy flesh suffereth no decay, worms touched thee not, thou didst not moulder away, withering came not on thee, and thou didst not suffer corruption ; and I shall possess my flesh for ever and ever, I shall not crumble away, I shall not wither, I shall not become corruption'" (*Guide to the Egyptian Collections in the British Museum*, 1909, p. 139).

Cheyne's comment on xix. 25-29 will serve to show the principles employed by many modern critics and the length to which they carry them : "We cannot indeed venture, in deference to later Christian beliefs, to let the text of xix. 25-27 pass, and assume that the passage refers either to the hope of the resurrection, or at least to the hope of conscious and continuous intercourse with God in an unbodied state of existence. A close examination of the text shows that it has not only suffered corruption but also received interpolations, and our general experience with the ancient versions (which have often made Prophets and poets give support to the later eschatology) justifies us in dealing with the M.T. somewhat freely. The present writer's attempt at a thoroughly critical restoration may be thus rendered :

As for me, I know it—my Avenger lives,
And (lying) in the dust I shall receive his pledge ;

he too insists on the awful fate which awaits the wicked. xxi. Job retorts that if their doctrine is true they must further explain why the wicked are not, as a matter of fact, punished in this world, rather they prosper.

(c) xxii-xxxi. *The Third Scene.* Definite charges are now brought against Job.

xxii. Eliphaz brings four accusations against him, xxii. 5-9; he urges him to submit, xxii. 21. xxiii-xxiv. Job repeats that he is innocent, and demands to be tried before God's tribunal, xxiii. 3-7; he asserts that the wicked will be ultimately punished, xxiii. 8-xxiv. 25. xxv. Baldad briefly declares himself mystified; he repeats Job's assertion that no man is justified in the sight of God. Sophar attempts no reply. xxvi-xxxi. Job's final answer. xxvi. God has no need of such pleaders of His cause as these three friends. xxvii. Job again asserts his innocence and dwells upon the fate of the wicked. xxviii. Men search after the precious metals, but who searches after true wisdom? xxix-xxx. He contrasts his present state with his former affluence and high position; God has changed in his regard, xxx. 21. xxxi. He describes in dignified terms the virtues of his past life.

C. xxxii-xxxvii. A new speaker now appears upon the scene. *Eliu* has been a silent listener to the dispute, but can now contain himself no longer. He argues that Job is wrong in failing to recognize that God's punishments may often be rather *medicinal* than *vindictive*, they may be meant as a timely reminder to a man that he is in God's hand.

xxxii. 2. Eliu is angry with Job because he had said he was just; he is angry with the three friends because they had given no reasonable answer but had only condemned. xxxiii. 12-13. Job is wrong in complaining that God has not answered him. xxxiii. 14-30. Sufferings are God's *medicine* for our souls, *cf.* xxxvi. 9-10. xxxiv. 9, 37. Job has blamed God. xxxv. 3-7. He has demanded an answer.

The dramatic character of the whole is strikingly brought out in xxxvi. 27-xxxvii. 24, where the first mutterings of the storm are heard, *cf.* Ps. xxviii.

D. xxxviii-xlii. 6. *God speaks out of the storm.* No attention is paid to what Eliu has said; indeed xxxviii. 1 takes up

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Shaddai will bring to pass my desire,
And as my justifier I shall see my God.

When ye say, 'We will pursue him like a hart,
And will satisfy ourselves with his (lacerated) flesh';
Have fear for yourselves because of your words,
For those are words of iniquity (xix. 25-29).

So then the dream of a permanent resurrection of the old intercourse with God on earth or in heaven is not finally ratified by Job's mature thought," *E.B.* 2474.

the thread of xxxi. 35 where Job craves that the Almighty may hear him.

xxxviii. What is Job in comparison with his Creator? Beginning with the inanimate creation, xxxviii. 4-38, the power of God and the nothingness of man are wonderfully depicted. Next, the animal creation is presented: the lion, the wild goat, the wild ass, the wild ox, the ostrich, the horse, the hawk, the hippopotamus, and the crocodile, xxxviii. 39-xli. 25. In these passages we have the most wonderfully vivid descriptions of the various animals, and some of these, notably that of the horse, have become classical.

xlii. 1-6. Job repents "in dust and ashes."

E. xlii. 7-16. *The Epilogue* (in prose). The three friends are sternly rebuked by God; the latter days of Job are more prosperous than those preceding his trials.

II. The Object of the Book.

The object of the book may be gauged by the foregoing sketch of its contents. The same problem seems to be proposed as in Pss. xxxvi, lxxii and Jer. xii: what is the cause of the afflictions which beset the just man?

Job's friends regard all suffering as *punishment* for sin, and in consequence look upon God solely as Judge. Eliu, looking upon God rather as Father, considers that the sufferings which afflict the just man are God's mercies, they are His *medicines* so to speak, admonitions which humble a man and so keep him from sin. The Prologue, on the other hand, clearly views the just man's sufferings as *probative*, they are destined to show forth his virtue and his patience to a wondering world. And this view is tacitly endorsed in the Epilogue. At the same time, three subsidiary lessons are inculcated: (*a*) when the just man is afflicted we are not to see in his sufferings the punishment of sin, *cf.* John ix. 1-3; (*b*) it is foolish for the sufferer to call God in question, and this seems to have been Job's mistake, *cf.* iii. and xxxix. 22; (*c*) God will finally have mercy. Here Job signally triumphs; he is downcast and puzzled but he never for an instant loses faith. That Job was not of the stock of Israel and that, whether he actually existed or not, the drama concedes the possibility of a Divine revelation being bestowed outside the Chosen People, impressed the

early commentators as well as their modern successors, see St. Augustine for example, *Civ. Dei*, xviii. 47.

III. The Historical Character of the Book.

Three main views have been held: (*a*) some of the Rabbis appear to have held that the whole is strictly historical; (*b*) there is nothing historical about it, it is the creation of a poetical mind and simply intended to point a moral, so Theodore of Mopsuestia who regarded the book as pure fiction and thought it was modelled upon some of the Greek dramas;[1] (*c*) the more probable view is that the story has an historical foundation in the sense that Job actually existed, Ezech. xiv. 14, 20, Tob. ii. 12, 15, Jas. v. 11, but that the treatment is not historical; thus note (*a*) the artificial character of the Prologue; (*b*) the way in which God is represented as disputing with Job; (*c*) the dramatic introduction of the storm; (*d*) the symbolic numbers in the Prologue, Epilogue, and the "three" friends; (*e*) the idealized nature of the calamities; (*f*) the artificial and highly-wrought dialogues. At the same time, that the main features are historical may be argued from the definite mention of the land of Hus, *cf.* Gen. xxii. 21, xxxvi. 28, Lam. iv. 21.

The Talmudic *Baba Bathra*, xv. 1, quotes a Rabbi as saying: "Job existed not, and was not created, but he is a parable." So St. Thomas:

"There have been people who thought that Job never actually existed but that the story is a species of parable constructed as a sort of peg, as it were, on which to hang a discussion on Providence, just as men often put an imaginary question in order to debate about it. Now while, so far as the teaching contained in the book goes, it does not make very much difference whether Job really existed or not, yet it may be questioned whether this theory is solidly founded. For it certainly seems to run counter to the authority of Scripture, since we read in Ezechiel (xiv. 14): *If these three men: Noe, Daniel and Job shall be in the midst thereof they shall deliver their own souls by their justice.* Now it is clear that Noe and Daniel did actually exist; consequently it would seem that there can be no room for questioning the actual existence of the third who is named, *viz.* Job. So, too, in Jas. v: *Behold we account them blessed who have endured. You have heard of the patience of Job, and you have seen the end of the Lord.* Consequently we have to believe that Job was a person who actually

[1] See vol. i, pp. 63-65.

existed. But at what date he lived, and who his parents were, and who it was who wrote this book—whether, namely, Job himself wrote it, speaking of himself in the third person, or whether someone else wrote the book about Job, it is not our purpose to discuss here. For all we aim at here is to give—according to our capacity, and in reliance on God's assistance—a brief exposition according to the literal sense of the book entitled *Of the Blessed Job*; for the blessed Pontiff Gregory has with such subtlety and wisdom set forth its deeper mysteries that nothing can well be added to his work."[1]

The attempt has been made to identify Job with the Jobab who reigned in Edom, Gen. xxxvi. 33-34, 1 Paral. i. 44-45; but this is due to an addition by the Septuagint, from the Syriac, to the closing chapter of *Job*, and apparently nothing more than a guess.[2]

IV. The Date of the Book.

The Hebrew of the book is exceedingly difficult, and often very archaic in form: hence, in default of any evidence to the contrary, it is legitimate to argue an early date for the composition. The arguments from internal evidence are precarious; critics who hold that the Pentateuch is in the main a post-Exilic work and that *Deuteronomy* only dates from about 621 B.C., urge that the similarities between *Job* and Deut. xxviii make for the late

[1] *Prol.* to his *Commentary on Job.*

[2] The Syriac addition runs as follows: "This (passage) is translated from the Syriac Bible; dwelling in the land of Ausitis (Hus), in the mountains of Idumæa and Arabia, there ruled a man whose name was Jobab; and he took an Arab woman to wife and begot a son called Ennon. His father was Zare, a son of the sons of Esau, and his mother was Bossoras, so that he was the fifth from Abraham. And these are the kings who reigned in Edom where too he was chief, the first Balac the son of Beor, and his city was called Dennaba; after Balac, Jobab who is called Job. . . ." But St. Jerome rejects the identification, *Quæst. in Genesim*, xxii. 20 and xxxvi. 33, *P.L.* xxiii. 994, though it is accepted by St. Epiphanius, *Hær.* i, and Theodoret, *Quæst. in Genesim*, 93. St. Jerome's caution on the subject of Job is remarkable: he may be a priest, though not a Levite, he is probably not of the stock of Esau, *Ep.* lxxiii. 2, and while some say he reigned in Edom after Balac "mihi videtur longe aliter," *De Situ locorum*, *P.L.* xxiii. 890; again some point to Ashtoreth-Karnaim as the site of his house, *ibid.* 885; and Jerome translates without comment Origen's equally cautious statement "he is said to have lived in the times of the Patriarchs and Moses," *Hom.* iv on Ezech. xiv, *P.L.* xxv. 724.

date of the former. It is also urged that the minute and thorough discussion of so complex a moral problem demands a long previous history. Striking parallels can be shown between *Job*, the *Psalter*, *Proverbs* and *Jeremias*. P. Dhorme would assign the composition of the book itself to the period between *Zacharias*, *c.* 500 B.C., and *Malachias*, *c.* 450 B.C., on the ground that it shows acquaintance with Isa. xl-lxvi, *cp.* ix. 8 and Isa. xliv. 24, even with *Chronicles*, *cp.* xii. 17-19 and xxxvi. 7-12 with 2 Chron. xxxiii. 10-13, also with some presumably late Psalms, *cp.* v. 16 and xii. 21-24 with Ps. cvii, vii. 10 with Ps. ciii. 16. He would even argue that the theological teaching of the book is a conspectus of the theology of the Pentateuch, the Prophets and the Hagiographa.[1]

In the Syriac Bibles Job stands immediately after the Pentateuch, apparently on the ground that the book was written by Moses, as some traditions preserved in the Talmud would indicate.[2] Almost every age has been suggested for the book. Delitzsch and Cook prefer that of Solomon; Ewald, Renan and Dillmann refer it to the period between the seventh and fourth centuries B.C.; Cheyne urges that it is impossible to assign it to the age of Jeremias,[3] while Driver and Davidson would suggest that it appeared either during or shortly after the Exile.[4]

Whoever the author was, and at whatever time he lived, he must have been well acquainted with the desert, note the similes drawn from desert life and the vivid pictures of desert scenery; iv. 10-11, vi. 15, vii. 2, viii. 10-11, ix. 26, etc., also the description of the Bedouin tribes, xxiv. 2-13, xxx. 1-8; the picture of patriarchal life, xxix; the living pictures of the desert animals, xxviii. 39-xlii. 5; the description of the working of the mines, xxviii. 1-11; the whirlwind, iii. 6, ix. 17, xxxviii 1. At the same time the author knows of agriculture, v. 5, 26, vi. 5, xxiv. 3-4; is acquainted with life in cities, xxiv. 12, xxxi. 21, xxxix. 7; and has seen the "ships of the sea," ix. 26.

[1] *Le Livre de Job*, 1927, pp. cvii, cxxiv *ff.*, cxxxv, cxlii, etc. See, too, W. E. Barnes in *The People and the Book*, p. 297.

[2] *Sota*, v. 8; *Baba Bathra*, xv.

[3] *E.B.* 2487.

[4] See his *Job and the Second Part of Isaiah*, an Appendix to his *Prophecies of Isaiah*, ii. 235 *ff.*

V. The Style.

The dramatic form of the book causes it to stand apart in the Bible, and, as we have no other example of the Hebrew dramatic style, unless it be *Canticles*, the difficulty experienced in following the thought is very great. The involved style, the sudden changes of speaker,[1] the interrogations and exclamations which abound, increase the difficulty. The Prologue and the Epilogue are in prose, but the body of the book is in poetical form as Origen and St. Jerome remarked long ago. The latter, indeed, regards it as composed in hexameters and other metres.[2] It is interesting to compare the style of Job's speeches with those put in the mouths of his friends; the latter are often intentionally turgid while the former, though impassioned, have a dignity about them which is very striking. The construction of the drama is peculiar. As already pointed out, the solution of the problem is plainly indicated at the outset in the Prologue and is only tacitly assumed in the Epilogue. But a great deal of difficulty is caused by the intrusion of Eliu; there are not wanting critics who hold that his speeches did not form part of the original book but were inserted later. The reasons alleged are that: (*a*) His name is not mentioned either in the Prologue or in the Epilogue. (*b*) Neither does Job reply to his charges. (*c*) The Divine answer in xxxviii completely disregards Eliu

[1] Thus note St. Augustine "in this book, wherein many persons are introduced as speaking, we have not only to consider what is said, but by whom," and he instances the words of Job's wife, ii. 9, *ad Orosium, contra Priscillianistas*, 12, *P.L.* xlii. 676.

[2] From chap. iii, says St. Jerome, "we have hexameter verses with dactyls and spondees, yet, by reason of the idiom he uses, other feet are frequently admitted, not indeed of the same syllables but of the same measure. At times his rhythm runs sweetly and in tinkling measure, with a disregard for the laws of metre which poets will better understand than the simple reader. . . . Anyone who questions the existence of metre among the Hebrews and finds it hard to believe that the *Psalter*, the *Lamentations* of Jeremias, and in fact practically all the Canticles in Scripture, are cast in poetical form like our Horace or the Greeks Pindar, Alcæus and Sappho, should read Philo, Josephus, Origen and Eusebius of Cæsarea, they will then realize that I am correct," *Præf. in Job*, *P.L.* xxv. 1081-1082, *cf. Præf. in Chronicon Eusebii*, *P.L.* xxvii. 36-37.

and takes up the thread from xxxi. 35. (*d*) Unlike the "friends" he addresses Job by name and even seems, xxxiii. 9-11, to quote his actual words as though he had *read* the book. On the other hand, without Eliu's speeches the discussion would be very incomplete, for the notion that sufferings might be due to God's fatherly desire to prevent a man from sinning would naturally occur to the framer of the drama. Moreover, Eliu's references to the storm rapidly coming up prepare the way for God's address from the whirlwind. And there would seem to be great dramatic skill in the omission of all reply to Eliu; for he was not wrong, his doctrine was sound. Lastly, his speeches are couched in very obscure and very unusual Hebrew and presumably they are therefore equally ancient with the rest of the book.

VI. The Text.

St. Jerome translated *Job* twice, first from the LXX, adding from Theodotion those portions which were in the Hebrew but omitted in the Greek; and later, directly from the Hebrew. In his *Preface* to the former translation he says:

'Such is the force of custom that even errors confessed to be such please some folk; they would rather have books beautiful than correct! Wherefore, my Paula and Eustochium, receive with joy Job entire and unspotted, after, among the Latins, lying so long on his dunghill befouled with the worms of error. . . . Wherever you see *obeli* in this my text know that the passage which follows is not in the Hebrew; and where you see *asterisks* know that what follows is added from the Hebrew."[1]

In his *Preface* to the later translation, direct from the Hebrew, he says:

"If you take away the portions marked with *asterisks* you will cut away the larger part of the book—I am speaking only of the text the Greeks have. But as to that which the Latins have, previous to the publication of my recent translation with *obeli* and *asterisks*, practically seven or eight hundred verses were wanting."[2]

St. Jerome here gives a most interesting account of his method in translating:

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[1] *P.L.* xxix. 61.

[2] *P.L.* xxviii. 1081.

"This translation follows no one ancient interpreter, but you will find in it now the very words, now the sense, of either the Hebrew or the Arabic, or sometimes even of the Syriac. For even the Hebrews allow that there is an indirectness and a slipperiness about the book. It is what the Greek rhetoricians describe as: 'tricked out with figures of speech,' and while it says one thing it does another. To translate it is like trying to hold fast an eel or a lamprey, the tighter you grasp it the more it slips away. I remember that when I wanted to understand this book, I paid no trifling sum to a teacher from Lydda who was considered by the Hebrews to be one of the best. Whether I profited by his teaching I know not; one thing, however, I do know: I could not translate the book till I understood it."[1]

As St. Jerome has told us, the Greek, and the Latin text derived from it, were in a very corrupt state in his day. But while he emphasizes the difficulty of the Hebrew text he does not suggest that it too was corrupt. The real difficulty seems to lie in the many displacements of the text which have taken place. To enumerate but a few: it is probable that xxiv. 18-24 should come after xxvii. 13, while xxvii. 13-23 should perhaps be assigned to Job instead of to Sophar. The same may be true of xxvi. 5-14 which should follow on xxv. 6 and thus continue Bildad's speech from xxv. 2-xxvi. 14, while xxvi. 1-4 should be read as a continuation of xxvii. 2, and xxix. 11-20 should come after ver. 25. It is possible, too, that xxiv. 18-24 together with xxvii. 13-23 should all be put in the mouth of Sophar.[2]

The Septuagint text was considerably shorter than the Hebrew so that the translation made from the original by Theodotion was a sixth as long again as the then current Greek versions and the Old-Latin and the Sahidic rendering of the latter.[3]

Origen had pointed out to Africanus that "throughout the whole of Job there are many passages in the Hebrew which are wanting in our copies (the LXX), often four to five verses, sometimes as many as fourteen or nineteen or sixteen."[4] Five MSS. of the Septuagint with Origen's

[1] *P.L.* xxviii. 1081. [2] Dhorme, *l.c.*, pp. xxii-xliii.

[3] Burkitt, *The Old-Latin and the Itala*, p. 8, and see St. Augustine's remark about the corrupt state of his Latin text, *Ep.* cxlvii. 25. For a study of the text see Dhorme *passim* and Houtsma, *Textkritik Studien zum Alten Testament, I. Das Buch Hiob*, 1925; Howorth, *P.S.B.A.*, January-February, 1911.

[4] *Ad Africanum*, 4.

"obeli" or critical marks indicating additions or omissions are still in existence, but there also exists a Coptic version of the LXX text without these "obeli" and presumably affording us an idea of the Greek text as it was before Origen tried to expurgate it.[1] The tendency has been to regard this shorter Greek text as representing the original Hebrew text, so that the present Massoretic text would indicate considerable amplification.[2] Consequently critics, starting from the assumption that the present Hebrew is corrupt, try to reconstruct it by the help of the versions but more particularly with the assistance of their own subjective notions on what Hebrew poetry ought to be.[3] Thus Cheyne would hold that "Job, like Homer and like the Sagas, has grown together by the combination of different elements";[4] consequently "the Book of Job has no literary unity, and cannot have had a purpose. It has grown; it has not been made. The different parts of the book, however, had their purpose, which must be sought for by an exegesis unfettered by *a priori* theories."[5]

Hence the tendency of most recent criticism of *Job* has been to make a series of drastic "cuts." The Oratorian Houbigant perhaps gave the first impulse to this movement when he applied the principles of Arabic philology to the book;[6] Bickell and Siegfrid[7] have carried out these principles —though they also rely on their metrical notions—so ruthlessly that hardly more than one-half of the present Hebrew text of *Job* remains; less ruthless are Wright and Cheyne, though to most minds their results are sufficiently startling,[8]

[1] Published by Card. Ciasca in 1889.

[2] See Hatch, *Essays in Biblical Greek*, pp. 215-245.

[3] This has been the case particularly with Bickell, *Carmina Veteris Testamenti*, 1882, pp. 150-187, his reconstructed text has been practically taken over by Dillon in his *Sceptics of the Old Testament* and, so it would seem, by Cheyne, *E.B.* 2466.

[4] *E.B.* 2485.

[5] *Ibid.* 2489; Margoliouth on the other hand would uphold the unity of the book, *Outlines of Biblical Defence*, chap. iii (*b*).

[6] *Notæ Criticæ in universos libros Veteris Testamenti*, ii. 155-218, 1777.

[7] *Carmina*, *ut supra*.

[8] Thus Cheyne would excise iv. 8-11, v. 36 *ff.*, xxiv. 1-24, xxviii. 1-27, xxx. 2-8, xxxix. 13-18, xl. 15-24, xli. 1-24, also the speeches of Eliu as well as the Prologue and Epilogue, see his *Job and Solomon*, 1887, *Job and the Second Part of Isaias* in his *Prophets of Israel*, 3rd *ed.*, 1884.

while Davidson is considered "conservative" since he seems content to excise only the Prologue and Epilogue as well as the speeches of Eliu.[1]

But apart even from their use of disputable metrical principles the methods of modern criticism are to say the least peculiar. Thus Cheyne:

"The date of the book (in its completest form) will be that of the latest insertion . . . and this can easily be determined. A prominent supernatural personage in the celestial court is called 'the Satan' ('adversary,' 'accuser'). The same personage appears in his character of 'accuser' before Yahve in Zech. iii, and it can readily be shown that the conception of the Satan is more developed in Job i and ii than in Zech. iii. Now the date of Zech. iii is 519 B.C.; the first book of Job is therefore later than 519 B.C."[2]

VII. The Theological Teaching.

The problem discussed in the book necessarily involves much theological teaching. The author has, with a fitting sense of the proprieties, never placed on the lips of his Idumæan actors the ineffable name, Jehovah, יהוה, save once in xii. 9, and, in the form Adonai, xxviii. 28. For these Idumæans God is either El-Shaddai, אל־שדי, El, אל, Eloah, אלוה, or Elohim, אלהים, *cf.* xxvii. 8-11. In the Prologue and Epilogue the ineffable name is used only once, i. 21, and Elohim is the general term. Nowhere in the Bible have we such clear teaching regarding the Divine attributes, ix. 1-15, x, xii, xxiii, xxvi. The underworld, hell or the grave, is spoken of again and again, vii. 9, x. 21-22, xiv. 13, xvii. 13, xxiv. 16, xxvi. 5-6, xxxviii. 17. The fate of the wicked is plainly set forth by Job, xxi, xxvii. 8-23, and still more plainly by his friends. Job expresses his belief in a judgement to come, xix. 29; and in xiv. 13-16, xvi. 22-23, hopes that his innocence will then be declared. And it should be noticed that, while most strenuously maintaining his innocence, Job never denies the innate sinfulness of man, *cf.* ix. 2, etc.; his doctrine is that sinful man has nothing to do but trust, indeed his

[1] *Job* in the *Cambridge Bible for Schools*, 1884.
[2] *E.B.* 2486.

own declarations of trustfulness are wonderful, xiii. 15, xvi. 18-23, xix. 25-27, xxiii. 3-4. The picture of the court of heaven with its Angels, and the intrusion of Satan, i. 6, ii. 1, iv. 18, xv. 15, xxxviii. 7, should be compared with that in 3 Kings xxii.

VIII. The Natural History.

We have already referred to the pictures of animal life which abound; it remains to note that the "rhinoceros," in xxxix. 9, etc., is more probably the wild ox: the translation "cock" in xxxviii. 36, is much disputed; some take it to be the human "mind," so R.V., but in the margin "meteor"; St. Jerome derived his translation presumably from his Hebrew teacher, for in the Rabbinical treatises the Hebrew word here used means "a hen." The Douay version is often obscure, and in some places needs emendation, *cp.* v. 7, xii. 5, xxxii. 21-22, xli. 23, xlii. 6, in D.V. and in R.V.

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THE PSALTER

I. Its Relation to the Rest of the Bible.
II. Numbering of the Psalms.
III. Various Groupings of the Psalms.
IV. The Messianic Character of the Psalter.
V. The Titles of the Psalms.
VI. The Historical Value of the Titles.
VII. The Compilation of the Psalter.
VIII. "Maccabean" Psalms.
IX. The Principal Versions of the Psalms: Greek, Coptic, Latin, Saxon, and English.
X. Bibliography.

"David, Simonides noster, Pindarus et Alcæus, Flaccus quoque, Catullus et Serenus, Christum lyra personat et in decachordo psalterio ab inferis resuscitat resurgentem," St. Jerome, *Ep.* liii. 7.

I. Its Relation to the Rest of the Bible.

In Hebrew תְּהִלִּים, "Tehilim" or "Praises"; this is but a generic title only found in the title to Ps. cxliv, though at one time the title "Prayers" may have been in use, for the subscription to Ps. lxxi runs: "The prayers of David the son of Jesse are ended," *cf. infra.*

The Psalter stands apart from all other books of the Bible both in contents and character. It is thus comparable to the "Acts of the Apostles"; for just as "Acts" marks the transition from the Gospels to the Epistles, so the Psalter stands as a link between the Law and the historical books on the one hand and the poetical and prophetical books on the other. Yet while "Acts" shows the Gospel in action the Psalter shows the law in meditation. Truly the hymn-book of Israel, it is the mirror of the

religious sense of the people; in the Law God spoke to His Chosen People, in the Psalter the Chosen People speaks to its God.[1]

DIVISIONS.

The Psalter is divided into five distinct "books," which are separated off from one another by a doxology:

I. Pss. i-xl. II. Pss. xli-lxxi. III. Pss. lxxii-lxxxviii.
IV. Pss. lxxxix-cv. V. Pss. cvi-cl.

II. The Numbering of the Psalms.

In all versions, as well as in the Hebrew original, there are 150 Psalms, but as some of them are not divided in the same way in the original as they are in the Septuagint and Vulgate versions,[2] the numbers attached to the individual Psalms vary according as a particular version is made from the Hebrew or from the Greek or Latin text. Considerable confusion hence arises; for the Anglican versions have followed the Hebrew enumeration. The following table shows the variant numbers:

Hebrew, followed by the Later English Versions.		*LXX, followed by the Vulgate, Catholic, and Earlier English Versions.*
i-viii.	=	i-viii.
ix. 1-21. x. 1-18. "Ut quid Domine."	=	ix. 1-39.
xi-cxiii.	=	x-cxii. "In Domino confido"—"Laudate Pueri."
cxiv. 1-8. "In exitu . . ." cxv. 1-18. "Non nobis. . . ."	=	cxiii. 1-26. "In exitu . . ."
cxvi. 1-19.	=	cxiv. "Dilexi . . ." cxv. "Credidi . . ."
cxvii-cxlvi.	=	cxvi. "Laudate Dominum omnes gentes"—cxlv. "Lauda anima mea Dominum."
cxlvii.	=	cxlvi. "Laudate Dominum quoniam"—cxlvii. "Lauda Jerusalem Dominum."
cxlviii-cl.	=	cxlviii-cl.

[1] See W. O. Oesterley, *The Psalms in the Jewish Church*, 1910.

[2] It is somewhat remarkable that with all his love for the "Hebraica veritas" St. Jerome always uses the numeration to which we are accustomed in the Greek, Latin and Douay versions, *cf. Comment.* on Matt. xxii. 41, *Adv. Rufin.* i. 13, *Ep.* cxl. 1. For the mystical significance of these numbers see St. Augustine, *Enarr.* on Ps. cl.

Since, then, the Hebrew text divides Ps. ix into two parts, the Hebrew and Anglican numeration is always one ahead of the Latin, Greek, and Douay versions as far as Ps. cxiii, "In exitu Israel," where the Hebrew again divides the Psalm into two, so that at this point the Hebrew and the versions derived directly from it are two ahead of the Latin, Greek, and Douay versions.

Thus Ps. cxiv. (Heb.)	=	Ps. cxiii. 1-8.
Ps. cxv.	=	Ps. cxiii. 9-18.

But the old order is at once restored, for Ps. cxvi in Hebrew combines "Dilexi" and "Credidi," or Pss. cxiv and cxv of the Greek, Latin and Douay versions, so that these latter are still one behind in the numbering. But in the Hebrew text Ps. cxlvi, "Laudate Dominum quoniam," is united with the next Psalm, "Lauda Jerusalem Dominum," so that the number of 150 Psalms is ultimately arrived at in both cases.

In the Douay version, the title is counted as a verse, hence the numbering of the verses is different from that inserted into the original and in the other versions.

III. Various Groupings of the Psalms.

The division into books given above is of the greatest interest from the point of view of the formation of the Psalter, *cf. infra*; but for the understanding of the Psalms it is not of so much value as are some of the following groups:

(*a*) **Penitential Psalms.**—This purely ecclesiastical division has no foundation in the Bible beyond the fact that Pss. vi, xxxi, xxxvii, l, ci, cxxix, and cxlii particularly lend themselves to seasons of penance since they express the feelings of a contrite soul; many others, *e.g.* vii, xi, xii, etc., might equally well be termed "penitential."[1]

[1] Perhaps the earliest reference we have to the "Penitential Psalms" occurs in the touching account left us by Possidius of St. Augustine's last days: "In the illness of which he died he had copied out for him the few Psalms of David which treat of penitence, and lying in his bed with the sheets pinned on the wall in front he had them before his eyes during his sickness, he read them, and as he read he shed frequent and copious tears" (*Vita*, xxxi).

(*b*) **Imprecatory Psalms.**—These, so often on the lips of our Puritan forefathers, are a stumbling-block to many in reading the Bible; Pss. xxxiv, li, liii-lviii, lxiii, lxvii, cviii, and cxxxvi are generally counted as the "cursing" Psalms and they no doubt contain sentiments which are abhorrent to our more sensitive minds. But these Psalms are essentially Jewish, they must be read in the light of the Old Law which begot them; when once we start trying to read "the Law of Grace" into the Law of Moses we get into difficulties. The *Lex Talionis* was a reality for Israel as much as for Babylonia in the days of Hammurabi.

(*c*) **The Didactic Psalms**, or those Psalms which contain a great deal of moral teaching, and which are not so much hymns as questionings of the soul; among them may be conveniently reckoned Pss. xxxvi, xlviii, xlix, lxxii, etc.

(*d*) **Historical Psalms.**—In certain Psalms, *e.g.* in lxxvii, ciii-cvi, cxiii, cxxxiv, and cxxxv, we find historical themes handled with the view of stirring up men to worship the God of Israel with renewed fervour.

(*e*) **Liturgical Psalms.**—In some Psalms more than in others we seem to have the words of the Jewish liturgy, *e.g.* lxvi, civ, cxxxiii-cxxxv, cxlviii-cl.[1]

(*f*) **Alphabetical or Acrostic Psalms.**—Pss. ix, xxiv, xxxiii, xxxvi, cx, cxi, cxviii, and cxliv have an artificial formation doubtless intended as an aid to the memory; in some each verse, in others each half verse, in another every two verses, in another every eight verses, begin with a consecutive letter of the alphabet. The same feature appears in Lament. i-iv, Prov. xxxi. 10-31, and in the Hebrew text of the last chapter of Ecclesiasticus, *q.v.*[2]

[1] See C. C. Keet, *A Liturgical Study of the Psalter*, 1928, though the author seems to find it impossible to believe in any pre-Exilic Psalms.

[2] *Cf.* St. Jerome, *Præf. in Libros Samuelis et Regum*, *P.L.* xxviii. 551; *Adv. Jovin.* ii. 34, *Ep.* xxx. That the Psalms are poetry no one will question, *cf.* vol. i, 1926, pp. 118-122, but St. Augustine's words on this subject are worth noting: "What metre David uses in his verses I have not discussed (he is speaking of his treatise *De Musica* for which the bishop Memorius had asked him) because I do not know. Nor can an expositor bring out with the aid of the Hebrew—of which I am ignorant—the metrical system, lest by attending to the metre he should find himself driven away from that true exposition which the meaning of the sentences demands. Still that the Psalms are metrical I believe on the authority of those who know Hebrew well" (*Ep.* ci. 4).

IV. Messianic Character of the Psalter.

Certain Psalms are termed "Messianic," *e.g.* ii, viii, xv, xxi, xliv, lxxxviii, cix, cxxxi, etc.; a somewhat misleading expression, for in a very true sense the whole Psalter is Messianic. That the Hebrews so regarded it will be evident from a study of the quotations in Heb. i, where, in proof of the Messianic character of Jesus, Psalms are quoted which we should not otherwise have regarded as Messianic. After all Israel was the Chosen People, their king was a theocratic king—the vicegerent of God in a peculiar way; Israel is "the son of God," Exod. iv. 22-23, Deut. xxxii. 6, Isa. lxiii. 16, Os. xi. 1; also "the servant of Jehovah," Isa. xli. 8, etc. The Psalter is but the expression of the people's sense of this glorious prerogative; it is precisely in the national hymn-book that we should expect to find this feeling most clearly displayed. And what Israel in general was, that the Davidic king was in a special manner, for he summed up in his own person what they were as a nation: he is "the Son of God," 2 Sam. vii. 14, Ps. ii. 7, lxxxviii. 20-38, etc.; "the Servant of Jehovah," 2 Sam. vii. 5, and, in a marked way, the vicegerent of God, Ps. ii. 6, 1 Paral. xxviii. 5, xxix 23, 2 Paral. ix. 8. And just as the nation was conscious of its prerogatives, so also was the Davidic king conscious of them, though he might at times forget their practical import, as did Achaz and others; *cf.* 1 Paral. xxviii. 4-5.

But this prerogative was essentially not for the sake of the Hebrews themselves; they were chosen as the depositories of God's promises to the whole world: "In thee shall all the nations of the earth be blessed." The Hebrews as a nation were perfectly conscious of this: "All the ends of the earth shall remember, and shall be converted to the Lord; and all the kindreds of the Gentiles shall adore in his sight," Ps. xxi. 28; *cf.* Rom. iii and ix-xi. The Davidic king, too, had a sense of his own position in the Divine plan, as St. Peter claims explicitly for David, Acts ii. 24-36; while in Ps. cxxxi we have a clear commentary by David himself on the promises made to him in 2 Sam. vii, *cp.* Ps. lxxxviii.

The Psalter, then, is the expression of these Messianic

hopes. It is in no sense an historical book; it is a prayer-book, and as such is timeless. This explains the shadowy character of the "king" who figures so frequently in its strains; this, too, will show how futile it is to attempt to resolve the Psalter into a series of comments on different historical events. Perhaps hardly a single Psalm can be dated with certainty;[1] allusions to contemporary or past events are shadowy for they are not referred to for their own sake but for the lesson they teach. While, however, we insist upon this Messianic character of the whole Psalter as embodying the hopes of Israel, certain Psalms are Messianic in a more striking way than others. Thus we have a whole series of what we may call the "King" Psalms, *e.g.* ii, xvii, xix, xx, xliv, lxxi, lxxxviii, cix, cxxxi. In these Psalms no individual king is mentioned, nor apparently even thought of; it is rather the ideal king, the perfect ruler; yet he is not put before us as an abstraction, he is a reality, he will one day rule; neither is his advent spoken of merely as something desirable, it is an assured certainty. These "King" Psalms are scattered over the whole Psalter, and they are, by their titles, attributed to different authors and, apparently, to different periods in Israel's history. If we try and determine more closely who is meant by this "king" we are baffled. Thus in Pss. xix and xx, the "king" can hardly be God, yet in xliv and cix it seems clear that the author passes beyond the shadowy king of whom he so often speaks, and addresses Him whom the former, in some sense, typifies. Only thus can we explain such passages as "thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever!", Ps. xliv. 7, words addressed to the person who is the subject of the previous portion of the Psalm and who has up to that moment been spoken of from a purely human standpoint. The same must be said of Ps. cix, "The Lord said to my Lord," which received, at least indirectly, a Divine commentary, Luke xx. 40-44, and finds its key-note in "Thou art a priest for ever according to the order of Melchisedech," words which no rationalistic explanations have ever been able to whittle away. In these expressions, then, and in many others, the Psalmist seems

[1] See Barnes in *The People and the Book*, p. 297; also St. Jerome *on* Ezech. xxix-xxx.

to pass from the type to the antitype, from the Davidic king to David's KING.

This transition is still more marked in Pss. xcii, xciv-xcviii. In all these is portrayed the "coming of the King to *judge the world*"; it is nowhere made clear in the Old Testament that it is the same king who is here meant as in the preceding Psalms; it was left for New Testament times and teaching to bring this truth into prominence and show that the idealized "Davidic" king, and "the judge of the spirits of all flesh," were one and the same.[1]

(*a*) **Psalms of the Passion of Christ.**—In xxi, lv, lxviii, cviii, etc., the same shadowy personage who figures throughout the Psalter is represented as afflicted with the deepest suffering; here again it is idle to attempt to find an historical occasion for each of these Psalms; such attempts always have failed and always must fail. Similarly it is idle to declare that in the Psalms we have the cry of the nation and not of the individual sufferer. A just view of the essentially typical character of the nation and of its king would save us from such speculations which only serve to obscure passages of consummate beauty, already, by reason of their typical character, sufficiently hard to understand. That they received their highest fulfilment in the Person of Him who took upon Himself "the chastisement of our peace" is evident from the way in which He Himself made use of these very Psalms in describing His sufferings; the Evangelists, too, argued in the same way, John xix. 36-37, etc. These Psalms should be compared with Isa. lii-liii, and with those many passages of *Jeremias* which the Church in her liturgy has consecrated to the services connected with the Sacred Passion precisely because she has always seen in that Prophet a figure and a type of the Suffering Messias.

[1] Thus note St. Thomas: "Psalterium continet totum Sacram Scripturam . . . materia hujus libri est Christus et membra Ejus," *Proem.* to his *Commentary on the Psalms.* Hence he is able to lay down the principle "Evitare debemus unum errorem damnatum in Quinta Synodo; Theodorus enim Mopsuestensis ait quod in S. Scriptura et Prophetiis nihil expresse dicitur de Christo sed de quibusdam aliis rebus; sed adaptaverunt Christo; sicut illud Ps. xxi: 'diviserunt sibi vestimenta mea . . .' non de Christo sed ad litteram dicitur de David. Hic autem modus damnatus est in eodem Concilio, et qui asserit sic exponendas Scripturas hæreticus est" (*ibid.*).

(*b*) **Psalms of "the Son of Man."**—This title applies to certain Messianic Psalms which do not dwell upon the character of the Messias as King, nor as Judge, nor as the Expiator of the sins of the world, but rather upon His character as the true and undefaced Image of God, as the Unfallen Man in whose Person alone was completely fulfilled the original Divine plan, "let us make man to our image and likeness, and let him have dominion over the fishes of the sea," etc. This last-named feature is prominent in Ps. viii; man's ultimate redemption from the curse of death in Ps. xv; the complete self-surrender of the Messias in Ps. xxxix, etc.[1]

V. The Titles of the Psalms.

These have always proved a puzzle. St. Augustine, after a somewhat fanciful exlpanation—due to his lack of Hebrew—of the title of Ps. lxxxvii, says of the titles in general, "I confess that despite all my efforts I cannot understand them, nor am I satisfied with what I have read on the subject in the treatises of those who have discussed this question already, though perhaps that is due to my dulness."[2] St. Jerome has no doubts about the importance of the titles, he even holds that where none is given the implication is that such Psalms are by the author of the one that last bore the name of an author, thus he regards Moses as the author of Pss. lxxxix-ci;[3] he even goes so far as to say that the naming of Samuel in Ps. xcviii is due to Moses' gift of prophecy![4] Dormitat Homerus!

The title of Ps. lx (lix) runs as follows: "*Unto the end for them that shall be changed, for the inscription of a title; to David himself, for doctrine. When he set fire to Mesopotamia of Syria and Sobal, and Joab returned and slew of Edom in the Vale of the Salt-pits twelve thousand men.*" This is the longest and fullest title in the Psalter and will therefore serve to illustrate the nature of the titles in general. It is composed of at least six distinct parts: "unto the end," in Hebrew

[1] It is significant that Paul of Samosata went so far as to prohibit the singing of Psalms to our Lord Jesus Christ as being the modern productions of modern men, Eusebius, *H.E.* VII. xxx. 10.

[2] *Enarr.* in Ps. lxxxvii.

[3] *Ep.* cxl. 2, *Apol. adv. Rufinum* i. 13, *Prol.* to Comment. on Malachi, *P.L.* xxv. 1542.

[4] *Ep.* cxl. 4.

lammenatseach, לַמְנַצֵּחַ, a term which St. Jerome rendered "victori," or "for the conqueror," thus following Aquila, Theodotion and Symmachus, see the Greek version of Hab. iii. 19; the Septuagint has *εἰς τὸ τέλος*, the Vulgate "in finem," whence our Douay rendering "unto the end." St. Jerome was undoubtedly right in principle, for the Aramaic root *natsach*, נצח, certainly does mean "to conquer"; but the same root in Hebrew also means "to preside" or "superintend," 2 Paral. ii. 8, 18, xxxiv. 12, Esdr. iii. 8-9, where St. Jerome has in the two former instances rendered the word by "præpositus," in the latter more forcibly by "ut urgent,"[1] so that we may render it in the Psalm-titles "for the chief cantor." Thus the first part of the title is a *liturgical* one. The next portion is more difficult: "for them that shall be changed" should probably be rendered "the lilies of the testimony"; the same title, in part at least, occurs in Pss. xliv, lxviii, and lxxix; possibly it, as well as the mysterious "for the hidden things of the son," ix, "for the morning protection" (better "for the hind of the dawn"), xxi, "destroy not," lvi, lvii, lviii, and lxxiv, "for Maeleth" lii, "for Maeleth, to answer," lxxxvii, should all be understood as references to the "air" to which the Psalm in question was to be sung.

The third part is perhaps the most obscure of all; "for the inscription of a title," in Hebrew *miktam*, מִכְתָּם, the Septuagint and Theodotion *εἰς στηλογραφίαν*. None of these renderings are too clear; the Targums have "a most excellent inscription"; St. Jerome, following Aquila and Symmachus, writes "David humble and simple"—the most astounding rendering of all!

The most important part is "for David himself." The question is whether the Hebrew preposition *le*, לְ, means authorship. It clearly does so in Hab. iii. 1, and we should have no difficulty in conceding that in the Psalter it meant authorship but for the fact that it occurs in the titles of those Psalms which are called "for the sons of Core," xli-xlviii, lxxxiii-lxxxiv, lxxxvi-lxxxvii. How can a body of men be described as "author" of any one Psalm? Hence it is far more probable that in this portion of the title we are to see a reference not so much to the author as to the collection from which the Psalm in question was taken, or to which it was to be assigned.

The next clause is "for doctrine," *i.e.* "for *teaching*" or "for *learning*"; perhaps a reference to the custom of committing poetical pieces to memory, see two notable examples in Moses' Canticle, Deut. xxxi, *cf.* verse 19; and in the "Song of David" over Saul and Jonathan, 2 Sam. i. 19.[2] There then follows the historical allusion to David's campaigns in Edom and in Syria; though we cannot identify these precisely we may see in them a general allusion to 2 Sam. viii. 5-14; x. 15-19; and 3 Kings xi. 15.

The above title is a long one, yet it does not include all the terms which enter into the Psalm-titles. It will enable us, however, to group the various constituents of the titles as follows:

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[1] *Prol.* to Comment. on Daniel, *P.L.* xxv. 492.

[2] See *J.T.S.*, April and July, 1915.

Liturgical Titles.—We have already referred to the use of the term "for the chief cantor," also to the rubric "for doctrine." There remain a number of titles which are probably vestiges of rubrics: (1) Ps. xciii is, in the Hebrew text only, directed to be sung on the Sabbath; but in the Septuagint version of the titles, Ps. xxiii is set aside for the first day, xlvii for the second, xciii for the fourth, and (in the Old-Latin) lxxx for the "day before the Sabbath." The same arrangement appears in the Talmudic treatise *Tamid.* (2) In Pss. xxxvii and lxix we find the expression "for a remembrance," לְהַזְכִּיר, *lehazkir*, perhaps a reference to the "memorial" sacrifices of Lev. ii. 2, xxiv. 7, Num. xvi. 46, and 1 Paral. xvi. 4. (3) The title of Ps. xcix is "a Psalm of praise," לתודה, *lethoda*, a title more significant than appears at first sight for it is really a summary of the "Confitemini" Psalms, civ, cv, cvi, cxvii, cxxxv; *cp.* lv. 11-12. (4) Ps. xxix. is entitled "at the dedication of David's house." Many see in this an allusion to the dedication of the Temple, and assign it to the dedication of the Maccabean Temple in 164 B.C. But there is nothing in the Psalm to favour either the late date or its reference to the Temple rather than to the palace which David built for himself. In the Septuagint Ps. xxviii has a similar title, "at the finishing of the tabernacle," this may refer to the tabernacle which David, 2 Sam. vi. 17, had pitched for the reception of the ark. It is sometimes suggested that these and similar liturgical titles only indicate the use of these particular Psalms on certain anniversaries; but there is no proof of this, indeed it seems an unnecessary shirking of the plain teaching of the title. The Psalms of the first book are all, with the exception of i-ii and xxxiii, attributed to David (for a discussion of this point see *infra*), the similarity in tone between Pss. xxv and xxix should be noted.

The Gradual Psalms.—This title may be included among the liturgical or rubrical titles. Its precise meaning has been much disputed: (*a*) An allusion to the fifteen steps which, in the second Temple, that of Zorobabel, led from the court of the women to that of the men; this seems based upon a false understanding of a reference in the Talmud which merely draws a parallel between these steps and the fifteen Gradual Psalms.[1] (*b*) An allusion to the "ascending" structure of these Psalms, but though such a structure can be determined in some of them, in Ps. cxx for instance, it is next to impossible to see any trace of it in the rest. (*c*) A reference to the return under Esdras, *cf.* Esdr. vii. 9, but it is hard to justify this. (*d*) A reference to the hymns commonly sung by the pilgrims as they "came up" to Jerusalem for the yearly feasts; this has much in its favour, *cf.* Isa. xxx. 9, 29; Ps. xli. 5, cxxi. 4; 1 Sam. i. 3. These psalms are real lyrics, and have always been favourites.[2]

Besides liturgical titles, we have the mysterious term "*Selah.*" That it is a musical term seems to follow from the fact that twenty-nine out of the thirty-nine Psalms in which it occurs bear the title for "the chief

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[1] St. Jerome seems to hint at this, *Adv. Jovin.* ii. 34, *P.L.* xxiii. 333.
[2] *Cf. R.B.*, 1895, pp. 214, 272.

cantor," and that the remaining ten also bear musical titles. Its occurrences in the Psalter are not without interest for the investigation of the steps which led to the present form of the Psalter, *cf. infra.*[1] "Selah" occurs in nine Psalms of Bk. I, in seventeen of Bk. II, in eleven of Bk. III, in none of Bk. IV, in two of Bk. V. Its meaning will perhaps always remain a mystery; the Septuagint, Symmachus and Theodotion, rendered it *διαψάλμα*, *diapsalma* or "pause," clearly regarding it as a musical term; the Jewish tradition, the Targums, Aquila always, the Greek versions known as the fifth and sixth, Theodotion and Symmachus sometimes, rendered it *ἀεί*, *aei*, or "always," this was preferred by St. Jerome who, however, omitted it in his corrections of the Latin Psalter, hence its non-occurrence in our Douay version. Outside the Psalter "Selah" occurs only in Hab. iii, where it appears three times. In Ps. ix. 17, it is found in conjunction with a peculiar word, *Higgaion*, הִגָּיוֹן, xci. 3, probably meaning "meditation," *cf.* xix. 15.[2]

Titles indicating Musical Instruments.—(*a*) "In verses," "in carminibus," in Hebrew *binginoth*, בִּנְגִינוֹת, Pss. iv, vi, liii, liv, lv, lxvi, lxxv and in Hab. iii. 9; in Job xxx. 9, it is rendered "song." The word is probably from the root *nagah* meaning "to finger," hence "to play on an instrument." (*b*) In Ps. v only we have *el-han-nechiloth*, אֶל־הַנְּחִילוֹת, "pro ea quæ hæreditatem consequitur," a rendering taken over from the Septuagint, and probably due to a false etymology, for though the root *nachal* means "to inherit," yet our word is better referred to the root *chalal*, "to perforate," whence a noun meaning a "flute," *cf.* "with a pipe," Isa. xxx. 29.

Titles indicating the Pitch or Tone.—In Ps. xlv we have the expression *al-alamoth*, עַל־עֲלָמוֹת, "for the hidden," a translation taken directly from the Vulgate and Septuagint. St. Jerome rendered it "pro juventutibus," following Aquila; he appears to have understood it as referring to the voices of maidens, perhaps indicating "soprano"; a comparison with the next term, "for the octave," Pss. vi and xi, will perhaps make this meaning clearer. In 1 Paral. xv. 19-21, both terms occur in juxtaposition, "Zacharias . . . sung *mysteries* upon psalteries," עַל־עֲלָמוֹת בִּנְבָלִים, *bin-nebalim al-alamoth* (R.V. "with psalteries set to *Alamoth*"), "and others . . . sung a song of victory for the octave upon harps," לְנַצֵּחַ בִּנְגִנוֹת עַל־הַשְּׁמִינִית, *lenatseach al-hash-sheminith* (R.V. "with harps set to the *Sheminith*"). These two terms may indicate the higher

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[1] See below, pp. 217-220.

[2] On Selah see besides the Biblical dictionaries and introductions to the Psalter, *P.S.B.A.* xii, p. 298; Swete, *Introduction to the Bible in Greek*, p. 449; *R.B.*, October, 1899, p. 573; *J.T.S.*, May, 1911, p. 374, July, 1917. St. Augustine evidently regards the Selah as a rubric for choral recitation, thus on Ps. xlii, "aliquando versus ipse in diapsalmate ponitur, qui præbeatur a lectore, et respondeatur a populo," *Tract.* xxii. 5 in Joann.; similarly St. Optatus speaks of the latter part of Ps. xlix as being "in secunda diapsalmate," *De Schismate Donatistarum*, iv. 3.

and lower octaves respectively. The term עַל־הַגִּתִּית, "for the presses," Pss. viii, lxxx, lxxxiii, in Vulgate, "pro torcularibus," was rendered by Aquila and Theodotion, γετθιδιδος, *Getthididos*, presumably a Gethite instrument, possibly referring to the "march" of the Gethite guard, *cf.* 2 Sam. xv. 18.[1] In Pss. lxi and lxxvi the expression "for Idithun" is difficult; the Hebrew preposition here is *'al*, which we should rather render by "*upon*," but "Idithun" can hardly be an instrument, for in Ps. xxxix. 1, we have "*for* Idithun," with the preposition *le* which may signify authorship, see above, while 1 Paral. xvi. 41 shows that Idithun was one of David's cantors; hence in these titles the term may mean "set to a melody composed by Idithun."

Titles indicating Different Species of Psalms.—(*a*) Fifty-seven Psalms are entitled "Psalm," in Hebrew, מִזְמוֹר, *Mizmor*, root *Zamar*, "to vibrate," hence "to touch musical chords," *cf.* ix. 12, xxxiii. (xxxii.) 2-3. (*b*) Thirty are called "canticle," שִׁיר, *shir*, perhaps implying that the piece was not accompanied by music; the two terms are sometimes combined, "a canticle of a Psalm," or "a Psalm of a canticle," *e.g.* lxv-lxviii. (*c*) Thirteen Psalms are called "understanding," מַשְׂכִּיל, *maskil*, perhaps to be understood of "didactic" Psalms since the root *sakal* means "to teach," *cf.* Dan. xi. 33, where the curious play upon the word should be noted; at the same time many of the Psalms so entitled can hardly be called "didactic," so that the word may indicate a Psalm constructed with a certain technical art. (*d*) Six are termed "the inscription of a title," מִכְתָּם, *miktam*, *cf. supra*. (*e*) In vii, and in Hab. iii. 1, we meet with the word *shig-gaion*, שִׁגָּיוֹן, rendered in the Greek, Latin and Douay versions, simply "a Psalm" in Ps. vii, but in Hab. iii. 1, *al shig-gaion*, עַל־שִׁגָּיוֹן, is rendered by the Septuagint μετὰ ᾠδῆς, "with a song," Vulgate "pro ignorantiis," where St. Jerome has followed the lead of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion; the origin of this interpretation is not clear, the Hebrew root, שׁגה, *shagah* may mean either "to cry aloud" or "to wander," from this latter meaning some have derived the sense of a dithyrambic poem for Shiggaion. (*f*) Five Psalms, xvi, lxxxv, lxxxix, ci, cxli, are called "prayers,"[2] and the same term reappears in the subscription to Ps. lxxi, 'the prayers of David the son of Jesse are ended'; in the Douay version we read 'praises' for 'prayers' in accordance with the Septuagint and Vulgate, but it leads to a confusion of two distinct words *viz.*, תְּהִילִים, *tehilim*, "praises," the title of the whole Psalter, and תְּפִלּוֹת, *tephil-loth*, or "*prayers*," which may once

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[1] For these instruments note Josephus, *Ant.* VII. xii. 3: "David also made instruments of music. . . . Now the construction of these instruments was thus: the viol was an instrument of ten strings played upon with a bow; the psaltery had twelve musical notes and was played on by the fingers; the cymbals were broad and large instruments made of brass"; *cp.* XI. iii. 8; IV. viii. 44; XX. ix. 6.

[2] See St. Jerome, *Ep.* cxl. 4, where, however, he omits Ps. cxli.

have been a title for the Psalter in accordance with this subscription to Ps. lxxi.

Titles indicating the Authors of the Psalms.—We have already referred to the difficulty regarding the Hebrew preposition which in Hab. iii. 1 clearly indicates the author of that hymn, but which in the Psalter cannot easily be thus interpreted since the "sons of Core" can hardly have been "the author" of any one individual Psalm.[1] Leaving aside, however, this question of interpretation, only seven "authors" are mentioned in the titles, *viz.*:

Moses.—Ps. lxxxix, the opening Psalm of Bk. IV.

David.—Seventy-three Psalms are attributed to him in the Hebrew text, eighty-five in the Vulgate; the Hebrew and all versions agree in assigning to him sixty-nine.

Solomon.—Two Psalms are assigned to him, *viz.* lxxi and cxxvi.

Asaph.—Pss. xlix and lxxii-lxxxii; for allusions to him as one of David's cantors see 1 Paral. vi. 39, xv. 17, xvi. 5, 2 Paral. v. 12.

The Sons of Core.—Pss. xli-xlviii, lxxxiii-lxxxiv, lxxxvii-lxxxviii; for allusions to them as the chief singers, see 1 Paral. xxv. 4-8, where fourteen of the sons of Heman who, 1 Paral. vi. 33-37, was a Corahite, are named as the leaders in the Temple-chant, *cf.* 2 Paral. xx. 19, where in the time of Josaphat the Corahites were already known as singers.

Eman the Ezrahite and *Ethan the Ezrahite* are given as the (?) authors of Pss. lxxxvii and lxxxviii; presumably the great singers grouped with Asaph in 1 Paral. xv. 19 are here intended, but the patronymic "Ezrahite" has led some to think that they are to be referred to the tribe of Juda, *cf.* 3 Kings iv. 31, 1 Paral. ii. 6.

VI. The Historical Value of the Titles.

Hitherto we have taken the titles for granted. But it has been objected that (*a*) the variations between the Hebrew text of the titles and that of the versions entitle us to disregard them; (*b*) that it is somewhat suspicious that Psalms should be assigned only to Moses, David, Solomon, and the Levitical singers; it is urged that this shows a custom of referring the different Psalms as

[1] So far back as 1881 there were unearthed in the course of excavations in Palestine the clay handles of jars inscribed with the letters לַמֶּלֶךְ "for" or "of the king"; subsequently these have turned up in large numbers and from different sites. The formula is precisely the same as in the Psalm-heading, לְדָוִד "for" or "of David," and on these wine jars is presumably the equivalent of "On His Majesty's Service," see *P.E.F.*, 1881, p. 354, July, 1910, also two articles by Pilcher in *P.S.B.A.*, March and May, 1910.

far back as possible in order to give them a claim to acceptance; it would be more natural, so it is maintained, to find the names of well-known Prophets such as Isaias and Jeremias in the titles, for both these Prophets were hymn-writers. (*c*) Again, the historical notices in the titles are all referred to the Books of Samuel. and hardly any of them can be called appropriate. (*d*) Similarly many of the historical allusions to David seem impossible to justify, *e.g.* in the titles to Pss. lxviii and ci.

We have already indicated the various parts which go to make up the titles, and it will be evident that arguments which will support the liturgical titles, for example, will not support the historical ones. As for the *musical titles*: (*a*) Their antiquity is apparent from the fact that the Septuagint did not understand them; (*b*) the later Psalms, or those of the last two books, are precisely those which have not got them; (*c*) Hab. iii, where they also occur, shows the Exilic use of them. The *liturgical titles*: it has been urged that these at least are post-Exilic in date on the ground that outside the Psalter they only occur in *Chronicles*; yet they would have been out of place in any other book, moreover they do not *all* occur in *Chronicles*. The *historical titles*: it is a fact that the occasions assigned in the titles are often obscure, but in the historical books we have only a very incomplete history of David; we are not given his biography, but rather the Divine ordering of his life. Hence it is illogical to make difficulties over a Psalm-title merely because it does not always exactly fit in with the details furnished us in *Samuel* and *Kings*. The titles of *authorship*: it should not be too readily conceded that there exists a great deal of discrepancy between the Hebrew text and the versions regarding the titles; the evidence is often unanimous. Secondly, the very paucity of names in the titles is in itself an argument for their authenticity; had they been due to a later age many more would undoubtedly have been inserted, as has actually been done in the Septuagint where Pss. xcii-xcviii, though anonymous in Hebrew, are all attributed to David; similarly Pss. cxxxvi-cl are most of them anonymous in Hebrew, but many of them are attributed in the Septuagint to Zacharias and Aggeus, and one to Jeremias. The titles in the Hebrew are not to be rejected

without good authority, and such does not seem to be forthcoming.[1]

We are now in a position to discuss the precise meaning attaching to the expression "for David" or "for Solomon" in the titles; it seems clear that it can hardly mean authorship as we understand it.

That David himself was the author of the entire Psalter may be a pious opinion but it has no foundation in fact. Tertullian apparently regarded David as the author[2] but Origen speaks of Ps. xxvi, which bears the title "for David," as being written by "a most ancient Prophet fourteen generations before Cyrus";[3] while a quotation from Ps. vii is given under the formula "a certain Prophet says," though it is entitled "for David";[4] of the Psalter in general Origen says "the Prophet who speaks in the Psalms."[5] So too St. Augustine who speaks of the author of Ps. lxxxvii as "auctor quidam";[6] St. Jerome even more positively: "we know those are mistaken who fancy that all the Psalms were written by David and not by the men whose names are given in the titles."[7]

This point was thoroughly discussed at Trent. The Fathers pointed out that the Council of Carthage spoke of the "Psalterium Davidicum," Pope Gelasius of the "Psalmorum 150 liber," Florence had "Psalmi David"; the Tridentine Fathers finally decided on "Psalterium Davidicum 150 psalmorum" though every possible combination was suggested in the course of the discussion: "Psalterium Davidicum," "Liber Psalmorum," "Liber 150 psalmorum," "Psalterium Davidicum 150 psalmorum," "Liber psalmorum David"; one disputant suggested "Liber psalmorum cum hymnis et Canticis," another "psalterium Davidicum, in quo psalmi 150 numero expressi ab ecclesia recepti sunt."[8]

[1] See Thirtle, *The Titles of the Psalms*, 1903; *R.B.*, 1898, p. 589, 1899, p. 117.

[2] *De Carne Christi*, 20; *cf. Scorpiace*, 15.

[3] *Contra Celsum*, vi. 5.

[4] *Ibid.* vii. 24.

[5] *Tom.* xiii. 43 *in Joann.*, *P.G.* xiii. 475.

[6] *Tract.* iii. 20 *in Joann.*; *Enarr.* in Ps. lxxxvii. 3; *Contra Crescon.* ii. 27 of Ps. c. 3, "excellentissima prophetia."

[7] *Ep.* cxl. 4 on Ps. lxxxix; *cp. Ep.* liii. 8.

[8] *Concilium Tridentinum, ed. Soc. Gœrresiana*, tom. v, *Actorum pars altera*, pp. 42-54, where the details of the discussion and the voting are given.

(*a*) In Bk. I, then, or Pss. i-xl, all the Psalms with the exception of Pss. i, ii, xxxiii, are in the Hebrew text attributed to David. Hence this book must be regarded as a *Davidic collection.* (*b*) In Bk. II, Pss. xli-xlviii, are assigned to the *sons of Core*, xlix to *Asaph*, lxiv, lxviii-lxix to *David*, lxv, lxvi and lxx are *anonymous*, lxxi is assigned to *Solomon.* This book is then clearly a composite collection, half of it, roughly speaking, being assigned to David and half to the Corahites. (*c*) In Bk. III, Pss. lxxii-lxxxii are assigned to *Asaph*, lxxxiii-lxxxiv to the *Corahites*, lxxxv to *David*, lxxxvi-lxxxviii to the *Corahites.* Here we have quite a different state of things, only one Psalm is assigned to David, and even that one is so clearly a cento of passages derived from other Psalms that it is difficult to accept it as David's; this "book" then, is essentially a *Levitical collection.* (*d*) In Bk. IV, Ps. lxxxix is assigned to *Moses*, xc, c, ci, cii and ciii, are given to *David*, the rest are *anonymous*, though in the Septuagint, Vulgate and Douay they are nearly all of them assigned to David. (*e*) In Bk. V, while fifteen are said to be Psalms of *David* and one is assigned to *Solomon*, no less than twenty-nine are *anonymous*, though the Septuagint, followed by the Vulgate, has assigned many of them to later Prophets. The Psalms, then, are more or less—especially in the first two books—grouped according to their authors: Bk. I is purely Davidic, Bk. II is so in great part, Bk. III is Levitical, Bk. IV is almost wholly anonymous, Bk. V is so in great part.

But another and most important feature in these different books is the strikingly different use of the *Divine names* which characterizes them. The different usages may be tabulated as follows :

		Book I.	*II.*	*III.*	*IV.*	*V.*
Jehovah	..	272	30	44	103	236
Elohim	..	15	164	43	0	0

According to this use of the Divine names, we have three groups rather than five; Bk. I is *Jahvistic*, Bks. II-III may be considered *Elohistic*, Bks. IV-V are *Jahvistic.*

In estimating these data another factor must be taken into account, Some Psalms have been repeated in different books and—most remarkably—when so repeated, they, if they pass from a Jahvistic to an Elohistic book, assume the Divine name proper to the book in which they now occur. Thus Ps. xiii is repeated in Bk. II as Ps. lii, but whereas it was a Jahvistic Psalm in the first book, it now becomes an

Elohistic Psalm. So with Ps. xxxix. 14-18, repeated in Ps. lxix where in the Hebrew text *Jehovah* is generally replaced by *Elohim.* The most interesting case is Ps. cvii in Bk. V, a Jahvistic book; this Psalm is made up of portions of Pss. lvi and lix or two Elohistic Psalms taken from Bk. II. According to the analogy of the preceding examples we should expect these two Psalms to undergo a change in the Divine names employed; but no change is made, and we have the only instances of the name *Elohim* which occur in Bk. V; they are not, however, enumerated in the table given above since they are clearly taken over bodily from Bk. II, and do not, properly speaking, belong to Bk. V.

VII. The Compilation of the Psalter.

The foregoing facts compel us to see in our present Psalter the work of a compiler. For we have a series of collections of Psalms, those of David, of Asaph, of the sons of Core, and those of anonymous writers; further, we find certain Psalms repeated and undergoing striking changes in the process; lastly, there is the fact that the different Divine names are used with a startling definiteness, so that a Psalm, when transplanted, changes its vocabulary of Divine names in some instances and yet does not do so in another. And that these changes in the Divine names were deliberate and mark the hand of an editor working on a definite principle is clear when we compare certain passages in the Psalms with the Pentateuchal or other texts from which they were derived, thus xlix. 7 is a quotation from Exod. xx. 2, but the "Ego sum Dominus Deus tuus" of this passage is, in the Psalm, changed into "Deus, Deus tuus, Ego sum." Similarly in lxvii. 1-8, we have undoubted reminiscences of Num. x. 35, and Judg. v. 4, 5, 31; yet the *Jehovah* of the latter passages has throughout become *Elohim*; lastly, a comparison between Ps. lxxxv and the passages from earlier Psalms, of which it is to a large extent composed, will show a consistent manipulation of the Divine names.

We have only mentioned the more important and evident "collections," but further examination shows the existence of a number of other smaller collections; thus in the Elohistic Bk. III, Pss. lxxxiii-lxxxviii do not appear to have undergone an Elohistic revision, the name Jehovah is constantly found among them; they seem, then, to

belong to a separate series; again, the presence of two collections of Corahite Psalms, one in Bk. II, the other in Bk. III, seems to indicate that these collections were made at separate times; in Bk. IV we have a collection of anonymous Psalms, or the Psalms of the Judgement; in Bk. V the Gradual Psalms appear to belong to a separate collection; so also the "Confitemini" Psalms; so again the "Alleluia" Psalms; notice, too, the two Davidic collections in Pss. cvii-cix, cxxxvii-cxliv.

It is clear, then, that the Psalter is composed of a number of collections of Psalms, and that in the process of compilation certain changes were introduced—presumably for liturgical reasons.[1] Can we assign dates to any of these "collections"? And can we arrive at any conclusion with regard to the date of the final reduction of the whole to its present form?

(*a*) Bk. I is of a much more homogeneous character than the succeeding ones; with three exceptions all the Psalms contained in it are attributed to David and there is no ground for questioning the Davidic authorship of them. Ps. xvii occurs in 2 Sam. xxii as David's, and the fact that there are a number of minute differences between the Hebrew text of the Psalm in *Samuel* and in the Psalter is in itself a proof of the solidity of the tradition regarding its Davidic authorship. If David could pen Ps. xvii he was equally capable of penning any other Psalm in the Psalter.[2]

(*b*) In Bk. II we have what appears to be another Davidic collection with a Levitical collection prefixed to it; we have already had occasion to refer to the closing words of Ps. lxxi, "the prayers of David the son of Jesse are ended." This editorial note is omitted in the Breviary edition of the Psalms, but it bears witness to an early period of literary activity; we cannot be far wrong in regarding it

[1] See *J. T.S.*, January, 1913.

[2] Josephus, *Ant.* VII. xii. 3, may only be paraphrasing 2 Chron. xxv. 6, but his witness at least shows how the Jews of the first century A.D. understood the chronicler: "David . . . composed songs and hymns to God in several sorts of metre, some were trimeters, some pentameters. He also made instruments of music, and taught the Levites to sing hymns to God, both on the Sabbath and on other festivals."

as an editor's declaration that he can find no more Psalms of David; see in proof of such literary activity Prov. xxv. 1 and 2 Macc. ii. 13. But if this editor found no more Davidic Psalms how comes it that we have others in Bks. IV and V? Presumably because, as literary executors nowadays find, not all the "literary remains" of David were at once forthcoming, and it was left to later researches to discover others.

The Levitical collections in Bks. II-III are of great interest, for the Psalms are referred to Asaph and to the sons of Core. Are we to see in these Psalms and in these names pre-Exilic or post-Exilic writings and writers? From the references given above it will be seen that the great Temple-singers were known long before the Exile, hence there is no *à priori* difficulty in saying that these Psalms are rightly attributed to pre-Exilic times. And confirmation appears in the facts that in Bks. IV-V we have certain Psalms which may with probability be referred to the post-Exilic period. Yet none of these are said to be "for the sons of Core," nor "for Asaph"; in the Hebrew they are most of them anonymous; in the Septuagint, when names are given in the titles, it is precisely the post-Exilic Prophets whose names are singled out. Moreover, the liturgical titles so plentiful in Bks. I-III are wanting here, a hint perhaps that at the time these books were compiled the true signification of these titles was unknown, as indeed the Greek attempts at translation of them would indicate. At the same time, how precarious are all attempts at dating the Psalms or collections of them will be evident from the fact that the phrase "Confitemini Domino quoniam bonus" occurs only in Bks. IV and V, and is therefore regarded by some as a characteristic feature of the second Temple service. Yet Jer. xxxiii. 11 refers to it as a synonym for all singing of Psalms, and this of course at a period antecedent to the captivity.

But the most convincing proof of the comparatively late period at which at least Bk. V was compiled is to be found in the fact that Ps. cvii, composed of two Elohistic Psalms, has been incorporated into this particular book without being edited; in other words, it retains its Elohistic names even when incorporated into a Jehovistic book. This

seems to point to a threefold distinction in the development of the Psalter: first the period when the name *Jehovah* was in use; then the period when the name *Elohim* was used in preference to that of *Jehovah* and Psalms incorporated into Bk. II had to undergo a modification of their Divine names; then followed a period when Psalms were taken over as they were, when, though the name *Jehovah* was in regular use, it was not thought necessary to change the name of *Elohim* into that of *Jehovah* merely because a Psalm was to be inserted into a later book.

These three periods with their divisions suggest that we have here the personal, the national, and the liturgical portions of the Psalter; and the use of the Divine names may be explained in accordance with this division. Thus the first part, Bk. I, is pre-Exilic, the third part is—to a large extent—post-Exilic, and these are the two Jehovistic parts; the Elohistic portions, Bks. II-III, may, then, have been compiled during the Exile, a fact which may explain the elimination of the ineffable name *Jehovah*. At the same time it will not follow that the Psalms found in any one book were necessarily *written* at the time the book was *compiled*; they may have been written long before, and have been well known, but may owe their particular place in the Psalter to reasons which we cannot now discover; the period of compilation, in short, is no clue to the period of composition.

In discussing the date of individual Psalms it must be remembered that (*a*) Psalmody dates from a very early period in Israel's history, Exod. xv, Deut. xxxi, Judg. v, are sufficient proof of this. (*b*) Liturgical use can be shown to have existed long before the Exile, Isa. xxx. 29, lxiv. 11, Jer. xxxiii. 11, Amos v. 23, viii. 10, and Ps. cxxxvi. (*c*) David is repeatedly presented to us as a poet, 1 Sam. xvi. 18, 2 Sam. i. 18-27, xxii. and xxiii. 1-7. In 2 Paral. xxix. 30, the ritual is attributed to him and to Asaph, Esdr. iii. 10, Neh. xii. 24. (*d*) The Psalms in which the "king" is specially mentioned cannot easily be referred to a period when the Davidic king was in exile, and it may not be only a coincidence that while in cxlvi. 10, we have a repetition of words found in xxxii. 16-17, the reference to the "king" is omitted in the later Psalm which we should on independent grounds refer to the time after the Exile.

VIII. "Maccabean" Psalms.

It is the fashion nowadays to say that several Psalms belong to the days of the Maccabees, that is, to the latest part of the Seleucidan period, or from 166-130 B.C. An examination of this question will serve to bring out certain critical principles and will thus be of service in investigating other questions.

The Psalms generally said to show the clearest marks of their Maccabean date are xliii, lix, lxxiii, lxxviii, lxxxii. Yet there is very little in these Psalms to justify such an assertion with regard to them. For the Psalms are not cast into an historical framework, and any attempt to reconstruct history out of them is doomed to failure; the efforts of modern critics to read into these particular Psalms certain portions of history cannot be taken seriously. But it is with extrinsic arguments that we are more particularly concerned.[1]

(*a*) Ps. lxxviii. 2-3, is quoted in 1 Macc. vii. 15-17, and the quotation is prefaced by the phrase "according to the word that is written"; it seems hardly credible that if the Psalm dated only from the period of the Maccabean wars it should be quoted as inspired Scripture by the author of 1 Macc., a work practically contemporary with the events it records.

(*b*) In 1 Paral. xvi we have a Psalm which is a combination of Pss. xcv, civ and cv; at the close of cv there is a doxology which is repeated in this composite Psalm. But this proves that at the time the chronicler wrote, this doxology, and consequently the division between the Bks. IV and V at this point, existed already. But no one seriously proposes to bring down the date of the chronicler later than about 300 B.C.

(*c*) Bks. II-III, to which these so-called Maccabean Psalms belong, are Elohistic; but that this Elohistic section was already existing when Bk. V was formed is proved by the fact that two of them, lvi and lix, have been welded into one to form Ps. cvii, and this without any change being made in the Divine names contained in them—though forming an incongruous element in a Jehovistic book. But since in 1 Paral. xvi, Ps. cv has its doxology appended, it would be

[1] "In the case of the Psalms where we have lyrical chant, we do not expect historical order" (St. Jerome on Ezech. xxx. 17, *P.L.* xxv. 285).

reasonable to suppose that the Psalter did not at that time end here but already had Bk. V added to it.

(*d*) The Psalms in question have musical titles, which are lacking in the later books and which were not understood by the Septuagint.

(*e*) While we have no certain data for fixing the time when the Greek translation of the Psalter was completed, we cannot put it later than the end of the second century B.C.; but this renders it increasingly difficult to suppose that Psalms bearing titles which the Greek translators did not understand had only been composed a few decades previously.

(*f*) The Prologue to *Ecclesiasticus*, with its thrice-repeated reference to the triple division of the Bible into "the Law, the Prophets, and the other books," and with its insistence on the difference between the Bible in the original and in its Greek dress, shows that the translator (*c.* 130 B.C.) was acquainted with the Septuagint version, see the Greek variant which he has retained in xlvi. 19 (22 in Douay); that he knew the Septuagint version of the Psalter follows from the fact that the Psalter is, in most "lists," the first book in the division termed "Hagiographa" or "writings," Luke xxiv. 44; if there were any doubt about this it is set at rest by the discovery of the Hebrew text which inserts after li. 12 a Psalm of some fifteen verses made up of extracts from Pss. cxvii. 1-4 and cxxxv. 1-26; if this Psalm formed part of the original text it follows that in the time of the author of *Ecclesiasticus*, or about 180 B.C., the Greek Psalter was known in Egypt—twenty years before the Maccabean wars.

IX. The Principal Versions of the Psalms.

The Psalms in Greek.—This version is of interest if only for the fact that it stands to the Greek Church in the same relation as the Gallican Psalter stands to the Latin Church, and is that used by the great Greek Fathers. It seems in the main to have been the work of two independent translators,[1] but at what date it was produced is un-

[1] See St. John Thackeray, *Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek*; he argues from persistent differences in orthography that the first part extends at least to Ps. lxxvi and that the second part begins about Ps. lxxxviii, pp. 68 and 200 note.

certain, at any rate the Greek version of Ps. lxxviii. 2 seems to be quoted in 1 Macc. vii. 17 which cannot be earlier than the end of the second century B.C. In some MSS. a hundred and fifty-first Psalm is added, though of course it is spurious. The anomaly whereby in Rom. iii. 15-18, a cento of passages from the Psalms has been incorporated into the Greek text of Ps. xiii, presumably from a marginal reference, is perpetuated in the Vulgate and its derivatives, amongst others in the Prayer-Book version. In many Psalms the Septuagint has appended a title where such is wanting in the original.[1]

The Coptic Versions are of interest not only to the student who seeks to discover with their assistance the text from which the translation was made, but also to the student of Christian liturgies. For the Coptic Psalter is that sung—in different dialects, Memphitic or Bohairic and Sahidic or Thebaic—by the Fathers of the desert. An immense amount of study has of late been devoted to the study of these very early versions.[2]

The Latin Psalter (for details see vol. i, 1926, pp. 205-245).—Briefly we have: (*a*) the Old-Latin or pre-Hieronymian Psalter used by the earlier Latin Fathers in various recensions;[3] (*b*) St. Jerome's correction of this by the Septuagint,

[1] For an interesting study of these additional titles see Neubauer in *Studia Biblica*, ii, pp. 1 *ff.*, also Swete, *Introduction*, pp. 250 *ff.* Swete's *ed.* of the Greek Psalter is published separately by the Cambridge University Press, 1891, 2nd *ed.*, 1892; see, too, Mozley, *The Psalter of the Church: the Septuagint Psalms compared with the Hebrew*, 1905.

[2] See Amelli, *Liber Psalmorum juxta antiquissimam Latinam versionem nunc primum ex Casinensi codice* 557 *editus*, in the *Collectanea Biblica*, 1912, *cf. J.T.S.*, April, 1913. Capelle, *Le Texte du Psautier Latin en Afrique*, 1913, *cf. J.T.S.*, October, 1914.

[3] See vol. iv (ii), pp. 128-141; also for fuller details Hyvernat in the *Catholic Encyclopædia.* Until recently the best edition of the Coptic Psalter in the Bohairic dialect was that of Lagarde, 1875, but we have now E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Earliest-Known Coptic Psalter, a Correct Reproduction of the Papyrus Text discovered in a Stone Coffer in the Ruins of the Ancient Coptic Church and Monastery in Upper Egypt*, 1898. Lagarde's edition has been re-edited by Burmester and Devaud, Louvain, 1925, *Psalterii Versio Memphitica.* In *Coptic Manuscripts in the Freer Collection* published by W. H. Worrell will be found the Sahidic Psalter though it is imperfect. In the reviews see *R.B.*, October, 1907; *J.T.S.*, January, 1910, p. 186, April, 1926, p. 140, and October, 1926, p. 206.

383-385, commonly known as the Roman Psalter and still in use at St. Peter's, Rome, and—in the case of the Invitatory at Matins, or Ps. xciv—throughout the Latin Church;[1] (*c*) Jerome's further correction with the aid of the Hexapla edition of the Septuagint, 388, at Bethlehem, and known as the Gallican Psalter.[2] This version is that retained in the ordinary Latin Vulgate Bible and in the Breviary; a comparison of Ps. xciv as recited in the Invitatory and as given in the Vulgate will show the difference.[3] (*d*) Lastly we have St. Jerome's translation of the Psalms from the Hebrew. This has never formed part of the official Latin Bible either in the Church's Offices nor in her official Latin Bible.[4]

[1] This will be found in parallel columns with the following or Gallican Psalter in *P.L.* xxix. 119-398.

[2] Martene, *De antiquis ritibus*, i. 18, says that St. Pius V, *d.* 1572, ordered that the Gallican Psalter should be the one generally used though he made an exception for St. Peter's, Rome, St. Mark's, Venice, and the Archdiocese of Milan, these were allowed to retain the "Roman" Psalter; quoted by Swete, *Introd. to the Old Testament in Greek*, p. 99.

[3] In *Ep.* cvi St. Jerome himself discusses the corruptions that had already crept into his correction of the Latin Psalter by the Septuagint, see especially Nos. 46 and 54. See P. Boylan, *A Study of the Vulgate Psalter in the Light of the Hebrew Text*, 1921; Macaulay and Brebner, *The Vulgate Psalter*, 1913; Bird, *A Commentary on the Psalms*, 1927; H. Boulleret, *Les Psaumes selon la Vulgate, leur véritable sens litteral*, 1902; *The Book of Psalms in Latin and English from the Vulgate and the Douay*, 1925.

[4] This is not due to any official exclusion of the translation by the Church but probably to the fact that the Psalter was primarily meant to be sung and existing versions were already so familiar that they could not be easily displaced. In the Complutensian Polyglot, vol. iii, St. Jerome's translation occupies the place of honour in the middle while the Vulgate edition or the Gallican Psalter serves as a supralinear translation of the Greek. This translation, hitherto practically inaccessible, has been published by J. M. Harden, *Psalterium juxta Hebræos, Hieronymi*, *S.P.C.K.*, 1922. In *Aids to the Bible*, i, 1926, pp. 242-245, will be found certain Psalms arranged in columns according to the Roman, Gallican and Hebrew editions of St. Jerome. The Basle edition of St. Jerome's *Works* has an Appendix: *Psalterium Quadruplex, scil. Hebræum et Hebraica Veritas Divo Hieronymo interprete, Græcum et editio Vulgata Latina auctore incerto*; see also *Psalterium Quintuplex*, ed. by Faber Stapulensis, 1509 and again in 1513: this gives the Roman and Gallican Psalters, St. Jerome's translation from the Hebrew, the African Latin recension used by St. Augustine and a resulting edition based on them. In *Anecdota Maredsolana*, 1895 and 1897, Dom Morin published *Sti. Hieronymi qui deperditi hactenus putabantur Commentarioli in Psalmos*.

English Versions of the Psalms.—When replying to St. Augustine, who had to some extent deprecated his translation of the Bible as derogatory to the Septuagint, St. Jerome points out that he is but a link in a long line of translators and commentators "more particularly on the Psalms"; he mentions Origen, Eusebius of Cæsarea, Theodore, Asterius, Apollinaris and Didymus among the Greeks who translated or commented on the entire Psalter, while many had in addition written on individual Psalms. "Of the Latins the bishops Hilary of Poitiers and Eusebius of Vercelli have given us translations of Origen and Eusebius (on the Psalms) and our own Ambrose follows Origen in many points";[1] while fully alive to the inadequacy of translations[2] St. Jerome has no doubt at all about the necessity of making them.

In the long succession of translators and commentators England has a glorious place. Perhaps no other country can produce a list of translations "more especially of the Psalms." The translation by St. Aldhelm, 656-709, still exists in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris; there are still remains of Anglo-Norman versions of the Psalter, and the fourteenth-century versions by William of Shoreham and Richard Rolle of Hampole, *d.* 1349, are famous.[3]

[1] *Ep.* cxii. 20.

[2] *Præf. in Chron. Eusebii*, *P.L.* xxvii. 36-37.

[3] See vol. i, pp. 246-247. We can but mention a few of the Saxon, Gothic and English translations: *Fragmentum versionis Gothicæ Psalmorum*, by Ulfilas, *P.L.* xviii. 863. *Anglo-Saxon and Early English Psalter*, *ed.* J. Stevenson, 1843-44. Also *Psalmorum versio antiqua Latina cum paraphrasi Anglo-Saxonica*, *ed.* B. Thorpe, 1835; *The Anglo-Saxon Version of the Book of Psalms commonly known as the Paris Psalter*, *ed.* J. A. Bruce, 1894; *Notes on the "Introductions" of the West Saxon Psalms*, *ed.* Bright and Ramsay, 1912; *The Psalter or Psalms of David with a Translation and Exposition in English by Richard Rolle of Hampole*, *ed.* Bramley, 1884; *The Hexaplar Psalter*, *or the Psalms in Six English Versions*, *ed.* W. A. Wright, 1911. In 1564 appeared the famous *Whole Booke of Psalms collected into English meeter* by T. Sternhold, J. Hopkins and others, republished very many times. In Scotland this was supplanted in 1650 by *The Psalms of David in meeter for the Church of Scotland by Sternhold and Hopkins but now newly translated on the basis of a translation made by Francis Rous*, 1650. In 1696 appeared *A New Version of the Psalms of David fitted to the tunes used in churches*, by Tate and Brady, this too was republished very often. Dr. Isaac Watts brought out an edition in 1719—and often since—which became very

In more modern times we have "The Prayer Book Version" made by Coverdale from the Vulgate and incorporated in the Great Bible of 1539. This version became so familiar that—like St. Jerome's Gallican Psalter—it was not displaced by the subsequent translation from the Hebrew in the Authorized Version of 1611.[1] The version in the Douay Bible has had its vicissitudes. First published in 1609 it was revised by Challoner who removed some of the excessive Latinisms, and his solitary revision still stands in our Douay Bible.[2]

X. Bibliography.

Works on the Psalms have appeared in all ages and they are naturally characterized by the needs of the time. The commentaries of the Fathers are mainly devotional, generally sermons or homilies to the people, St. Augustine expressly terms his *Enarrationes in Psalmos* "populares";[3] the intention of these teachers was to enable those who listened

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popular. *The Psalms chronologically arranged by Four Friends*, 1891 and again in 1927.

[1] See Driver, *The Parallel Psalter*, 1898; this gives the Prayer-Book version with a fresh translation by Driver in parallel columns; see, too, *The Book of Psalms* published by the Cambridge University Press in 1899 and giving in parallel columns the Prayer-Book version, the Authorized of 1611 and the Revised of 1885.

[2] An improved version will be found in *The Book of Psalms translated from the Latin Vulgate, being a Revised Edition of the Douay Version*, 1872. The Latinisms of the original Douay version of the Psalter are certainly very quaint to our ears: The Psalter opens with lengthy *Proemial Annotations upon the Book of Psalmes* and we have such translations as "they wers dissipated and not compunct," xxxiii. 16, "have no emulation toward the malignant," xxxvi. 1, "Thy sharpe arrowes, the peoples underneth shall fal into the harts of the kings enemies," xliv. 6, "confirme me with the princapal spirit," l. 14, "sinners are aliennted from the matrice," lvii. 4, "before your thornes did understand the old bryar," lvii. 10, "their iniquitie hath proceeded as it were of fat; they have passed into the affection of the hart," lxxii. 7, etc. Between the verses there are notes inserted and sometimes lengthy annotations at the end of a Psalm, *e.g.* after Pss. i, xliv, l, cxiii. These notes are couched in the same quaint terms as the translation, a proof that those who then read the latter would not find it at all unusual; thus one note runs: "preoccupate the malice of the persecutoure."

[3] See Possidius, *Indiculus*, vi, at the close.

to the solemn chanting of the Psalms to derive thence food for their souls;[1] hence they were not concerned so much with what the individual said or thought but with what God—the principal Author of the Psalms—meant. Hence, too, all the Psalms are regarded as essentially prophetic: "You will hardly hear in the Psalms any other voice save that of Christ and His Church, or of Christ alone, or of His Church alone—of which Church we are, at least in part."[2]

It is absurd to dub such expositions "fanciful," just as it is foolish to confine one's attention solely to the literal meaning of the words. In fact we would go so far as to say that the literal sense of the Psalms is of practically no importance, and that for devotional purposes—the prime value of the Psalms[3]—it is of little assistance to know anything about the time or circumstances of their composition. Modern commentaries are however almost wholly concerned with the precise significance of every phrase and are conse quently of little help, though at times they may save us from reciting meaningless phrases.

Patristic Commentaries on the Psalms.

Athanasius, St., *Expositiones in Psalmos*, preceded by his *Epistola ad Marcellinum, De Interpretatione Psalmorum;* he deals with each Psalm very briefly; *P.G.* xxvii. 11-590. Augustine, St., *Enarrationes in Psalmos*; these are sermons prefaced in the case of the earlier Psalms by a running exposition; Augustine made use of the Psalm which had been sung in church as a vehicle for setting forth the doctrinal and moral teaching of the Church as well as the more profound principles of the spiritual life; *P.L.* xxxvii. Basil, St., has some fifteen *Homilies* on various Psalms, *P.G.* xxix. 289-494; but the *Expositio in Psalterium* which goes under his name is thought to be made up of excerpts by a later writer from the works of St. Chrysostom and Theodoret, xxx.

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[1] *Cf. Enarr.* on Ps. xxxvii. 1, lxxxvi, cxxxviii, *cp. Ep.* clxix. 1. And note *Contra litt. Petiliani*, ii. 237, "ex persona corporis Christi, columna et firmamentum veritatis," and *ib.* ii. 235, "David in seipso figuraret quæ futura cernebat," and *ib.* 202, "David, in persona Christi."

[2] *Enarr.* on Ps. lix, *cp. Enarr.* ii. 1 on Ps. xxx.

[3] "Read the entire Psalter, all the voices of the Saints therein; you will find nothing there save prayer to God in all His works," St. Jerome, *Dial. adv. Pelagianos*, i. 4, *P.L.* xxiii. 501. "Omnia quæ hic conscripta sunt, speculum nostrum sunt," St. Augustine, *Enarr.* iii. 1 on Ps. xxx.

71-118. Cassiodorus, *Commentaria*, *P.L.* lxx. 9-1056. Chrysostom, St., *Homiliæ in Psalmos*; he follows the argument so far as is possible and —like St. Augustine—takes occasion therefrom to expound various points of doctrinal and ascetic teaching, *P.G.* lv. 35-784; lxi. 689 *ff.* Pseudo-Chrysostom. St. Cyril of Alexandria, *Commentaria*, *P.G.* lxix. 717-1276. Didymus of Alexandria, *Expositio in Psalmos*, *P.G.* xxxix. 1155-1624. Eusebius of Cæsarea, *Commentaria*, *P.G.* xxiii. 65-1396; xxiv. 9-76. St. Gregory of Nyssa, *In Psalmorum inscriptiones*, *P.G.* xliv. 431-608. Hilary, St., *Tractatus in Psalmos*, very practical and for long the most used of all the Patristic commentaries. Jerome, St., in various Epistles St. Jerome treats of certain Psalms, *e.g.* Pss. xliv, lxxi, lxxxix, cxviii, cxxvi; but the *Breviarum in Psalmos* given in *P.L.* xxvi. is attributed by Vallarsi to St. Columbanus of Bobbio, *ib. col.* 814; it is derived from Origen, St. Hilary, Eusebius, and Eucherius of Lyons; *cf.* Allgeier, *Die altlateinischen Psalterien. Prolegomena zu eine Textgeschichte des Hieronymianischen Psalmenübersetzungen*, 1928. Origen, *Selecta in Psalmos*, *P.G.* xii. 1053-1686; xvii. 105-150. St. Paulinus, *Paraphrasis Metrica in Psalmos*, *P.L.* lxi. 449 *ff.* St. Prosper of Aquitaine, *Psalmorum Expositio*, *P.L.* li. 277 *ff.* Theodoret, *In Psalmos*, *P.G.* lxxx. 857-1998.

Later Commentators on the Psalms.

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[1] No one will think that because a commentary is old it is therefore "out of date"!

THE BOOK OF PROVERBS

I. The Character and the Main Divisions of the Book.
II. Its Date and Authorship.
III. Its Teaching.
IV. Egyptian Wisdom and the Book of Proverbs.
V. Bibliography.

I. The Character and Main Divisions of the Book.

In Hebrew מִשְׁלֵי שְׁלֹמֹה, "Mischle Shelomo" or "Parables of Solomon"; Septuagint, παροιμίαι.[1] A "Collection of Wise Sayings" seems to be the most satisfactory rendering of the Hebrew title, *cf.* Ps. lxxvii. 2. That these "Sayings" were collected at different times is clear from the "titles" affixed to different parts of the book; with their assistance we can break up the whole into the following sections:

(*a*) Chaps. i-x. "The Parables of Solomon, the son of David, king of Israel."

(*b*) x-xxii. 16. "The Parables of Solomon," though this title is only in the Vulgate.

(*c*) xxii. 17-xxiv. 22. A separate section according to the Septuagint.

(*d*) xxiv. 23-34. Also, according to the LXX, a separate section.

(*e*) xxv. 1-xxix. 27. Forms a section with, in the Hebrew, LXX and Vulgate, the interesting heading, "These are also parables of Solomon which the men of Ezechias, king of Juda, copied out." The LXX has "the *undoubted* parables."

(*f*) xxx. 1-33. The first of three appendices; it bears the title, "The words of Gatherer the son of Vomiter; the vision which the man spoke, etc." We have here a good instance of the way in which St. Jerome sometimes translated, instead of transliterating, the Hebrew

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[1] But Πανάρετος Σοφία, Hegesippus in *H.E.* IV. xxii. 8, so too St. Clement of Rome, 1 Cor. lvii.

proper names; in R.V. correctly according to the Hebrew "the words of Agur the son of Jakeh, the oracle (or, of Massa)," but omitted in LXX.[1]

(*g*) xxxi. 1-9. A second appendix; "The words of King Lamuel, the vision wherewith his mother instructed him."

(*h*) xxxi. 10-31. The praises of the valiant woman. No title is prefixed, but its style separates it off decisively from the preceding; it is a species of acrostic, each verse beginning with a new letter of the alphabet in the same way as the alphabetic Psalms, *q.v.*[2]

That these sectional divisions are not fanciful is clearly shown by the different styles evinced in each. Thus in (*a*) there is hardly any indication of what we should call "proverbs," the sentences are long and closely connected, the sequence of thought is sustained; the same feature is noticeable in (*d*). On the other hand in (*b*) and (*e*) we have the real terseness of "proverbs" as we understand them. In (*c*), again, we miss the crisp style of "proverbs," while in the three appendices we are in presence of an altogether different style.

Proverbs seem to be repeated in the different sections, *e.g.* xix. 24 21) and xxvi. 15, xvii. 3*a* and xxvii. 21*a*, xxiv. 33-34 (48-49) and vi. 10-11, xv. 8 and xxi. 27; this would confirm the view that the sections are really distinct and derived from different collections.[3]

II. Date and Authorship.

According to the "titles" given above, (*a*) (*b*) and (*e*) are attributed to Solomon, and there is absolutely no reason for dissenting from this view; "the men of Ezechias" would be in a far better position to decide upon the authorship of the section xxv-xxix than we can be, and in saying "these are *also* parables of Solomon" they clearly regarded those which preceded as also his work. Such passages as Eccles. xii. 9, Ecclus. xlvii. 17, 3 Kings iv. 32, v. 9, x. 1, 2 Paral. i. 7-10, all tend to confirm the traditional view that Solomon

[1] See Swete, *Introduction to the Bible in Greek*, p. 241.

[2] St. Jerome, *Ep.* xxx. 3.

[3] Nowack, *H.D.B. Proverbs*, gives a much longer list of repeated proverbs, *e.g.* xv. 33*b* and xviii. 12*b*, xix. 1*a* and xxviii. 6*a*, xv. 18*a* and xxix. 22*a*, xxii. 28*a* and xxiii. 10*a*, x. 15*a* and xviii. 11, xi. 21*a* and xvi. 15*b*, xxi. 9 and xxv. 24, xviii. 8 and xxvi. 22, xx. 16 and xxvii. 13, xxii. 3 and xxvii. 12; but in the majority of these alleged instances the repetition is of a few words only.

was the author, of the major part at least, of our Book of Proverbs. Since the Septuagint translators clearly did not understand the Hebrew text of the title to xxxi it is a legitimate conclusion that at the time this translation was made the Hebrew text was very ancient.[1]

The advanced critical view is of course very different from the foregoing. Critics used to hold that i. 7-ix was the oldest section in the collection, but nowadays the tendency is to regard x-xxiv. 22 and xxv-xxii. 16 as the older section, while xxii. 17-xxiv. 22 and xxiv. 23-34 rank somewhat later than i. 7-ix, with the appendices in xxx-xxxi coming last of all in point of time. When xxv. 1 "the proverbs which the men of Ezechias copied out" is quoted against this conclusion the retort is made that Ezechias is spoken of as "king of Juda," an expression which would seem to imply that at the time of writing Ezechias was a king of a bygone age, of an age, that is, when there really were kings in Juda.[2]

"Granted," says Toy, "that such work is conceivable for that time (that of Ezechias), we have only a possibility. There is no hint of it in the historical and prophetical books, and there is much against it. Not only was the period in question one of war and unrest, but it is highly probable, if not certain, that the task of collecting and editing writings did not begin till much later (not before the Exile). As to the particularity of the title in xxv. 1, it is quite in the manner of the Jewish editors—witness the titles of many Psalms ; to be precise and full was a natural tendency, and the scribes had no historical science to guide them. In this case Hezechiah may have been selected because of his alleged prominence as a reformer (so Isa. xxxviii ascribes a poem to him, and 2 Chron. xix credits Jehosaphat with the creation of a sacerdotal judiciary). We cannot, then, base the question of authorship of Proverbs on the titles in the book. As to the ascription of Proverbs and other writings to Solomon, this also was perfectly natural when his reputation for wisdom had once been established. And as it is now almost universally held that he did not write Ecclesiastes and Canticles, it must be admitted, in spite of the tradition, that it is possible he did not write Proverbs."[3]

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[1] St. John Thackeray, *Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek*, i., pp. 16, 61, 166, would—mainly on orthographical grounds—say that the Septuagint version cannot have been made earlier than 100 B.C. From chap. xxiv. 22 to the close the order in which individual proverbs are given varies very much in the Septuagint from that in the Hebrew, as a glance at Swete's edition will show.

[2] See Nowack in *H.D.B. s.v. Proverbs.*

[3] *E.B. s.v. Proverbs.*

The theological teachings, too, of *Proverbs* are declared "not conceivable as contemporaneous with the preaching of the prophets"; rather are we to hold with Kuenen that:

"The ethico-religious train of ideas represented by the composers of these proverbs (are) an anachronism if referred to the period of the prophets—but only in the post-exilic period—a period in which law and prophecy are raised above all doubt, and hence not the slightest attempt is made to prove their truth, while at the same time there is an evident attempt to apply the results of the prophetic teaching to real life."[1]

The same principles could be, in fact are, applied to the Psalter. Critics seem to divide up the history of Israel into water-tight compartments—a legislative period, a prophetic period, and a "piety" period—as though all three aspects of life could not be contemporary. It is this "evolutionary" view of religion which vitiates so much of their work and with which it is hard to keep patience:

"That we have actually before us (in i. 7-ix) a period more advanced than in x. 1 *ff.* and xxv. 1 *ff.* follows from the conception that here meets us of the guests of 'Madame Folly' as in the depths of Sheol, ix. 18. The latter, which was originally simply the abode of departed souls, has become synonymous with hell. In view of the close affinity in spirit and tendency between these chapters and Sirach, no very long period can have intervened between the composition of the two. We shall not be far wrong if we fix upon *c.* 250 B.C. as the date of the origin of these chapters, and therewith of our book as a whole."[2]

Similarly Toy finds that the conception of life in general, the social conditions, the ethical and religious ideas, the linguistic features and the relation of Proverbs to other books of the Bible, are quite incompatible with a Salomonic or even a pre-Exilian date for the book. For example he finds that "there are in parts of Proverbs (i-ix, xxii. 21, xxiv. 23) suggestions of an organization of learning which better suits the late reflective period; the sages are an influential body, and appear to have pupils—so we may infer from the address 'my son,' and from xxii. 21—that is, academies were in existence."[3]

III. The Teaching of the Book of Proverbs.

The moral code set forth may not be of a very lofty character but we should be wrong to see in the book a treatise on asceticism. It is Jewish wisdom and, above all, human wisdom. A stream cannot rise higher than its source, and

[1] Nowack in *H.D.B. s.v. Proverbs.*

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] In *E.B.*, p. 3913.

the source in this case is the Jewish law, the "weak and needy elements" of which St. Paul speaks, Gal. iv. 9. The power of the book lies in the fact that while based on the law it disregards the accidentals of that law and seizes on its substance. Hence it presents us with many ideals; for many of the "proverbs" only find their fulfilment in Him who came to fulfil all justice, *cf.* xi. 17, xvii. 17, xviii. 24. Similarly, the personifications which are so striking a feature can only find their fulfilment in Him, and indeed have ever been so interpreted in the Church. From an *a priori* standpoint we should hardly expect the book to be often quoted in N.T., yet the opposite is the case, *cf.* Heb. xii. 5, Jas. iv. 6, 1 Pet. iv. 8, Rom. xii. 20.

IV. Egyptian Wisdom and Proverbs.

The affinities between Israel and Egypt were very close. Until recent years we have been accustomed to regard them as summarized in the sojourn of the Hebrews in Egypt, their exodus under Moses, and the few sporadic raids into Palestine by Egyptian Pharaos mentioned in the Bible. But archæological investigations are making it more and more evident that Asia Minor, Palestine and Egypt were very closely united even in culture. We have only to think of the Tel el-Amarna letters, the one-time dominance of the Hittite Empire and the Egyptian occupation of Bethsan as revealed by excavations there, to realize how intimate this was. Hence we must not be surprised if further affinities between the literature of the Hebrews and the Egyptians come to light.[1] A peculiarly interesting case of this may perhaps be found in our Book of Proverbs. For in 1903 Sir E. A. Wallis Budge published *The Wisdom of the Egyptians*,[2] or the teachings of an Egyptian sage called Amen-em-apt, a treatise which could

[1] See McFadyen in *The People and the Book*, p. 214.

[2] This has developed into *The Teaching of Amenemapt, Son of Ka-nekht, the Egyptian Hieroglyphic Text and an English Translation, with Translations of the Moral and Religious Teachings of Egyptian Kings and Officials illustrating the Development of Religious Philosophy in Egypt during a Period of about Two Thousand Years*, 1924.

not, so it is maintained, have been published earlier than 1000 B.C. and which betrays remarkable affinities to our *Proverbs*. The line of investigation thus suggested has been followed up, and it is now maintained that the author of *Proverbs* must have been acquainted with the teachings of Amen-em-apt. For his *Precepts* are divided into thirty chapters and this may explain the enigmatical statement in Prov. xxii. 20, "Behold I have described it to thee three manner of ways, in thoughts and knowledge," *viz.* in two ways only (?); but "three manner of ways," Heb. שלשום, τρισσῶς, tripliciter, in LXX and Vulgate; but the Hebrew might be vocalized שלושים, or "thirty," so that we could read "Behold I have written thee thirty precepts, in thoughts and knowledge."[1]

The tendency nowadays is to regard all "the Wisdom literature" as a late product of Hebrew genius, probably post-Exilic, and those who hold such views naturally see confirmation of their ideas in the affinities indicated. Still the date of the *Precepts* is not certain, nor is it necessary to demand the lapse of several centuries before such Egyptian literature could penetrate into Palestine.[2]

V. Bibliography.

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[1] See G. R. Driver in *The People and the Book*, p. 102.

[2] See an interesting review by S. A. Cook, *J.T.S.*, April, 1925, also *J.E.A.*, October, 1924. Margoliouth, *Schweich Lectures* for 1921, would suggest a South Arabian origin for part of the book at least. See too *The Teaching of Amenophis and Proverbs*, D. G. Simpson in *J.E.A.*, October, 1926, also in the same number by F. Ll. Griffiths; W. Oesterley, *The Wisdom of Egypt and the Old Testament*, 1927.

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THE BOOK OF ECCLESIASTES

I. The Purpose and Teaching of the Book.
II. Of its Authorship and Date.
III. Its Place in the Canon.
IV. Bibliography.

I. The Purpose and Teaching of the Book.

Qoheleth, קֹהֶלֶת. The Hebrew word really means, according to St. Jerome, "one who summons the people," *cf.* 3 Kings viii. 3, in Hebrew; but it may be rendered "the preacher."[1] The title "Ecclesiastes," derived from the Septuagint, shows how these early translators understood it. St. Jerome says:

"About five years ago, when I was at Rome and read *Ecclesiastes* to the sainted Blesilla in order to induce her to despise this world and to account as nothing all that she saw in it, I remember that she asked me to treat of certain obscure points in it by way of a brief commentary so that when I was away she might be able to understand what she read. And so, since at the very outset of the work she was carried away by a sudden death—and we, Paula and Eustochium, have never deserved to have another such companion in our lives, I at the time was stunned into silence by the blow, and now that I am at Bethlehem I pay the debt I owe both to you and to her memory. I would only remark that I follow no master; but, translating from the Hebrew, I have kept rather closely to the translation by the Seventy in those places where they do not much differ from the Hebrew. Some-

[1] The form of the word is peculiar and has given rise to all sorts of conjectures; since the word is feminine some regard it as Wisdom personified; yet the accompanying verb is masculine. If we were to be so pedantic as to insist that the Hebrew conjugation "Qal" can hardly have the active sense of summoning, we should have to understand the word here as meaning "the congregation" rather than its convener, but this seems impossible.

times I mention Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, partly so as not to terrify the reader by a show of novelty, partly so as not to act against my conscience through neglecting any source of truth by simply following the streamlets of mere opinion."[1]

We have quoted these words in full for they afford us an example of St. Jerome's methods of work, also because they show how alive he was to the difficulties of the book. For *Ecclesiastes* has always been considered a difficult book. St. Jerome himself says at the close of his commentary that the Hebrews thought that it ought to be consigned to oblivion like other books of Solomon now lost, on the ground that it asserted that all God's creatures were vain and were all to be accounted as nothing, that moreover it set meat and drink and passing delights before all else. But he adds that it retained its place in the Canon solely because of the last two verses which summed up the whole of the author's teaching.[2]

The modern view of the teaching enshrined in the book could hardly be better expressed than in the following:

"The book consists of what might be called the author's two philosophies: his theoretical philosophy and his practical. The theoretical principle is: All is vanity: what gain, result, is there to man in his labour or life? The practical principle is really all that is left possible by the theoretical one: Life has no gain; but God has given life to man, and he has to live it. Therefore there is nothing better than that a man eat and drink and let himself enjoy good, for this is God's gift to him. Naturally there is a third thing. This enjoyment of good is the only sphere in which a man has a certain freedom: it partly depends upon himself and his own demeanour. Some principle to regulate his conduct and mind is therefore necessary. This regulating principle the preacher calls wisdom. As a mental quality it is practical sagacity, insight into things and situations, enabling a man to act prudently; as a temper it is equanimity and moderation."[3]

It is easy, then, to go astray in reading *Ecclesiastes* unless we have the key to it in our hands. And the key lies in the last two verses which, however, are not isolated, for their teaching appears again and again throughout the book, as we shall see from the following brief analysis:

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[1] *Præf. to Commentary on Ecclesiastes.*
[2] On Eccles. xii. 13, *P.L.* xxiii. 1116.
[3] Davidson in *E.B.*, *s.v. Ecclesiastes.*

A) i-vi. Proofs that all is vanity except to lead a happy life.

(B) vii-xii. How to lead a happy life.

The keynote is struck at intervals throughout both parts of the book thus :

(i) Use the gifts and the life God has given you ; ii. 24, iii. 22, v. 17-19, viii. 15, ix. 7-9.

(ii) Remember that all is God's gift and that He will judge us on our use of it ; ii. 26, iii. 10, 17, v. 5, 17-18, viii. 12, ix. 1, xi. 9, xii. 13-14.

A FULLER ANALYSIS.

A. i-vii. 1. *All is vanity except to lead a happy life.*

(*a*) i. 1-18, the prologue ; the vanity of all earthly things.

(*b*) ii-iii. He proves it from his own experience.

ii. 1-11. Pleasure is vain. ii. 12-17. Study is vain. ii. 18-23. Working for an heir who is to consume all is vain. ii. 24-26. Therefore enjoy life because, iii. 1-15. It is short and meant to be used. iii. 16-22. But remember that God will finally judge us.

(*c*) iv-vii. 1. He proves the same from the inconstancy of all human nature.

iv. 1-16. There is nothing certain. iv. 17-v. 8. A digression touching reverence in our worship of God. v. 9-vii. 1. Man's life is full of calamities.

B. vii. 2-xii. 8. *How to lead a happy life.*

vii. 2-11. We must keep the end of life in view. vii. 12-x. 20. The beauty of wisdom. vii. 12-30. Wisdom is commended. viii-ix. 12. A wise use of life. ix. 12-18. This is illustrated by a parable. x. 1-20. A comparison between wisdom and folly.

(*a*) xi-xii. 8. The value of works of mercy ; for we know not the time when death and judgement shall come.

(*b*) xii. 9-14. The epilogue ; this should be compared with the prologue.

II. Its Authorship and Date.

St. Jerome's words on this point are worth noting ; he rejects the Salomonic authorship of *Ecclesiasticus* and *Wisdom*, but he never doubts but that he wrote *Proverbs*, *Ecclesiastes* and the *Canticle* :

" He (Solomon) published three volumes, *Proverbs*, *Ecclesiastes*, and the *Canticle of Canticles*. In *Proverbs* he teaches young men and instructs them in their duties by wise sayings, hence we so often find him saying, 'son.' But in *Ecclesiastes* he speaks to men of mature age, showing them that they must not think anything in this world is everlasting but that all we see is fleeting and brief. But last of all he introduces the now perfect man, prepared, by trampling on this world, for the embraces of the spouse in the *Canticle of Canticles* "

St. Jerome explains the difference in style between these three books by saying that in *Proverbs* Solomon teaches morals, in *Ecclesiastes* he teaches the theology of nature, in the *Canticle* intellectual truths. The Rabbinic tradition is that Solomon wrote the *Canticle* in his youth, *Proverbs* in middle life, *Ecclesiastes* in his old age.

We are in no sense bound to believe, however, that Solomon was actually the author of the book. Indeed many hold that it was written at a much later date than that of Solomon. Yet it is unreasonable to relinquish, without solid grounds, a tradition long held by the most learned of the Fathers. The arguments generally alleged in favour of a later date are (*a*) that the writer seems expressly to say that he was not Solomon, for he says, "I *was* king in Jerusalem," i. 12, whereas we should expect him to say, "I *am*"; but the same word in the same tense is used in Ps. lxxxviii. 5 (Hebrew), and in Gen. xxxii. 11, where it seems clearly to signify a present and not a past. Moreover, Solomon may well have known that there was a long line of Canaanite kings before him in Jerusalem. A far more serious argument is based upon the lateness of the language; critics whose opinion cannot be lightly regarded maintain that the language is so patently late that the book must, if there is any history at all to the Hebrew language, be decidedly late.[1] But there is little or no agreement as yet among these critics as to the exact period to which the book is to be assigned; indeed every century from Solomon's time down to that of Herod has been upheld! And while giving full weight to the argument from language it is well to remember that our knowledge of the stages through which the Semitic languages passed is as yet but meagre; so that it is better to suspend our judgement than to rush to rash conclusions. On the other hand, in favour of Solomon's authorship must be set the tradition of the Hebrews which has never wavered. *Ecclesiastes* was always the middle book of the three which they assigned to Solomon; it occupies the same relative place in the Septuagint. In the present Massoretic Hebrew text *Ecclesiastes*

[1] Thus Delitzsch is quoted as saying: "If the book of Koheleth be of old Salomonic origin, then there is no history of the Hebrew language" (Peake in *H.D.B.*, *s.v. Ecclesiastes*).

occupies a place among the Hagiographa for liturgical reasons, the book being one of the five which went to make up the collection known as the "Megilloth." And in full accordance with the Salomonic authorship, note in addition to the title in i. 1 and 12, the allusions to his wealth, i. 9, v. 12, 18; to his planting, i. 5; to his building, i. 46; and above all to his wisdom, i. 7, 10, 16, vii. 12-24, viii. 1, 5, etc. It is true that all these points may be due to the wish to represent Solomon to the life, but because such a thing is possible it does not follow that it is true. Here again, however, we must not be too dogmatic, for it is certain that in *Wisdom* we have a book which is not Solomon's yet which presents itself as such. What was done in the one case may well have been done in the other.

Modern writers are practically unanimous in denying the Salomonic authorship of the book.

"Some writers still support this view (of the Salomonic authorship), though it is abandoned by all critics of eminence . . . critics who deny the Salomonic authorship, *i.e.* all critics who need to be taken into account, are unanimous in assigning the book to the post-Exilic period."[1]

But even these critics are far from unanimous as to the precise post-Exilic date to which it is to be referred; many say the Persian period which closed with the break-up of the empire of Alexander the Great, B.C. 330; others prefer the subsequent Greek period down to about B.C. 200; finally Renan would refer its composition to B.C. 125.

Again:

"The conception of Solomon in his old age, a sated and effete voluptuary, looking back in penitence upon a life of pleasure, and exclaiming Vanity! is wholly unlike the preacher of the book. There is not a word of penitence in the book. The preacher is anything but weary of life. He has the intensest desire for it and enjoyment of it, xi. 7, and the deepest horror of death and the decay of nature, xii. 2 *ff.* Far from being outworn and exhausted, he complains throughout the book that the powers of man have no scope; he is cabined, cribbed, confined by a superior power on all sides of him. Neither his natural nor his moral being has free play. Indeed in his consciousness of power the preacher appears to demand a freedom for man nothing short of that promised in the words 'Ye shall be as God.'"[2]

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[1] Peake in *H.D.B.*, *s.v. Ecclesiastes.*

[2] Davidson in *E.B.*, *s.v. Ecclesiastes.*

III. The Canonicity of Ecclesiastes.

The canonicity of *Ecclesiastes* has never been called in question in Christian times but the Rabbinical writers let us see that the book caused much heart-burning: "The wise men sought to put away the book Qoheleth because the writer seemed to contradict himself,"[1] also "there were expressions in that book which showed an heretical tendency."[2] St. Jerome evidently refers to such traditions as in the words quoted above touching the contemplated rejection of the book by the Rabbis.[3]

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[1] So the treatise *Sabbath*.

[2] The *Midrash* on Qoheleth.

[3] See Hart, *Ecclesiasticus in Greek*, p. 358; St. Augustine, *Civ. Dei*, XX. iii, while commenting on the gloominess of the teaching, yet realizes how self-corrective the book is if taken as a whole; he knows nothing apparently of Rabbinic questionings on the book, but merely says that "by the Jews too it is regarded as canonical."

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THE CANTICLE OF CANTICLES

I. Introductory.
II. The Interpretation of Canticles.
III. The Author.
IV. The Text and Versions.
V. Bibliography.

"The Canticle is full of enigmas; they are known to the few who understand, opened to the few who knock. Devoutly receive it when opened to you, that you may deserve to have its obscurities laid bare to you," St. Augustine, *Sermon* xlvi. 35. "The whole world is not worth the day on which the song was given to Israel. For all the writings (*viz.* the Hagiographa) are holy, but the *Song of Songs* is holy of the holies," Rabbi Akiba.

And St. Jerome:

"Let Laeta learn the *Song of Songs*, but without danger, and therefore last of all; lest by reading it too early she suffer through not seeing that in this book the wedding-song of spiritual nuptials is sung in words which sound material," *Ep.* cvii. 12.

I. Introductory.

The *Canticle of Canticles*, the Song of Songs, in Hebrew שִׁיר הַשִּׁירִים, Shir ha-shirim, LXX *Αἴσμα αἰσμάτων* is, as St. Jerome has just said, a wedding-song; the title claims that it is the most perfect of all such songs. This was the Jewish view of it, and it has passed into the Church which has always regarded the *Canticle* as the expression of the highest form of love, that namely of chosen souls for their mystical Spouse. This "love-song," then, is constructed after the fashion of a dialogue; now the Lover, now His beloved speaks. It is often difficult to see where precisely

one speaker begins and another ends, hence St. Jerome but voices the thoughts of all the long series of commentators when he says that the *Canticle* is as difficult as it is short.[1] Attempts have been made to split up this exquisite poem into small sections or separate poetical pieces, but the attempt fails in face of the refrains which give unity to the whole: "I adjure ye, O ye daughters of Jerusalem . . .," ii. 7, iii. 5, v. 8, viii. 4; *cp.* ii. 7 and iii. 5; ii. 16, iv. 5 and vi. 2; also iii. 6, vi. 9, and viii. 5; ii. 17, and iv. 6.

II. Interpretation.

The question of interpretation is a very vexed one. If we understand the *Canticle* literally it is difficult to see how a song of purely carnal love can have found a place in the Bible.[2] Theodore of Mopsuestia was condemned by the Fifth Œcumenical Council at Constantinople, 553 A.D., "because he throws contempt on the *Canticle of Canticles* by saying that Solomon wrote this to a mistress."[3] This difficulty is hardly avoided by saying that the song is to be taken as typical of mystic and holy love. For the typical sense must be founded on the literal, and according to the above interpretation it would remain true that Solomon penned this poem in a purely carnal and material sense. Hence we have to see in the *Canticle* an extended metaphor, in other words an allegory. We are in the presence of allegory when a writer or speaker does not describe what

[1] *On* Abdias, 1, *P.L.* xxv. 1100.

[2] So Origen: "If we do not understand these things spiritually do they not become mere fables? Unless there is some mystery hidden in them are they not unworthy of God? A person, then, who knows how to take the Scriptures in a spiritual fashion, or who, if he does not know, yet wants to know, must strive manfully not to live according to flesh and blood so that he may be made worthy to be a sharer in these hidden spiritual things, and, to speak out boldly, worthy of a spiritual desire or love. For there is such a thing as a spiritual love" (*Hom.* i on *Canticles*, translated by St. Jerome, *P.L.* xxiii. 1121). Throughout these two *Homilies*, which alone St. Jerome has preserved for us out of the "decem volumina" which Origen wrote on the *Canticle*, and in which, as St. Jerome adds: "whereas in his other writings he surpassed everybody else, in these he surpasses himself," Origen interprets the whole of Christ and His Church.

[3] See vol. i, 1926, pp. 63-65.

he has really in view but something which has clear points of resemblance to it, and yet so presents his description that we are in no danger of misunderstanding his meaning; a perfect example occurs in Ezech. xvii. 3-10, and our Lord makes use of this form of speech when He describes Himself as the Good Shepherd, the Door, the Vine, etc. Solomon, too, has left us an example of this form of composition in his description of Wisdom, Prov. ix. Indeed throughout the Old Testament God's relations towards the Chosen People are thus set forth, *cf.* Ezech. xvi, Osee i-iii. So too in the New Testament when the relations between Christ and His Church are described, Ephes. v. 23, 2 Cor. xi. 2, Apoc. xix. 7; *cf.* Ps. xliv as quoted in Heb. i. 8. It is well to insist on this, for the tendency nowadays is to degrade the *Canticle* to the rank of a profane love-song.[1] No one fought more strenuously against this opinion than St. Jerome who maintained that the song excluded all idea of carnal love: "I will prove," he says, "that it contains the mystery of virginity, *virginitatis sacramenta.*"[2] Again, "Solomon, a lover of peace and of the Lord, corrects morals, teaches nature, unites Christ and the Church, and sings a sweet song to celebrate that holy bridal."[3] St. Bernard, in his series of eighty-six sermons on the first two chapters, has dwelt at great length on the *Canticle* as expressing the affections of mystical souls for the Divine Spouse who "feeds among the lilies."

III. The Author.

We have spoken throughout of Solomon as the author, for though modern writers endeavour to assign the *Canticle* to a much later date it cannot be said that their arguments

[1] Luther led the way by claiming that the *Canticle* proclaimed the reward of the obedience of the faithful soul who was therefore admitted to the Divine embraces; Hugo Grotius, *d.* 1645, went further, while Michælis, in his translation of Lowth's *Hebrew Poetry*, went so far (contrary to the whole spirit of Lowth himself, see Lectures xxx-xxxi, which well repay study) as to exclude the *Canticle* from the Bible. Jacobi, 1771, regarded it as a panegyric on conjugal fidelity, while Herder, 1778, treated it as purely natural erotic poetry.

[2] *Adv. Jovin.* i. 30, *P.L.* xxiii. 251-252.

[3] *Ep.* liii. 7, *P.L.* xxii. 547.

are convincing. The title in the Greek and Vulgate is always the same, *viz. Solomon's Canticle of Canticles*, and until the time of the Reformation no one ever thought of denying Solomon's authorship of it. In 3 Kings iv. 32, Solomon is said to have "treated of trees, from the cedar that is in Libanus unto the hyssop that cometh out of the wall"; out of the 116 verses of the *Canticle*, twenty at least are concerned with flowers.[1] Many maintain that the language shows signs of a late date, but the argument from language is a precarious one.[2]

IV. The Text.

The Douay translation is good, but a few points become clearer from a comparison with the original or with the Greek.[3] Thus in ii. 1, our version misses the "rose of

[1] Note, too, the reference to Thersa, vi. 4, where instead of "Thou art beautiful, O my beloved, as Thersa, lovely as Jerusalem," the Vulgate has "suavis" instead of Thersa," thus destroying the parallelism. Thersa was the capital of the northern kingdom, 3 Kings xiv. 17, xv. 21, xvi. 6, 9, 15, 17, 23, until Samaria, under Omri, replaced it, 3 Kings xvi. 24.

[2] Thus אגון "garden," vi. 11, פרדס "paradisus," iv. 13, Neh. ii. 8, Eccles. ii. 5, *cp.* Schrader, *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, ii. 71; אַפִּרְיוֹן "a litter," iii. 9, are all said to be late foreign words referable perhaps to the Macedonian period, Driver, *L.O.T.*, 9th *ed.*, p. 449; yet the last-named occurs in the form "aparne" in the Cappadocian cuneiform tablets which Sayce refers to the Tell el-Amarna period or 1450 B.C., *cf.* Tablet xiii, *Records of the Past, New Series*, vi. 118, 130; "the Hebrews," says St. Jerome, "use words derived from all manner of languages, for example in Cant. iii. 9, from the Greek *φορεῖον*, or the 'ferculum' which Solomon made, we have the same word in Hebrew," on Isa. vii. 14, *P.L.* xxiv. 108. Similarly the curious abbreviated form of the relative אשׁר as in שֶׁלִּי and שׁאני almost as a genitive, *cf.* i. 6, 12, iii. 1, 2, 3, 7, etc., occurs in the Song of Debora, Judg. v. 7, *cf.* vi. 17, vii. 12, viii. 26, which presumably come from Ephraim or the northern kingdom, the same usage occurs in an inscription of the eighth century B.C. from the site of Samaria, see Driver, *L.O.T.*, 4th *ed.*, p. 422.

[3] The Greek text has its own interest. In some MSS. marginal stage directions are given, *e.g.* "the bride to the bridegroom," "the bride to the maidens" or "the maidens to the bride," *cf.* Swete, *Introduction to the Bible in Greek*, p. 360. The translator is often puzzled by the Hebrew and simply transliterates, *e.g.* Aminadab, vii. 2, but *cp.* vi. 12; iv. 14, v. 11. At other times he translates Proper Names, *e.g.* Amana, iv. 8; "besides that which is within," iv. 1, 3, vi. 77 proves a pitfall, so too ii. 7, 9, 17 where he is at fault; he has certain additions

Sharon"; in vii. 1, the proper name "Mahanaim," Gen. xxxii. 2, has been translated; so also in viii. 11, where we should read "Solomon had a vineyard in Baal-Hamon." The curious expression in iv. 3 and vi. 6, "besides that which lieth hid within" should more correctly be rendered "behind thy veil." Lastly, the very indelicate statement in viii. 5 is quite contrary to the Hebrew and the Greek, *cf.* the Revised Version.

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to the text in ii. 1, 2, viii. 4. Burkitt, *The Legacy of Israel*, 1928, p. 89, would suggest that our so-called Septuagint version is really that of Theodotion.

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THE BOOK OF WISDOM

I. The Purpose of the Writer.

In the Septuagint Σοφία Σαλαμῶνος or *Wisdom of Solomon*, a title probably due to the statements about Solomon's divinely infused wisdom.[1] The same title is even given to it as to *Proverbs*, Πανάρετος σοφία, or "all-embracing Wisdom."[2] Briefly the author exhorts all princes to cultivate true wisdom, i-vi. 23, and then proceeds to treat of the necessity, origin, proofs and effects of such wisdom. Or in greater detail :

i-ii. An exhortation to seek after Wisdom and not to be like the wicked who despise it.

iii-v. The difference between the fate of the just and of the wicked.

vi. 3-23. Renewed exhortation to seek after Wisdom.

vi. 24-27. The author's theme : "Now what Wisdom is and what was her origin, I will declare. . . ."

vii-ix. How desirable Wisdom is ; her praises ; a prayer for it.

x-xii. The Wisdom of God as displayed in the history of the Hebrew people.

xiii-xv. Hence the folly of idolatry.

xvi-xix. Further shown in the history of the plagues in Egypt.

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[1] 3 Kings iii. 7-14, *cf.* Eccles. i. 12, Ecclus. xlvii. 12-18.

[2] St. Epiphanius, *De Mensuris et Ponderibus*, 4.

The author's aim is to present a picture of that practical wisdom which shall lead a man to union with God: "She is an infinite treasure to men; which they that use become the friends of God," vii. 14. Nor is this wisdom purely practical; it is speculative as well, vii. 15-30; and this speculative aspect of Wisdom leads to its personification, vii-ix, where we see the roots of the *Logos* doctrine of St. John, *cf.* Col. i. 15, 17, Heb. i, iv. 12.

II. The Date and Authorship of the Book.

(*a*) **The Language.**—The book does not exist in Hebrew, and critics dispute as to whether it ever existed in that language. Houbigant regarded chaps. i-ix as a translation from the Hebrew of Solomon, and the remainder as an original Greek composition due to the translator of the earlier portion. He argued from the poetical and Hebraic character of i-ix, also from its likeness to other Salomonic books, such as *Proverbs* and *Ecclesiastes*. Margoliouth too has argued that there are clear traces of a Hebrew original. The fact remains, however, that the Greek is noticeably different from that of the Septuagint version elsewhere, and there are also characteristic plays upon words in the Greek hardly compatible with a translation, *e.g.* i. 1-4. Houbigant insisted on the Hebraic parallelism so marked in the earlier chapters, but the same feature is observable in the later chapters as well, xi. 2-4, 22-25.[1] But this undoubted parallelism, while no proof of the Hebrew origin of the book, shows that the author was a Jew of the Greek dispersion; for we need not argue that because the Greek style is not that of the Septuagint the author was therefore a pure Greek; Philo was an Alexandrian but he was also of Hebrew origin.

(*b*) **The Doctrine.**—It is quite possible that we have in this book a veiled attack on certain tenets of the Sadducæan body such as we find portrayed in the New Testament[2] and in Josephus.[3] Thus on the reality of a spirit world: the

[1] C. F. Houbigant, *Notæ Criticæ in Universos Veteris Testamenti Libros*, 1777.

[2] Mark xii. 18, Acts xxiii. 8.

[3] *Ant.* XIII. v. 9, they allow of no fate; XVIII. i. 4, the soul is not immortal.

section against idols and devil-worship, xiv-xv; the "hornets," presumably regarded as angels, during the occupation of the Promised Land, xii. 8; the manna, xvi. 20; the ghosts in Egypt, xvii. 5, 6, 9, xviii. 19. The tendency to develop Greek culture at the expense of the true traditions of the nation[1] may be hinted at, ii. 1 *ff.*; while the clear teaching on the immortality of the soul, ii. 23, v. 19, vi. 19, xii. 1 would seem directly aimed at the Sadducees, so too the teaching on the devil, ii. 24.

The famous Messianic passage, ii. 13-20, is so startling in its prevision that rationalistic writers have instanced it as a proof of the post-Christian date of the whole book, whereas for men like St. Augustine "it is the most patent prophecy of the Passion of Christ";[2] the same applies to the glorious passage xviii. 14 *ff.* on the Incarnation which should be read in association with the passages wherein Wisdom is personified, i. 6, viii. 9, x, 1 *ff.*, etc. The eschatology, or doctrine of the last things,[3] is in harmony with many portions of the Bible which however had not expressed the doctrines with the same precision, *e.g.* on the fate of the wicked, iii. 10-12, 17, iv. 3; on the punishment for sin, xi. 16; on the contrast between the good and the wicked, iv. 18-20, xvii. 21 and v. 14, also on the resurrection of the flesh, by implication, iii. 8, v. 16, vi. 20. Yet with all this intensely Hebraic outlook the author is steeped in Greek thought and acquainted with the tenets of the philosophical schools. Thus he speaks of the four cardinal virtues in the terms of a stoic, viii. 7; his description of Wisdom in vii. 22 is not that of a Hebrew; the expression "matter without form," xi. 17, is apparently Platonic; in xiv. 3, the term *προνοία*, "Providence," is one otherwise unknown to the Septuagint. Hence St. Jerome: "the very style of Wisdom is redolent of Greek eloquence," so that he maintains that it was originally written in Greek.[4]

[1] 2 Macc. iv. 10-18; *cf.* the theatre and games established by Herod, *Ant.* XV. viii. 1, XVI. v. 1.

[2] *De Civitate Dei*, XVII. xx. 1.

[3] See Lagrange, *R.B.*, January, 1907.

[4] *Præf. in Libros Salomonis*, *P.L.* xxviii. 1242-1243, though St. Isidore, *De Difficultatibus S. Scripturæ*, i. 12, held that it had been originally composed in Hebrew, *cf.* Bellarmine, *De Verbo Dei*, i. 13.

(*c*) **Intrinsic Evidence for its Date.**—If we are to see in ii. 13-22, iii and v, references to an actual state of persecution in Egypt it will yet remain difficult to decide which persecution is meant. The historical character of 3 *Maccabees* is doubtful, but it does speak, ii. 25 *ff.*, of a persecution under Philopater, B.C. 225-222; Josephus however seems to know nothing of this and apparently[1] attributes the first persecution of the Alexandrian Jews to Ptolemy Physcon, B.C. 179 (145)-117, and at the worst this was but a brief affair. At the time of writing Israel was under subjection, xv. 14, a statement incompatible with its authorship by Solomon; while that it was composed in Egypt might legitimately be argued from the passages dealing with animal-worship, xv. 18-19, xvi. 1, 9. It seems clear that the writer made use of the Septuagint version of the *Pentateuch* and *Isaias*, if not of the *Psalter*, and one is tempted to ask if he may not have been—as perhaps was the case with the author of *Ecclesiasticus*[2]—himself one of the Seventy, or at any rate one of those who, from the date of Ptolemy Philadelphus down to a *terminus ad quem* which it is impossible to fix with precision, completed that translation.[3]

(*d*) In the Muratorian Canon[4] we find the remarkable statement "Sapientia ab amicis Salomonis in honorem ipsius scripta" where "ab amicis" may stand for ὑπὸ φιλῶνος misread ὑπὸ φιλῶν; this would agree with St. Jerome's statement that "some ancient writers say that the author of *Wisdom* was Philo the Jew."[5] But Philo lived B.C. 20-A.D. 40 so that it is hardly probable that his writings could be quoted in the New Testament. At the same time there are traces of Philo's peculiar line of thought, i. 4, xiii. 1, though the book as a whole is singularly free from his allegorizing methods despite the opportunity its subject-matter affords for such treatment.

[1] *Contra Apion*, ii. 5. [2] *Cf. infra*, pp. 265-6.

[3] Swete, *Introduction to the Bible in Greek*, 2nd *ed.*, p. 260, favours a date not earlier than the middle of the second century B.C.

[4] *Aids to the Bible*, iv (ii), pp. 77-90.

[5] *Præf. in Libros Salomonis.*

III. The Relation of Wisdom to Ecclesiastes.

The latter book was peculiarly liable to be misunderstood and certain passages in *Wisdom* may have been intended to obviate such misunderstanding, thus:

(1) The title, "*Wisdom* of Solomon," may be compared with the portrait of Solomon in *Ecclesiastes.*

(2) Submission to the tyranny of kings is insisted on, Eccles. v. 8, x. 4, 20; it seems to be rebuked in Wisd. i. 1, vi. 1-10.

(3) Eccles. ii. 1-8 (Hebrew text) seems to teach that wisdom is to be found in wine; this is negatived in Wisd. i. 4.

(4) "Vanity of vanities" — the somewhat melancholy refrain of *Ecclesiastes*—may be met by the statement in Wisd. i. 11, that murmuring is unprofitable.

(5) Death is better than life, Eccles. vi. 4-5; but *cf.* Wisd. i. 12.

(6) Life is short and miserable, Eccles. viii. 6; but Wisd. ii. 5, "thus say the *wicked.*"

(7) Eccles. ix should be compared with Wisd. i. 7-13.

(8) In *Ecclesiastes* there is no mention of the patriarchs, of the folly of idolatry, of God's power, nor of the law; this may explain why such stress is laid on all these in *Wisdom.*

IV. The Place of Wisdom in the Canon.

Canonicity.—Since it is not in the Hebrew text, *Wisdom* was rejected by the reformers. Yet, apart from the authority of the Church, the canonicity of the book is indubitable.

(*a*) *Its Use in New Testament.*—*Cp.* Rom. i. 20-32 and Wisd. xiii. 1-9; Rom. i. 20-21 and Wisd. xv. 7; Rom. ix. 22 and Wisd. xii. 18-20; 1 Thess. v. 8, Ephes. vi. 13-17 and Wisd. v. 17-19; especially Heb. i. 1, "in divers manners" . . . and Wisd. vii. 22; Heb. i. 3 and Wisd. vii. 26 in the Greek text; Heb. iv. 12 and Wisd. xviii. 22, and i. 6. It might be argued from many of the preceding allusions that St. Paul is merely echoing a Greek work with which he is well acquainted but which he does not regard as inspired, yet the same can hardly be said of the references in *Hebrews* where he is establishing a dogma of the faith.

(*b*) "*Wisdom*" *in the Fathers of the Church.*—While many of the earlier Fathers, led by the title, speak of the book as Solomon's, *e.g.* Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, SS. Hippolytus, Basil, etc., Origen and Eusebius[1] call it in question, while SS. Jerome and Augustine state with

[1] *Præp. Evangelica*, xi. 7 and *cf. infra.*

emphasis that it is not his; so too St. Thomas who quotes vii. 7 with the reservation "ex ejus (Salomonis) persona dicitur."[1]

The question of authorship is of course quite distinct from that of canonicity; a pseudepigraphical work—that is one traditionally but erroneously attributed to a particular author—may perfectly well be inspired and thus claim a place in the canon of books containing Divine revelation. When, then, certain Fathers repudiate the Salomonic authorship of *Wisdom* we cannot conclude that they therefore question its inspired character. Nor does St. Jerome, when he says the book is not in the canon, mean more than that it had no place in the canon drawn up by the Jews and embodied in the Hebrew Bible. We say this deliberately despite St. Jerome's very positive statement to the contrary when he says: "The Church, it is true, reads *Judith, Tobias* and the books of *Maccabees* but does not reckon them among the canonical Scriptures; so, too, she reads these two books (*Wisdom* and *Ecclesiasticus*) for the edification of the people, not for authoritative confirmation of ecclesiastical doctrines."[2] For we have to judge St. Jerome by his practice rather than by his theory. It is true that he quotes *Wisdom* "which passes under the name of Solomon" and adds "that is if anyone cares to receive that book"; and it is true that[3] if this and the above-quoted passages stood alone we should justly conclude that St. Jerome for one did not "receive" *Wisdom*. But when we find that in arguing against the Pelagians on a dogmatic question he says, after quoting *Wisdom*, "but perchance you reject that book," and therefore supports his argument by a quotation from *Ecclesiastes* "about which there is no ambiguity,"[4] we feel that he is hardly so positive as in the former passages; and when we further find him quoting the same book freely over and over again, and in support of doctrinal positions,[5] we are

[1] *Summa Theol.* I-II. cxiii. 3 ad 2.

[2] *Præf. in Libros Salomonis*, *P.L.* xxviii. 1242-1243.

[3] *On* Zach. xii. 9, *P.L.* xxv. 1513, *cp. on* Isa. lxiii. 10, *P.L.* xxiv. 616.

[4] *Dial. adv. Pelagianos*, i. 33, *P.L.* xxiii. 527.

[5] *E.g. on* Gal. iii, Ephes. i, iii. 7, iv. 2, and *Prol.* to Lib. iii *on* Ephes., *Adv. Rufin.* i. 17, *P.L.* xxiii. 430, *on* Isa. iii. 2, "scriptum est," *P.L.* xxiv. 59.

justified in concluding that in practice he did not regard *Wisdom* as simply "made for edification."

It is precisely the same with Origen who speaks of *Wisdom* as doubtfully Solomon's[1] and says that it "is not esteemed authoritative by all,"[2] whereas St. Cyprian regards it as penned "by the Spirit."[3] Previous to these Melito included the book in his canon,[4] Clement of Rome used it largely,[5] as also his namesake of Alexandria.[6]

St. Augustine quotes *Wisdom* habitually, but he knows that it was not written by Solomon: "the two books, one called *Wisdom* and the other *Ecclesiasticus* are spoken of as 'Solomon's' owing to a certain similarity, but it is consistently said that they were written by Jesus (the son of) Sirach";[7] sometimes he speaks of the author simply as "a Prophet."[8] But its authorship is to him immaterial, the fact that the Church received it into the canon suffices to establish its authoritative character,[9] thus he quotes vii. 27 to prove a point of doctrine.[10] Again St. Hilary of Arles had written to him saying that some of the brethren had jeered when Augustine had quoted the words "He was taken away lest wickedness should alter his understanding," Wisd. iv. 11, "on the ground that the words were taken

[1] *Tom.* xx. 4 *in* Joann., *P.G.* xiii. 382, *Contra Celsum*, iii. 72, iv. 3, 7, 28, v. 29, *De Principiis*, III. viii. 3.

[2] *De Principiis*, IV. xxxiii; *cf. H.E.* V. xxvi.

[3] *De Veste*, 1; *cf.* Tertullian, *Adv. Valentin.* 2.

[4] *H.E.* IV. xxiv. 14. "The Proverbs of Solomon, Wisdom also"; how McGiffert can explain "Wisdom" here by "*i.e.* the Book of Proverbs" when Eusebius has just mentioned that book is hard to understand (Schaff and Wace, *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, I. 206).

[5] 1 Cor. v and Wisd. ii. 24, 1 Cor. xxvii and Wisd. xii. 12, which is quoted *à pari* with Ps. xviii.

[6] *H.E.* VI. xiii. 6; see Melchior Canus, *De Locis*, ii. 11.

[7] *De Doctr. Christiana*, ii. 13, an opinion which he afterwards retracted. "I have since learned that in all probability he was not the author" (*Retract.* II. iv. 2).

[8] *De Moribus Ecclesiæ*, 32.

[9] "The custom has grown up of calling them (*Wisdom* and *Ecclesiasticus*) Solomon's; but learned men have no doubt that they are not his; still the Church has for long past (antiquitus), especially in the West, regarded them as authoritative" (*De Civitate Dei*, XVII. xx. 1).

[10] *De Fide et Symbolo*, 2-3, where Augustine shows that he is acquainted with varying Latin readings of Wisd. xi. 18.

from a book which was not in the canon."[1] But Augustine replies that

"a quotation from the Book of Wisdom should not be repudiated since it has been deemed by the Church of Christ worthy to be read from the lector's pulpit to the Church of Christ for so many long years (tam longa annositate), and is listened to with veneration for its Divine authority by all Christians, from bishops down to the lowliest of the laity, including penitents and catechumens."[2]

(*c*) *The Discussions at the Council of Trent.*—When in the General Congregation of February 12, 1546, Cardinal de Monte proposed that "all the sacred books both of the Old and the New Testament alike should be approved by the Council precisely as they had been approved by previous Councils and last of all by the Council of Florence under Eugenius IV," Cervinus, Cardinal of S. Crucis, said:

"I would suggest two points which have been discussed in my particular congregation: the first is whether it is to be a simple approbation of the Bible such as Florence and previous Councils gave,[3] or whether we are to make a distinction between those sacred books which are the foundation of our faith and doctrine and those which, though canonical, are not of the same authority as the others but are received by the Church so that the populace can be instructed out of them, as for example the books of *Wisdom*, *Proverbs* (*Ecclesiasticus*)

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[1] *Ep.* ccxxvi. 4 (inter Epp. S. Augustini).

[2] *De Prædestinatione Sanctorum*, xiv. 26, 27, 29.

[3] The Cardinal refers of course to such Decrees as those against the Priscillianists, *c.* A.D. 450, formerly known as the First Council of Toledo, *cf.* Denzinger, *Enchiridion*, 32; the Synod of Rome in 382, where, apropos of *Wisdom*, we read "Salomonis libri tres, Proverbiorum, Ecclesiastes, Cantica Canticorum; item Sapientiæ, Ecclesiasticus," *ib.* No. 84; Carthage, A.D. 397, can. 36 "Salomonis libri quinque," *ib.* No. 92; Innocent I, A.D. 401 *ad Exuperium*, "Salomcnis libri quinque"; the repetition by Pope Gelasius and Pope Hormisdas of the Decree of Pope Damasus, *c.* A.D. 495, *ib.* No. 162; Leo IX, A.D. 1053, the anathema in his *Symbolum Fidei* against such as "regard as authoritative other Scriptures than those which the Catholic Church receives," *ib.* No. 349; Florence, A.D. 1441, the Decree for the Jacobites, where the list of books is given in full. It is this list to which the Tridentine Fathers looked as expressing the consistent mind of the Church on the contents of the Bible, which they repeated simply as it stood and which was confirmed by the Vatican Council in 1870; apropos of the Sapiential Books Solomon is not named at all, and we simply have "Parabolæ (Proverbs), Ecclesiastes, Canticum Canticorum, Sapientia, Ecclesiasticus," *ib.* Nos. 709, 783, 1809.

and others like them. It seems opportune to do so since the matter is ambiguous nor yet decided by the Church though Augustine and Jerome and older writers have often spoken on the point. And the second point is this : Is our approbation to consist of a bare statement merely or are we to give our reasons for it and answer the arguments on which our opponents especially rely in their assaults on certain portions of the Bible? For, as you are all well aware, they attack especially the book (*sic*) of Maccabees which they wholly reject, also St. Paul to the Hebrews, one Epistle of St. Peter and the second canonical Epistle, that of James, even the *Apocalypse* and several others."[1]

There was much discussion on these points. All agreed to endorse the declaration of Florence; but while many felt that some distinction between those books on which doctrine was based and those making simply for edification would be useful, the majority were against them; Aretinus, the General of the Servites, somewhat pithily remarking that where Jerome and Augustine did not agree the Council should, as was the Church's wont, decline to interfere. Discussion waxed warm on the question whether or not the Conciliar Fathers should assign reasons for their decision; the three Presidents of Congregations, Card. de Monte, Card. Pachecus and Card. Pole being in violent disagreement, so the meeting closed at midnight to be resumed on February 15 when "after the same altercations as before" it was again agreed to follow the lead of the Council of Florence and also to omit any statement of the arguments for upholding the traditional canonical books impugned by the Reformers. But the crucial question this time was Card. Cervinus' first question at the previous session : "Whether all the sacred books were to be received on the same footing and with equal reverence considering there was so great a difference between them?" The majority agreed that the words *pari pietatis affectu recipimus* should be added. Further discussion as to whether an "anathema" should be appended against those who refused to obey caused a prolongation of the discussion till 3 o'clock in the morning![2]

[1] Calvin, for example, had rejected the Book of Wisdom on the ground that the account of the origin of idolatry in chaps. xiv-xv was a lie (*Instit.* I. xi. 8).

[2] *Concilii Tridentini Actorum, pars altera*, V., pp. 8-10, *ed.* Ehses, 1911.

One of the arguments in favour of appending an anathema against those who should refuse to receive all the books *pari pietatis affectu* was that then, as Card. Pachecus urged: "Some of our own people would no longer dare to do as the illustrious Cajetan did not hesitate to do, namely call in question the authority of several of the sacred books and pronounce them apocryphal."[1]

V. The "Additions" to the History of Wisdom.

Wisdom is remarkable, like *Chronicles*, for its additions to the historical narrative as we know it from other Biblical sources. Thus many additional details concerning the plagues in Egypt and the period of the wanderings in the desert are furnished us, *e.g.* xi. 15, xvi. 1 *ff.*, 9, 18, 21, xvii. 6-9, 15-19, xviii. 12, 17-19, xix. 11, 17-21, etc. What is their value? It is often said that they are merely instances of what is known as "Haggada" or Rabbinic tradition. But once we concede the inspired character of the book we must regard these additions as "the word of God" as much as any other part of the Bible. If our sole preoccupation is with the human author and his possible sources we shall naturally be tempted to assign to these additional data a very secondary value on the ground that he wrote late, in a strange land, under the influence of Greek ideas, etc. But this is precisely what we cannot do when it is a question of sacred books which, as "sacred," claim a dual authorship; whatever the sources at the disposal of the secondary author it will always remain true that the primary author of the Bible—God Himself—has put His seal on what He "inspired" the man to write.

VI. The Latin Text.

This presents certain variants which are of more or less interest, i. 15, ii. 8, 17, iii. 1, iv. 14, 17, vi. 1, 20, viii. 11, x. 1, xi. 8, xvii. 1, etc. It is, of course, the Old-Latin text left intact by St. Jerome "in the book known to many as the Wisdom of Solomon and in Ecclesiasticus, which as everyone knows was written by Jesus son of Sirach, I have

[1] *Concilii Tridentini Diariorum*, I. p. 32, 1901.

restrained my pen (*calamo temperavi*), for my sole aim was to correct the canonical Scriptures."[1] That there were several Latin recensions of *Wisdom* in circulation is evident from St. Jerome's own citations of it[2] as well as from those given by St. Augustine.[3]

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[1] *Præf. in Libros Salomonis juxta Septuaginta*, *P.L.* xxix. 404.

[2] *E.g. on* Isa. v. 5, *on* Zach. viii. 12.

[3] *E.g. De Fide et Symbolo*, ii, *P.L.* xl. 182; *cf.* Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate*, 1893.

THE BOOK OF ECCLESIASTICUS

I. The Character of the Book.

In Hebrew, מְשָׁלֵי, "Mishle"; the Septuagint, *The Wisdom of Jesus the son of Sirach*, Σοφία Ἰησοῦ υἱõα Σιραχ. The title "Ecclesiasticus" only occurs in one Greek MS.[1] "Ecclesiastes," קֹהֶלֶת, means "the Preacher" and as there is a similarity between the titles some have thought that "Ecclesiasticus" meant "The Summoner," Latin "Congregator," *cf.* xxxvi. 13, li. 31. But the accepted title "Ecclesiasticus" merely serves to express the fact that this is the Ecclesiastical book *par excellence*; thus Rufinus:

> "There are other books which are not called canonical by our predecessors but "ecclesiastical," *viz.* the so-called *Wisdom of Solomon* and the other *Wisdom* called after the son of Sirach which latter is known by the Latins under the general title "Ecclesiasticus" a name which applies not to the writer but expresses the character of the book."[2]

Since *Ecclesiasticus* is also a treatise on the virtuous life the convenient name "Panaretos" or "all the virtues" was given to it.

[1] *Codex* 248, *cf.* Hart, *Ecclesiasticus*, p. 325.
[2] *In Symbolum*, 38 ; *cf.* St. Cyprian, *Testimonia*, ii. 1.

"There also exists," says St. Jerome, "Πανάρετος, the Book of Jesus the son of Sirach, and yet another pseudepigraphical book, Ψευδεπίγραφος, called the *Wisdom of Solomon*. The former I found existing in Hebrew but not with the title "Ecclesiasticus" as the Latins call it, but "Parables," to it were attached *Ecclesiastes* and the *Canticle of Canticles*."[1]

Divisions.—There is no very orderly procedure in the book; the only practical division seems to be:

(*a*) i-xlii. Counsels touching the practice of various virtues.

(*b*) xliii-li. Historical examples of the practice of the virtues. It is remarkable that the author should omit such great Biblical characters as Isaac, Jacob, the Kings Asa and Josaphat, Esther, Judith, Tobias, Job and the three great Prophets Isaias, Jeremias and Daniel.

li. 18-38 is a metrical composition not unlike Prov. xxxi. 10-31 and alphabetically arranged. The *Prologue* to the book has a peculiar interest both from the literary and from the historical point of view; it should be read in the Greek as the Douay version is exceedingly free.

II. Its Place in the Canon.

Since *Ecclesiasticus* was indubitably written in Hebrew it is remarkable that it finds no place in the Hebrew canon. Rabbi Joseph is quoted as saying: "In the book of Ben Sira it is also forbidden to read because it is written therein 'The father waketh for the daughter . . .,' xlii. 9-10." But the Rabbinical schools were not agreed on the point, that of Shammai holding that the book formed part of Scripture, that of Hillel that it did not. It has, however, always occupied a place in the Christian canon of the Old Testament;[2] thus the *Ep. of Barnabas* 19 and the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, iv. 6, quote Ecclus. iv. 31 with the same peculiar variants: "Early Christian writers made such extensive use of Wisdom, Sirach and Baruch that they appear more familiar with them than with several books of the New Testament."[3]

[1] *Præf. in Libros Salomonis* (ex Hebræo), *P.L.* xxviii. 1242; on Dan. ix. 23, *P.L.* xxv. 545.

[2] See vol. i (1896), pp. 139-154.

[3] Nestle in Hastings, *Dict. of the Bible*, *s.v. Sirach.*

Clement of Alexandria cites it very frequently,"[1] so too Origen. St. Jerome however, with his insistence on the "Hebraica veritas," says: "In that book which many call *The Wisdom of Solomon*, and in *Ecclesiasticus* which, as everybody knows, is by Jesus the son of Sirach, I restrained my pen since I have wished to correct only the canonical Scriptures and devote my work to certain rather than to doubtful things,"[2] yet he quotes it as an authority, though with the *caveat* "ne forte huic volumine contrarias."[3] St. Augustine quotes *Ecclesiasticus* often, and, as a part of sacred Scripture, it was read in church.[4] After giving in his *Speculum* excerpts from the books of the Hebrew canon, he says:

"Neither should we omit those books which were written before the coming of our Saviour, which the Jews indeed did not receive but which the Church of that same Saviour does receive; among these books are two which by many are attributed to Solomon, by reason, so it seems to me, of a certain similarity which they have to his writings; yet learned men do not hesitate to say that Solomon did not write them. We do not indeed know who wrote the book called *Wisdom*, but it is clear to all who have read the whole of it that the second book, which we call *Ecclesiasticus*, was written by one Jesus, termed 'of Sirach,'" and he adds some twenty columns of extracts from *Ecclesiasticus*.[5]

But the reformers, on the ground that the book formed no part of the Hebrew Bible, rejected it from their canon. In other words they made the Jews, the repudiated Synagogue, rather than the Church of Christ, the final arbiter for Christians as to the contents of the canon.

[1] See Hart, *Ecclesiasticus*, 321-347, though it is not easy to discover which Greek text he uses; Armitage Robinson, *Clement of Alexandria's Biblical Text*, *Texts and Studies*, v. 5, 1899. Origen also quotes *Ecclesiasticus* freely, *cf. on* Rom. ii. 13, *Contra Celsum*, vi. 7, *Tom.* xvii. 25 *on* Matt., *Hom. on* Jer. xv. 5.

[2] *Præf. in Libros Salomonis juxta LXX*, *P.L.* xxix. 403 where however both Martiannay and Vallarsi throw doubts on the authenticity of the part cited; *cf. Prol. Galeatus in Libros Samuel et Regum*: "Wisdom, commonly entitled Solomon's, the Book of Jesus the son of Sirach, Judith, Tobias and the Shepherd are not in the canon," *P.L.* xxviii. 556. See his *Præf. in Libros Salomonis* given above, p. 239.

[3] *Dial. adv. Pelagianos*, i. 33, *P.L.* xxiii. 527.

[4] *Enarr.* i. 8 in Ps. xxxvii, *P.L.* xxxvi. 401.

[5] *P.L.* xxxiv. 946-969.

"But indeed, the chief cause is, that some things in these books are so manifestly against their opinions, that they have no other answer but to reject their authority, as appears very plainly from those words of Mr. Whitaker: 'We pass not,' says he, 'for that Raphael mentioned in Tobit, neither acknowledge we these seven Angels whereof he makes mention; all that differs much from canonical Scripture, which is reported of that Raphael, and savours of, I know not what, superstition. Neither will I believe free will, although the Book of Ecclesiasticus[1] confirms it a hundred times.'"[2]

III. Author and Date.

In the *Prologue* we are told that the work was that of "my grandfather Jesus," and in l. 29 (D.V.), the author is termed "Jesus the son of Sirach" (in Greek "son of Sirach, son of Eleazar, of Jerusalem"); the recently discovered Hebrew calls him "Simon, son of Jesus, son of Eleazar, son of Sirach." He seems to have travelled much,[3] and had gone through many trials;[4] possibly, too, the Jews had in his time experienced a great deal of persecution.[5] From his references to physicians and medicines he may have been a doctor, while his enthusiastic description of Simon the High Priest, in chap. l, might suggest that was a priest himself.

His work was composed in Hebrew and his grandson says in the *Prologue* he prefixed that he translated it into Greek. He also tells us that the author was led by his life-long study of the "Law, the Prophets, and the other books," to write something himself. That he was steeped in the Hebrew Scriptures is evident from a comparison of the Hebrew text with the rest of the Scriptures; it has been computed that there are at least 367 parallels between the work of Ben-Sira and the Hebrew Bible.

The translator tells us that he himself came into Egypt in the eight-and-thirtieth year under Euergetes the king, *ἐν γὰρ τῷ ὀγδόῳ καὶ τριακοστῷ ἔτει ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἐυεργέτου βασιλέως*. The difficulty lies in the preposition *ἐπί* here translated "under." If, however, it can be rendered "of"

[1] Ecclus. xxxi. 10.

[2] *Contra Campion*, p. 17; Ward, *Errata of the Protestant Bible*, 1688, p. 29 in the ed. of 1807.

[3] xxxiv. 12, li. 18. [4] li. 4. [5] xxxv. 22-36.

and so refer to the regnal years of a king called Euergetes,[1] this must be Euergetes II, who—with intervals—reigned for at least fifty-four years, for he was assumed to the throne 170 B.C., became sole ruler in 146 and died in 117, so that his thirty-eighth year will be 132 B.C. If, then, the grandson came into Egypt 132 B.C. and only after "having continued there some time" undertook his work of translating his grandfather's writings, we shall have to refer *Ecclesiasticus* in its Greek form to *c.* 120 B.C. and Simon the High Priest mentioned in chap. l will be Simon II, 219-119 B.C., not Simon I, 310-291 B.C. If, however, the preposition ἐπί ought rather to be rendered by "under" and we ought to read the whole clause "in the eight and thirtieth year, being in Egypt under Euergetes the king, and having spent some time there . . ." we shall have to seek an era to which "the eight and thirtieth year" can be referred. The Seleucid era began 312 B.C. so that "the eight and thirtieth year" would be 274 B.C. and we should have to regard the grandfather, the author of *Ecclesiasticus* in Hebrew, as having compiled his work about 300 B.C. when Ptolemy Soter, 304-286 B.C., was founding the famous library at Alexandria and when Philadelphus his successor, 286-247, was arranging for the translation of the Hebrew Bible into Greek.[2]

The above considerations may throw light on certain perplexing passages in the *Prologue*. The grandson says that in Egypt he "found a copy affording no small instruction," so the Greek, but the Vulgate "inveni ibi libros relictos, non parvæ neque condemnendæ doctrinæ." He does not say of what it was a copy; in fact, the whole tenor of the *Prologue* seems to distinguish this "copy" from the work of the grandfather, though when the writer immediately adds: "I thought it necessary therefore for me to apply some

[1] That such a use of the preposition is possible seems confirmed by an inscription from the Acropolis, third century B.C., and by an apparently similar use in the Rosetta stone, *cf.* Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, Engl. tr., p. 340, but this is disputed by Hart, *Ecclesiasticus*, pp. 251-253.

[2] Hart, *Ecclesiasticus, the Greek Text of Codex 248*, 1909, p. 259, suggests that since Ptolemy Philadelphus reigned thirty-eight years the grandson means that he came into Egypt in the year of the latter's death, 247 B.C., and that under his successor Euergetes I, 247-222, he was occupied in making the translation.

diligence and travail to interpret this book," he is clearly referring to his grandfather's work, for even the Vulgate has "librum istum," quite distinct from the "libros relictos" the discovery of which—or of the "copy"[1]—seems to have served as an inducement to special care in translating his grandfather's work. Is it possible that the "copy affording no small instruction"—quite distinct from the Hebrew *Ecclesiasticus*—had anything to do with the Septuagint version which at that time probably only included the Pentateuch?[2] If this is possible, then, seeing how immensely important this task was and how far-reaching its consequences, the grandson may have felt that it was his duty to devote all possible care to the translation of that portion which naturally fell to his share, *viz.* the *Book of Ecclesiasticus* written by his own grandfather.[3]

IV. The Text and the Versions.

The Hebrew text was known to St. Jerome;[4] it still existed in the tenth century, for Saadia the Gaon mentions it, and it was certainly known to the Rabbinical writers of the Middle Ages. It was not, however, till May 13, 1896, that any fragments of it were unearthed. By 1900, however, large portions had been discovered so that we are now in possession of the Hebrew of chaps. iii. 6–xvi. 26; xxx. 11–xxxiii. 3; xxv. 9–xxxviii. 27; xxxix. 15–li. 30. Portions of these are in duplicate so that we are able to test their value.

[1] The word ἀφομοιόω generally signifies to copy, *cf.* Heb. vii. 3 and Bar. vi. 4, 62 and 70; but there is a variant here ἀφορμη, "opportunity," if it is trustworthy it would make excellent sense though destroying our argument: "I found an opportunity for no small instruction"—and therefore felt bound to use it to the full so as to translate this book in worthy fashion.

[2] Thus St. Jerome: "After Onias Eleazar was High Priest among the Jews. In his time the seventy interpreters are said to have translated the Holy Scriptures into Greek at Alexandria; after him came another Onias and he was succeeded by Simon, during whose government Jesus son of Sirach wrote a book which in Greek is called Παναρετός and is by many falsely attributed to Solomon," *on* Dan. ix. 24, xi. 14, *P.L.* xxv. 545, 562.

[3] For this view see Hart, *l.c.*, pp. 262-271. For discussions see *R.B.*, January, 1910, p. 150, *The Expositor*, January and November, 1911.

[4] *Præf. in Libros Salomonis*, *P.L.* xxviii. 1242, see above, p. 262.

The controversy over the precise value of the fragments seems to have established the genuine character of the text on the whole though some maintained that the original Hebrew text had been faultily corrected by the versions, while Margoliouth stoutly defended the thesis that the so-called "Hebrew original" was nothing more than a translation from Arabic and Persian sources made about A.D. 1000.[1]

The Greek Text differs considerably in the various Codices, but all, without exception, pass from xxx. 34 to xxxiii. 13*b*, at which point they resume the passage omitted. This proves that, in spite of their many divergences, all these Greek MSS. were ultimately derived from one archetype. The same fact also shows the high value to be attributed to the Old-Latin text preserved in our Vulgate, for it has retained the correct order.

The Latin Text is the Old-Latin revised by St. Jerome, not translated; "In Ecclesiastico," he says, ". . . calamo temperavi."[2] The presence of a number of purely Greek words shows that it was made from the Greek, though we do not know from what Greek text, since the Latin differs considerably at times from the Greek, Syriac and Hebrew texts, *e.g.* xviii. 32 and xxx. 24 are only to be found in the Latin text. It is possible, however, that the assimilation of the Latin to the Hebrew, which certainly took place at some later period, may have included the correction of the misplacement of xxx. 35–xxxiii. 15*a* referred to above.

[1] W. Bacher, *The Hebrew Text of Ecclesiasticus* in the *Jewish Quarterly* for July, 1897; Cowley and Neuebauer, *Ecclesiasticus xxxix. 15-xlix. 11 from the Hebrew, arranged in Columns with R.V.*, 1897; Grimme, *A Study of the Metrical and Strophical Arrangement*, *R.B.*, 1901; Gutberlet, *Das Buch Ecclesiasticus*; Knabenbauer, *Ecclesiasticus*, 1902; Israel Levi, *L'Ecclésiastique, ou la Sagesse de Jésus fils de Sira*, 1901; Margoliouth, *Lines of Defence of the Biblical Revelation*, 1900, chaps. ii and vii; *Expos. Times*, July, 1899; *An Essay on the Place of Ecclesiasticus in Semitic Literature*, 1890; *The Origin of the "Original Hebrew of Ecclesiasticus*," 1894; W. E. Oesterley, *The Wisdom of Ben-Sira*, 1916; N. Peters, *Liber Jesu Filii Sirach, sive Ecclesiasticus Hebraice*, 1905; Schechter and Taylor, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira, Portions of the Book of Ecclesiasticus from Hebrew Manuscripts in the Cairo Genizah*, 1899; Touzard, a study of the controversy, *R.B.*, April, October, 1897, January, 1898 and 1905.

[2] *Præf. in Libros Salomonis* (*iuxta LXX*), *P.L.* xxix. 404; *Une Ancienne Version Latine d'Ecclésiastique*, C. Douais, 1895.

V. Doctrinal Teaching.

Ecclesiasticus is sometimes, and appropriately, termed by the Fathers, "All-Virtuous Wisdom," *Πανάρετη σοφία*; but in addition to teaching on the virtues and vices, certain doctrinal points stand out pre-eminently:

God's works, xvi. 16-22, xviii. 1-8, xlii-xliii. 37; His justice, xvi. 2-15; His mercy, xvii. 20-29; the fear of God, i. 19-40; the creation of man, xvii. 1-15, and his nothingness, xviii. 7-8, xl. 1-15; original sin, xxv. 33.

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OF PROPHECY AND THE PROPHETS

"Understanding this first, that no prophecy of Scripture is made by private interpretation. For prophecy came not by the will of man at any time; but the holy men of God spoke, inspired by the Holy Ghost," 2 Pet. i. 20-21.

I. The Meaning of the Words "Prophecy" and "Prophet"; Various Terms used.

THE term "Prophet" corresponds to the Hebrew, נָבִיא, Nabhi, from a root which may mean "to well up." But

the Greek προφήτης, whence the Latin and English "Proheta" and "Prophet," generally signifies "prediction" whether the word is derived from πρό and φήμι "to declare beforehand" or from πρό and φαίνω "to manifest beforehand." Though these derivations may be etymologically doubtful they yet contain a great element of truth, for the predictive element in prophecy is its distinctive feature. But it is probable that, while accepting the derivation from πρό and φήμι, the proposition πρό should not be understood in the sense of "beforehand" but rather as "proxy" or "vice." This appears not only from such passages as Exod. iv. 16, vii. 1, but also from the way in which the Prophets themselves depict their office. Thus the Prophet is essentially one who is raised up to *take the place of God* as regards the people, Deut. xviii. 16-19; he is one to whom God speaks directly, Num. xii. 2;[1] he is "sent," Isa. vi. 9, Jer. xxvi. 15; he is called a "messenger," Isa. xliv. 26, Agg. i. 13, Mal. iii. 1. Hence the titles "man of God," 1 Sam. ix. 6, 3 Kings xii. 22, xiii. 1, xvii. 18; "servant of God," 3 Kings xviii. 36, xx. 3, 4 Kings ix. 7; and "interpreter," Isa. xliii. 27 (Hebrew text) Elsewhere it is implied that the Prophet stands in the "counsel of God,"[2] and that the Prophet is the "mouth" of God.[3]

The most general term for "Prophet" is נָבִיא, "Nabhi,"[4] with the corresponding verbal form commonly supposed to signify "bubbling over" and thus indicative of mental excitement and enthusiasm. It is the term used of the great writing Prophets Isaias,[5] Jeremias[6] and Ezechiel,[7] also of Habacuc,[8] Aggeus[9] and Zacharias;[10] it is applied to Abraham,[11] Moses,[12] Aaron,[13] to a nameless Prophet,[14] even to Saul,[15]

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[1] St. Jerome remarks on the silence of Jeremias when the false prophet broke the yoke from off his neck: "Holy Scripture would thus tacitly point out that the Prophets did not speak of their own free choice but solely by the will of God, especially when it was question of the future which is known to God alone," on Jer. xxviii. 10-11.

[2] Jer. xxiii. 22, Job xv. 8.

[3] Isa. xxx. 2.

[4] Jer. xx. 1, 6, etc., Amos iii. 8, vii. 15, etc.

[5] 4 Kings xix. 2, xx. 1, 14, Isa. xxxvii. 2, xxxviii. 1, xxxix. 1, 2 Paral. xxvi. 22, xxxii. 20, 30.

[6] Jer. i. 5.

[7] ii. 5, xxxiii. 33.

[8] i. 1.

[9] i. 1.

[10] i. 1.

[11] Gen. xx. 7.

[12] Deut. xxxiv. 10, *cf.* xviii. 15, 18; Osee xii. 14.

[13] Exod. vii. 1.

[14] Judg. vi. 8.

[15] 1 Sam. x. 6, 11.

also to "the Prophets of Baal"[1] and "the schools of the Prophets."[2] In 1 Sam. ix. 9 we read that "in time past when a man went to consult God he spoke thus : Come let us go to the Seer (רֹאֶה). For he that is now called a Prophet (נָבִיא), in time past was called a Seer" (רֹאֶה) ; in accordance with this Samuel is almost always spoken of as "the Seer";[3] the same term is applied to the Prophet Hanani,[4] also to Sa doc the priest,[5] and generically to the Prophets : "A people who say to the Seers, see not (לֹא תִרְאוּ), and to them that behold (לֹא תֶחֱזוּ) behold not,"[6] where we are introduced to a third term, חָזָה, with its derivatives meaning "vision" and "seer." The term "Seer," חוֹזֶה, Chozeh, seems to have been almost an official one, it is applied to Gad,[7] Addo,[8] Jehu,[9] even to the Levitical singers Heman,[10] Asaph[11] and Idithun,[12] also to Balaam[13] and to the false prophets in general.[14] It is the title given—apparently in derision—by Amasias the priest (of the golden calf at Bethel) to Amos,[15] but it is treated as synonymous with the more general term נָבִיא.[16]

II. Schools of the Prophets.

Bands of "Prophets" are referred to more than once ;[17] their homes are at Ramah, Bethel, Jericho, Gilgal, etc.[18] We also read of "sons of the Prophets."[19] But while we may regard these "schools" as training places for men who were to occupy a peculiar place in the economy of the theocracy, we must not imagine that the fact of living in such communities necessarily involved the possession of the prophetic gift, still less that it gave any exclusive right to

[1] 3 Kings xviii. 29.

[2] 1 Sam. x. 5, 10, xix. 20, 3 Kings xx. 35, 4 Kings ii. 3-15, iv. 1, 38.

[3] 1 Sam. ix. 11, 18, 19, 1 Paral. ix. 22, xxvi. 28, xxix. 29 ; but *cp.* 1 Sam. iii. 20.

[4] 2 Paral. xvi. 7, 10, where the Douay version has "prophet" and "seer" instead of "seer" in both places.

[5] 2 Sam. xv. 27.

[6] Isa. xxx. 10.

[7] 2 Sam. xxiv. 11, 1 Paral. xxi. 9, xxix. 29, 2 Paral. xxix. 25.

[8] 2 Paral. ix. 29, xii. 15.

[9] 2 Paral. xix. 2.

[10] 1 Paral. xxv. 5.

[11] 2 Paral. xxix. 30.

[12] 2 Paral. xxxv. 15.

[13] Num. xxiv. 4, 16.

[14] Jer. xiv. 14, xxiii. 16, Mich. iii. 6.

[15] Amos vii. 12.

[16] 4 Kings xvii. 13, Isa. xxix. 10-11, xxx. 10, Zach. xiii. 3-4, and *cp.* Dan. ix. 24 "and vision and prophecy shall be fulfilled," חָזוֹן וְנָבִיא, that is in the coming of Christ.

[17] 1 Sam. x. 5, 10.

[8] 1 Sam. xix. 18, 4 Kings ii. 3, 5, iv. 38.

[19] 4 Kings vi. 1, etc.

it. Thus Amos says: "I am not a Prophet (נָבִיא), nor am I the son of a Prophet,"[1] meaning thereby that he was chosen for his high office independently of any previous preparation for the post. It is probably to these "schools" that we must trace the existence of the "false prophets" who play so prominent a part even in the earlier history of the kings.[2] Trained in these schools, these men had the whole external technique of the Prophet's profession—if we may so term it—at their fingers' ends, but they lacked the essential, namely the Divine commission.[3] The true function of the Prophet is given in the words of Micheas: "I am filled with the spirit of the strength of the Lord, with judgement and power; to declare unto Jacob his wickedness and to Israel his sin," iii. 8, so too Amos: "The Lord God doth nothing without revealing His secret to His servants the Prophets," iii. 7. And though there were "false prophets" in numbers we cannot fail to be impressed by the deep respect in which the Prophets are always held throughout the history of Israel, *cf.* 3 Kings xii. 21, 4 Kings iv. 1, 8, vi. 1, ix. 1, Amos ii. 11, iii. 7.

III. Various Functions of the Prophets.

Familiarity with the well-known Prophets from the eighth century onwards whose writings have come down to us should not blind us to the fact that the prophetic gift is represented as at least as old as the Hebrew race. Thus Abraham is called a "Prophet,"[4] and is therefore depicted as "praying" for those who offend God; similarly Moses prophesies,[5] and a "Prophet" is sent to the children of Israel in the days of the judges, and he claims to speak in the name of the Lord.[6]

In the time of the kings we find the Prophets occupying positions of trust in the court, they take a direct part in the politics of the time, they are court recorders and chroniclers, to their writings we are indebted for the annals of the

[1] vii. 14.

[2] 3 Kings xxii. 6; *cp.* Jer. xiv. 14 *ff.*, xx, xxiii, xxv-xxix, Isa. xxviii. 10, xxx. 7, Ezech. xiii, Mich. ii. 11, iii. 5-11, iv. 12, etc.

[3] Jer. xxiii. 21, Ezech. xiii. 6-7, etc.; *cp.* Jer. xviii. 18, xxvi. 15.

[4] Gen. xx. 7. [5] Deut. xviii. 15-19. [6] Judg. vi. 8.

kingdom, see the references in *Chronicles* to the records of each king, and note that even Isaias occupies a similar position.[1] In addition to these Prophets who filled the rôle of public men there were others who, while not at the court, yet occupied a place in public estimation such as was accorded to none save Isaias: Elias "stood up as a fire and his word burnt as a torch," while of Eliseus it is said that "he feared not the prince, and no man was more powerful than he."[2]

IV. The Writing Prophets.

It is often said that we have no trace of any writings due to Prophets earlier than the eighth century B.C.; yet this is misleading, for, as we have already seen, the court Prophets were responsible for the compilation of the annals of the kingdom. It is true that such annals cannot be called "predictive," but they are certainly "prophetical" in the truest sense of the word, and the threefold division of the Hebrew Bible shows that all the historical books were regarded as prophetical. It is true, however, that not till the eighth century do we have written prophecies in the commonly accepted sense of the term. Various explanations of this fact have been put forward: it may, for instance, be the case that during the comparatively peaceful times of David and Solomon, when the Davidic kingdom had as yet shown no sign of decay, and the necessarily spiritual fulfilment of the promises had not needed to be pointed out, formal predictive prophecies in writing were not called for. However this may be, we cannot regard the appearance of written prophecies as the first step in a new development, for one of the earliest of the strictly prophetic writings we possess, that of Amos, shows us that in his time prophecy was no new thing and the committal to writing of such lyrics as his was evidently something well understood. When we read the prophecies of Amos we feel that we are in presence of a fully developed art, not merely of tentative efforts. We have left to us writings due to seventeen of these Prophets, of whom four, Isaias,

[1] 2 Paral. xxxii. 32, and see notes on p. 15 above.
[2] Ecclus. xlviii. 1, 13.

Jeremias, Ezechiel, and Daniel, by reason of the greater bulk of their writings which remain, are generally termed the *Major Prophets*, though this title was unknown to the Jews. Baruch stands apart as Jeremias' secretary; the remaining twelve are known as the *Minor Prophets*. The prophecy of Baruch had no place in the Hebrew canon, and that of Daniel was not included among the Prophets but found a place among the "Hagiographa" or "Sacred Writings," see vol. i, *s.v. Canon*. These Prophets were drawn indiscriminately from all classes of society, just as were their predecessors who have not left us any writings. Thus Isaias, Sophonias and probably Daniel, belonged to the royal stock; Jeremias and Ezechiel were priests; Amos was a shepherd.

While the prophetic gift must be regarded as identical in the writing and in the non-writing Prophets, there are certain points of difference between them; thus the latter are wonder-workers in a remarkable degree; they predicted events which were to be speedily fulfilled—hence perhaps the fact that they committed nothing to writing; and, most noticeable of all, they do not seem to have produced any directly Messianic prophecy.

V. The Psychology of the Prophets.

(*a*) "**Consulting the Lord.**"—That from the very earliest times there was some recognized means of "consulting" the Lord is clear. Rebecca, for instance, consults the Lord before her delivery;[1] in the desert of the wanderings the Tabernacle seems to have been the recognized place for such appeals by Moses.[2] Saul did the same,[3] so too David,[4] also Josaphat.[5] The connection between this "consulting" and the ephod is not clear,[6] nor do we know whether there was some mysterious connection between this ephod and the "Urim and Thummim," or "Lights and Perfections."[7] The story of Josaphat the king and the

[1] Gen. xxv. 22.
[2] Exod. xxxiii. 8, Num. ix. 8.
[3] 1 Sam. xiv. 37, xxviii. 6.
[4] 2 Sam. v. 19.
[5] 3 Kings xvii. 7-8.
[6] See notes on 1 Sam. xxiii. 6, 19, *cp.* Judg. viii. 27.
[7] "Doctrine and Truth," Exod. xxviii. 30, Judg. xvii. 5, 1 Sam. xxviii. 6, Osee iii. 4; see St. Jerome *on* Mich. vi. 3.

projected invasion of Galaad is peculiarly interesting since, though a multitude of Prophets are depicted as "prophesying" good things to Achab, yet Josaphat knows perfectly well that they are not authorized mouthpieces of the Lord, and more remarkably still, Achab is equally aware of it: "There is one left," he says, "by whom we may consult the Lord. But I hate him, for he doth not prophesy good to me but evil."[1] The existence of "schools of the Prophets,"[2] and the answer of Amos when Amasias addressed him as "Seer," חֹזֶה: "I am not a Prophet, nor am I the son of a Prophet, נָבִיא," suggests that there could be something hereditary about the gift.[3]

However that may be God himself was, of course, absolutely independent, and we read of the Prophets that "the word of the Lord came to" such an one,[4] or that "the Spirit of the Lord fell upon" him.[5] Even those Prophets who had received a formal call to the office,[6] yet had it not at their beck and call, see the case of Jeremias who had to wait ten days for the Divine answer;[7] they even needed at times some sensible stimulus before they were in the right mood for receiving the Divine afflatus, as when Eliseus asked for a harper.[8] At times the communication came to them through the medium of a dream,[9] even Jeremias describes himself as "awaking from a deep sleep."[10] More often they had what they describe as a vision,[11] and this was now a corporeal sensible appearance,[12] now something impressed upon the imagination[13] rather than on the sense organs, even directly brought home to their intelligences, as when Daniel is said to receive a "revelation,"[14] and when it is insisted that "there is need of understanding in a vision,"[15] for Daniel's

[1] 3 Kings xvii. 7-8.

[2] 1 Sam. x. 5, 10, xix. 20, etc.; *cf.* Jer. li. 59 "Saraias, chief over the prophecy."

[3] Amos vii. 12.

[4] To Samuel, 1 Sam. xv. 10; to Nathan, 2 Sam. vii. 4, xii. 1; to Jehu, 3 Kings xvi. 1; and to the official Prophets, *e.g.* Ezech. i. 3, vi. 1.

[5] Num. xi. 25-29, Ezech. viii. 1, xi. 5, whence perhaps a species of ecstasy.

[6] Jer. i, Isa. vi, Ezech. i. 3.

[7] Jer. xlii. 1-7.

[8] 4 Kings iii. 15, *cp.* iv. 27.

[9] Dan. vii. 1.

[10] Jer. xxxi. 26.

[11] Dan. viii. 1.

[12] Jos. v. 13-16.

[13] Jer. i. 11-13.

[14] Dan. x. 1.

[15] *Ibid.* 11.

position as a Prophet did not exonerate him from study, he "understood by books the number of years."[1] What, then, was the precise nature of this prophetic gift?

(*b*) **It is not "Prophetic Frenzy."**—Some modern writers liken the Prophets to the dervishes of the East:

"The figure of Saul in 1 Sam. xix. 23-24 is exactly that of the 'howling dervish': he had been engaged in a private vendetta, but as he comes into the neighbourhood of the devotees he is caught by their enthusiasm, and we see him with the rest, naked and shouting, till he falls exhausted at Samuel's feet."[2]

Yet even if this were true, when the writer goes on to say that "Samuel was not a 'Prophet' (nabi) but a 'Seer' (ro'e)" he is not doing justice to the passage which says that "he that is now called a Prophet (nabi), in time past was called a Seer (ro'e)," for it is nowhere said that Samuel was not a Prophet (or nabi), in fact, he is expressly called "a faithful Prophet (נָבִיא) of the Lord," 1 Sam. iii. 20. And when the same writer adds that the "Seer" meant "the wise man who is believed to have what is called in Scotland 'second sight,'" and that from the time of Samuel the two rôles, the enthusiasm of the nabi and the insight of the Seer, were combined so that "what Samuel seems to have done is to impregnate this undirected enthusiasm with shrewdness, reasonableness, insight," he is reducing the prophetic gift to purely natural proportions.

The notion that the Prophets were in any sense "mad" is indignantly repudiated by St. Jerome:

"He (Nahum) does not speak in ecstasy like Montanus, Prisca and Maximilla in their ravings; what he prophesies is the Book of the Vision of Him who understands all He says."[3]

And again:

"The Prophets did not, like Montanus and his crazy women-folk, speak in ecstasy so as not to understand what they said, nor, while teaching others, were they themselves ignorant of what they were saying. No, they knew well what they were saying. . . . How indeed could a man be silent when under the sway of that Holy Spirit who spoke by the Prophets (and told them) when to be silent and when to

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[1] *Ibid.* ix. 1, 21.
[2] F. C. Burkitt in *The New Commentary*, p. 419.
[3] *Prol.* to his Commentary on Nahum, *P.L.* xxv. 1232.

speak? But if they understood what they said then all they say is replete with wisdom and reasonableness. Nor should we imagine that some voice broke the air and so reached their ears; but God Himself spoke in the Prophet's soul."[1]

(*c*) **Nor is it Mere Conjecture.**—Similarly many moderns are obsessed with the idea that the Biblical Prophets were merely endowed with a remarkable shrewdness which enabled them to conjecture the future with startling precision.

"There were still Prophets in Jerusalem who could read the signs of the times, and they were not slow to grasp the bearing of these vast movements upon the interests which they had at heart."[2]

Though the contrary doctrine is well stated by Davidson:

"No truth uttered by a Prophet has attained the rank of a maxim of reflection or a deduction from prior truths. The Prophet never comes before a man inferring. His mind operates in another way. The truth reached is always a novelty to him, so that he feels it to be an immediate communication from God."[3]

"It must be obvious that the prophetic anticipations or certainties cannot be explained as the conclusions of a shrewd political insight into the condition of the people or the nations at the time."[4]

(*d*) **It is a Divinely Communicated Knowledge.**—St. Thomas, while agreeing that a man can have a certain conjectural knowledge of the future, as when a doctor sees from the course an illness is taking that his patient will either recover or die as the case may be, insists that such conjectural knowledge is not due to any natural capacity of the human soul, as Plato would suggest, a capacity temporarily obscured owing to the fact that the soul is still immersed in the material body, but that it is due to experimental knowledge and depends for its exercise on the perfection of a person's imaginative powers and the clarity of his mind. St. Thomas concludes that such experimental

"knowledge of the future differs from that which springs from Divine revelation in that this latter extends to all conceivable things and is

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[1] *Prol.* to his Commentary on Isaias; also *Prol.* to Commentary on Habacuc, *P.L.* xxv. 1274.

[2] G. A. Cooke, *on* Haggai, *H.D.B.* ii. 279.

[3] A. B. Davidson in *H.D.B.*, *s.v. Prophecy and Prophets.*

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 120.

infallible, whereas natural conjecture is limited to those things which fall under human experience. Moreover prophecy is based on the immovable truth ; not so conjecture, for it can be mistaken."[1]

Prophetic knowledge is—since it is knowledge—mental or intellectual, and in all intellectual knowledge there are two factors: acceptance of the material and judgement upon it. Normally the material on which the mind judges comes to it through the senses, thence to the imagination, thence to the intellect ; we only have true knowledge of such impressions, whether on the senses or the imagination, when we are in a position to pass judgement upon them. Now, in presenting to a person the material on which he is to pass judgement God can proceed normally by acting on his sense organs as in the case of Balthassar, Dan. v. 5, or He can act directly on his imagination whether through a dream as in the case of Pharao, Gen. xli, and Nabuchodonosor, Dan. ii, or in his waking moments as, apparently, to Jeremias, i. 11-13. Were the Divine action to stop there it would be singularly incomplete since the recipient would have only the material constituent of knowledge presented to him by God, he would lack its complement, a Divinely communicated illumination of his judgement on it. This, in fact, was the case with Pharao and Nabuchodonosor who were left to exercise their purely human ingenuity on what had been thus revealed, partially, to them ; the illumination of judgement came to another, to Joseph and Daniel respectively.

It will be evident, of course, that just as God can act on a man's senses or on his imagination, so can He act directly on his intelligence and thus afford him a contemplation of naked truth without the intervention of corporeal or imaginative impressions. Such conveyance of a truth to man's intelligence involves or is coincident with that illumination of his judgement which is the complementary factor in true knowledge. But sometimes, as in the case of Joseph and Daniel, the material on which a Divinely communicated judgement was to be passed by them reached them in purely human fashion, told them, that is, by Pharao and Daniel, so that

[1] *Summa Theol.* II-II. clxxii. I. In harmony with this note the definition given by Cassiodorus : "Prophetia est inspiration vel revelatio divina rerum eventus immobili veritate denuntians, *Prol.* to *Psalterium*, i.

the knowledge they had was only partially Divine, albeit Divine in its most essential feature, the judgement to be pronounced. Such prophetic knowledge on the part of Joseph and Daniel is, in this sense, of a lower order than that possessed, for example, by Jeremias when he received from God corporeal or imaginary impressions and also a Divine illumination of his judgement as to their real significance, Jer. i. 11-13.

(*e*) **The Inherent Obscurity of Prophecy.**—Yet however clear the sense-impressions received, however blinding the illumination of their judgement, prophetic knowledge is always perforce obscure. For even the Divinely-illumined mind can never adequately grasp the infinite truth of God; while sense-impressions must of necessity be still less adequate for its expression inasmuch as they are material.

"The Prophet's mind," says St. Thomas, "is moved by the Holy Spirit as an instrument which, compared to the principal cause (which applies it) is defective . . . with the result that even true Prophets do not grasp all that the Holy Spirit intends by the things they see or say or do."[1]

And again:

"Prophecy implies a certain obscurity, a remoteness from the intelligible truth. Hence those are more correctly termed 'Prophets' who see by means of some vision in the imagination, although, provided it be question of one and the same truth which is revealed to both persons, that is the more exalted prophecy which comes through intellectual vision. But if the intellectual illumination bestowed on a person is not for the purpose of knowing something supernatural but for judging with Divine certainty things that could be known by the human reason, such intellectual prophecy is inferior to that which is combined with a vision in the imagination leading to a supernatural truth, such prophetic knowledge, that is, as all those had who are numbered in the ranks of the Prophets; for these latter are called 'Prophets' because they exercised the prophetic function. Hence they spoke in the person of the Lord and said to the people: 'Thus saith the Lord,' which those did not do who penned the 'Hagiographa' (or Sacred Writings); for many of these latter spoke more often than not of things which could be arrived at by human reason; neither did they speak in the person of God but in their own person, yet with the assistance of a Divine light."[2]

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[1] *Summa Theol.* II-II. clxxiii. 4; *cf.* St. Jerome *on* Ephes. iii. 7, *P.L.* xxvi. 481-482, *Adv. Pelagianos* i. 39, 7, *P.L.* xxiii. 533.

[2] *Summa Theol.* II-II. clxxiv. 2 ad 3m.

(*f*) **The Prophets are not Blind Instruments.**—Nowhere in the Bible is the Prophet regarded as in any sense a mechanical instrument, as a being wholly passive under the Divine impulse. Even Jeremias, when speaking in moving accents of the mental sufferings of the Prophet, xx. 7-9, never intends more than moral compulsion. It is the same with Amos when he says: "The Lord God hath spoken—who shall not prophesy?" iii. 8. That their minds were fully active under this Divine compulsion is indeed emphatically stated by St. Peter: "Of which salvation the Prophets have enquired and diligently searched, who prophesied of the grace to come in you; searching what or what manner of time the Spirit of Christ in them did signify, when it foretold those sufferings that are in Christ, and the glories that should follow," 1 Pet. i. 10-11.

Similarly St. Jerome, apropos of the expression peculiar to Zacharias, "The Angel that spoke in me," and of the parallel "I will watch to see what will be said to me," Hab. ii. 1: "Note that prophetic vision and God's oracles do not come to a man as it were from without but are an answer from within to the inner man."[1]

(*g*) **They retain their Natural Affinities.**—In accordance with this each of the Prophets betrays his natural affinities, for, as St. Jerome expresses it:

"It is only natural that when making comparisons men should seek them in the things with which they are most familiar and in the midst of which they have been reared; thus sailors compare their enemies to winds and their losses they describe as shipwrecks. Hence Amos the shepherd compares the fear of God to a lion's roar."

Yet we have always to bear in mind that these very dispositions came from God and were given precisely with a view to the production of an inspired writing couched in terms familiar to the writer and his early readers. Hence St. Thomas:

"It is quite immaterial to a prophecy that it should be expressed by these rather than those images; consequently the Divine influence does not mean any change in the man as the recipient of a prophecy, though if there should be in him anything that is not in harmony with the prophecy it will be removed by God's power."[2]

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[1] *On* Hab. ii. 1, *P.L.* xxv. 1289.

[2] *Summa Theol.* II-II. clxxii. 3 *ad* 1m.

The Prophets, then, were essentially Seers; to them it was given to see truths which lay beyond the ken of the human mind. But how did they "see" such things? Clearly not by the visual light of the eye any more than by the light of reason. Nor by the light of faith, since faith is always of the "unseen"; nor again by the "light of glory" whereby we shall see God face to face, that beatific vision, one of the essentials of which is its permanence and the grasping of the principle of all truth, namely God Himself.[1] We can, then, only answer with St. Thomas that

"the prophetic light is in the Prophet's soul after the fashion of some transient impression . . . so that just as the atmosphere is ever in need of some fresh illumination, so too the Prophet's mind is ever needing fresh revelation, much as a student who has not yet grasped the principles of some art is always needing instruction on individual points."[2]

(*h*) **The Prophets "see" by a Divinely Communicated Light.** If we endeavour to probe this mystery deeper and ask what it was that the Prophets saw by this divinely bestowed light, we can only say that they "saw" revealed truths by a light divinely communicated, yet always to a finite human mind. Hence (i) the inevitable obscurity—already referred to—of all prophecy.[3] For it is not the Divine mind that they see—else they would be enjoying the beatific vision; it can be, then, but a reflection of that mind. St. Thomas expresses this with his usual cautious exactitude:

"Some term the Divine mind—in which the ratio of all things shines forth—a species of mirror and say that it is called 'the mirror of eternity' because it is eternal." This St. Thomas rejects because then the Prophets would have beatific vision. . . . "That only can be called a mirror in which images of things derived from the things themselves are seen; and since the images or ratios of things in God do not derive from created things, we never find the Saints and Doctors

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[1] Ps. xxxv. 10, 1 John iii. 1-2. It is only in this sense that St. Jerome says: "The Prophets were called 'Seers' because they saw Him whom others did not see," *Ep.* liii. 4; *cf. Prol.* to his Comment. on Habacuc, *P.L.* xxv. 1274.

[2] *Summa Theol.* II-II. clxxi. 2.

[3] "All prophecy is shrouded in enigmas and, in abrupt sentences, while speaking of one thing it passes to another; lest if the Bible adhered to the (chronological) order it would not be prophecy but narrative," St. Jerome, *on* Isa. xvi. 1, *P.L.* xxiv, 171.

saying that God *is* the mirror of things, but rather that created things are the mirror of God, as in 1 Cor. xiii. 12, 'We see now through a glass in a dark manner' . . . when, then, the holy Doctors say that 'the Prophets see in the mirror of eternity' they do not mean that they see the eternal God as that in which things are mirrored, but that they see some created thing in which the eternity of God is represented, so that the expression 'mirror of eternity' does not mean that it is eternal but representative of the eternal."[1]

(ii) From this source, too, comes the inadequacy of all prophecy, or as St. Augustine says when commenting on the words "They shall be inebriated with the plenty of Thy house, and Thou shalt make them drink of the torrent of Thy pleasure," Ps. xxxv. 9:

"He wants to say and he does not; he cannot. Shall we understand it? Nay, I would dare to say of those holy tongues and hearts through whose ministry the truth was declared to us that what they strove to tell could not be said, could not even be thought. For what they would say was a mighty thing, an ineffable thing; even they only saw it 'in part and through a veil,' as the Apostle says. What then shall we be when we shall see face to face what came indeed to the birth in their minds but what their tongues could not express so that men might grasp it?"[2]

(iii) Yet despite its obscurity and inadequacy, from this very "vision" comes the absolute certainty of all prophecy. For the Seers see what the eternal God, with whom there is neither past nor future but only the ever-present, shows to them. This serves to explain how it is that the Prophets so constantly speak of the future as though it was already past. This is well expressed by St. Irenæus:

"There are two conditions of prophetic announcement: (*a*) that future events are sometimes announced as if they had already happened; for it is in harmony with the Godhead to regard as accomplished facts whatever it has determined on, since there is no difference of time with that Being in whom eternity itself directs a uniform condition of seasons. In fact it is more in accordance with prophetic divination to represent as seen and already brought to pass—even while foreseeing it—that which it foresees, that which, in other words, is future"; in support of this St. Irenæus cites Isa. l. 6. (*b*) The second condition or characteristic: "Many events are figuratively predicted

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[1] *De Veritate*, xii. 6, body of the article; *cf. De Potentia*, iv. 2 ad 27m; *Summa Theol.* II-II. clxxiii. 1; *on* Isa. i. 1.

[2] *Enarr.* i. 14 on Ps. xxxv. 9, *P.L.* xxxvi. 351.

by means of enigmas, allegories and parables which must be understood in a sense different from the purely literal."[1]

Nor should the fact that certain prophecies are not fulfilled prove a stumbling-block. For undoubtedly there are cases of prophecies which we can only describe as threats staved off by the repentance of those concerned, as in the case of the Ninivites[2] or when Isaias said to Ezechias "Thus saith the Lord: thou shalt die,"[3] whereas he was later on conceded fifteen more years of life. Yet the former Divine pronouncement was not false, for as St. Thomas expresses it:

"The Divine foreknowledge regards the future from two standpoints; for it not only sees future things as they are in themselves, God looking at them as actually present; but also as they are contained in their causes, He sees, that is, the relation between cause and effect. And though future contingencies as they are in themselves are determined, yet as contained in their causes they are not so determined that they cannot turn out otherwise. Moreover, while this twofold knowledge is always conjoined in the mind of God, it is not always so in prophetic revelation, since the action of an agent is not always co-extensive with its power. Hence sometimes prophetic revelation is the impression of the likeness of the Divine foreknowledge looking at future contingencies as they are in themselves, and such things come to pass precisely as they are foretold, as, for instance "A virgin shall conceive . . .," Isa. vii. 14. But at other times prophetic revelation is the impressed likeness of God's foreknowledge which is looking only at the relation between cause and effect, and then things sometimes come to pass otherwise than was foretold. Nor does that mean that the prophecy was false, for the meaning of such a prophecy is that the relation of secondary causes—whether the forces of nature or the doings of men—is such that certain things will happen."[4]

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[1] *Adv. Hær.* III. v; and note St. Jerome: "It is a principle in Holy Scripture that where a clear foretelling of the future is in question the ambiguities of allegorical speech are not permitted to weaken what is written," *on* Mal i. 10, *P.L.* xxv. 1551; *cp.* St. Ambrose, *Abraham* viii, on Matt. iii. 17 and Ps. cix, *P.L.* xiv. 468; also St. Jerome on Matt. xxv. 35. Even the Donatist Petilian understood this: a Prophet is one who "futura pro præsentibus viderit," *Contra Litt. Petiliani*, ii. 17, 19, *cf. De Civ. Dei*, XX. xxx. 1.

[2] Jonas iii. 4.

[3] Isa. xxxviii. 2.

[4] *Summa Theol.* II-II. clxxi. 6 ad 2dm.; *on* Isa. xxxviii, and very clearly by St. John of the Cross, *Ascent of Mount Carmel*, xix.

VI. The Criterion of True Prophecy is Fulfilment.

"The Prophets," says St. Jerome, "are set as signs of things to come."[1] Hence the real and final criterion of their truth must be the fulfilment of their predictions. This is explicitly stated in Deut. xviii. 22. But in the case of the writing Prophets, who generally foretold a future which was very remote and which their immediate hearers would not see in its fulfilment, there must have been other criteria whereby their hearers could judge whether they were worthy of credence or not. The case of Jeremias, chap. xxvi, is in point. For when challenged by the people he could only asseverate that in very truth the Lord had spoken by him. Suddenly they all accepted his statement. Why? It can hardly have been because he spoke "in the Name of the Lord," for apparently the false prophets had done the same, xxviii. We can only suppose that it was the very personality of the Prophet that carried conviction.[1]

It is to the triumphant fulfilment of prophecy that St. Matthew makes such confident appeal throughout his Gospel and on which Christ Himself so strongly insisted, Luke xxiv. 25-26, 44-46. And for us in later ages the whole history of the Church is but the fulfilment of the prophecies of old time; "we have," as St. Peter tells us, "the more firm prophetical word, whereunto you do well to attend, as to a light that shineth in a dark place," 2 Pet. i. 19; or as St. Augustine expresses it:

> "When a pagan sees that these and other similar testimonies of the Prophets about persecutions by kings and nations, about the subsequent belief of the same kings and nations, of the abolition of idolatry, of the blindness of the Jews, of the demonstrated value of the books committed to their care, of the mad hatred of heretics, of the excellence of holy Church, of true and genuine Christians, when, I say, he sees that these things were foretold long previously and are now fulfilled, what can he find more worthy of credence than to believe those same Prophets in what they said of the Divinity of Christ?"[2]

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[1] *Cf. Summa Theol.* II-II. clxxii. 5, ad 3m.; *cf. J.T.S.*, January, 1923.

[2] For "the end of the Law is Christ"; hence all prophecy receives its final fulfilment and illumination in Him, see Origen, *De Principiis*, iv. 6, Lactantius, *Instituto*, iv. 15, St. Jerome *on* Ephes. iii. 7, *P.L.* xxvi. 481-482.

"Supposing that previous to their fulfilment I had shown this pagan the Hebrew Prophets and said that on their authority he was to believe things future which he had not yet seen actually come to pass, the pagan would perhaps say—and rightly: 'What concern have I with those Prophets? I see no reason why I should believe they are truthful.' Yet when the many mighty things they foretold have patently come to pass, then assuredly, unless he wants to be obstinate, he cannot possibly condemn things so long previously and, with such pomp and splendour, foreseen and foreannounced and deemed worthy of commendation to us; neither can he condemn those by whom such things were thus foreseen and foreannounced."[1]

VII. The Chronology of the Writing Prophets.

The chronology of the prophetic writings is a vexed question; but to understand the Prophets we must have clear ideas of their precise place in history; conversely, to understand the historical books, full use must be made of the light thrown on them by the prophetical writings.

A tabulated list of the Prophets whose writings have come down to us will consequently be of use; and, first of all, it will be convenient to group them according to the historical periods in which they lived and wrote:

Jonas Amos Osee Isaias Abdias Joel Micheas Nahum	may be referred to the *Assyrian* period, *c.* 880-612 B.C.
Habacuc Jeremias Sophonias Ezechiel Daniel	belong to the *Babylonian* and *Exilic* period, *c.* 612-536 B.C.
Aggeus Zacharias Malachias	belong to the time of the *Restoration*, *viz.* to the *Persian* period, *c.* 520-450 B.C.

[1] *Contra Faustum*, XIII. xiv, *P.L.* xlii. 290; *cf.* *Tract.* xxxv. 7 in Joann., *P.L.* xxxv. 1660, *Enarr.* in Ps. xxiv. 8, *P.L.* xxxvi. 329-330, *De Unitate*, 23, *cf.* 25-28; Origen, *Contra Celsum*, 35-37, iv. 2-3.

Date, Circa B.C.	*Name.*	*Kings under whom they Prophesied.*	*Peoples to, or against whom, they Prophesied more Particularly.*
800	Abdias.	No kings mentioned. (Azarias and Jeroboam II. ?)	Edom.
800	Jonas.	No kings mentioned. (Jeroboam II. 4 Kings xiv. 25.)	Ninive.
800	Joel.	(*Same as preceding.*)	Juda.
800-750	Amos.	Azarias and Jeroboam II.	Israel.
790-720	Osee.	Azarias, Joatham, Achaz, Ezechias, and Jeroboam II.	Israel.
750-720	Micheas.	Joatham, Achaz, and Ezechias.	Israel and Juda.
759-699	Isaias.[1]	Azarias, Joatham, Achaz, and Ezechias.	Syria, Assyria, and Babylonia.
640	Nahum.	No kings mentioned. (? Manasses-Josias.)	Ninive.
640	Habacuc.	(? *Same as preceding.*)	The Chaldeans.
640	Sophonias.	Josias.	Jerusalem.
628-585	Jeremias.	Josias, Joachim, and Sedecias.	Jerusalem and the Chaldeans.
595-574	Ezechiel.	Joachim.	To the captives by the R. Chobar.
606-534	Daniel.	Joakim and Nebuchodonosor II.	
519 (the sixth month)	Aggeus.	Darius the Great.	To Zorobabel and Josue, the leaders of those who returned from Babylon.
519 (the eighth month)	Zacharias.	Darius the Great.	To those returning from Babylon.
450 (?)	Malachias.	—	To the priesthood in Jerusalem.

[1] St. Jerome does not seem to have very precise ideas regarding the chronological order of the Prophets; he says, for example, that Osee, Isaias, Joel, Amos, Abdias, Jonas and Micheas were contemporaries, συγχρόνοι, *on* Osee i. 1, *P.L.* xxv. 821; or that Isaias, Osee, Joel, Amos preceded Jeremias, *on* Jer. xxviii. 7; again, that according to the Jews, Osee, Amos, Isaias and Jonas were contemporaries, *Prol.* to *Comment. on* Jonas, also on Jonas i. 16, *P.L.* xxv. 1119 and 1130.

The dates given above are, of course, only approximate, and are also exceedingly conservative. Modern writers, even those of a conservative tendency, would group them somewhat as follows:

Prophets	Period
Jonas.[1] Amos, *c.* 760-750. Osee, *c.* 750-737. Isaias, *c.* 740-739. Micheas, *c.* 724. Sophonias, *c.* 627. Nahum, *c.* 610.[2]	In the Assyrian period.
Jeremias, *c.* 626-586. Habacuc, *c.* 605. Ezechiel, *c.* 593-573.	In the Chaldean period.
Isaias xiii-xiv, xxi. 1-10, xxxiv-xxxv (?). Isaias xl-lxvi, *c.* 540. Aggeus, *c.* 520.[3] Zacharias i-viii. *c.* 520. Malachi, *c.* 460.	In the Persian period.

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[1] Many would place him after the return from Babylon, *i.e. c.* 420. Some would even assign Joel to this period.

[2] *H.D.B.* iv. 112. This of course is based on the then prevailing notion that Niniveh fell 606 B.C. instead of 612 as is now held.

[3] Some would refer Abdias to the Persian period. But see the introductions to the several Prophets for the critical views.

THE PROPHECIES OF ISAIAS

I. The Political Situation of the Time.
II. Plan and Analysis of the Prophecies.
III. Explanatory Notes.
IV. Integrity of the Book.
V. The Style of Isaias.
VI. His Theological Teaching.
VII. The Septuagint Version.
VIII. Replies of the Biblical Commission to Questions concerning Isaias.
IX. Bibliography.

"Whatsoever Holy Scripture contains, whatsoever the human tongue can express, whatsoever the mind of man can grasp is to be found in this book" (St. Jerome, *Prologue* to his *Commentary on Isaias*).

יְשַׁעְיָהוּ, *Yesha-Yahu*, "Salvation of the Lord." He is called "son of Amos," or more strictly אָמוֹץ, "Amots"; hence the Prophet Amos, עָמוֹס, and the father of Isaias must not be confused, for the names are spelt differently. According to Jewish tradition, Joas, king of Juda, was father of Amasias who succeeded him, and also of Amos the father of Isaias, hence the tradition that the Prophet was of the royal stock.[1] St. Jerome also refers to the tradition that Isaias was slain by Manasses son of Ezechias, and some have thought that his martyrdom is referred to in Heb. xi. 37, "they were cut asunder."[2]

[1] *Megillah*, 10*b*, "Socer Manasse, filii Ezechiæ," St. Jerome on xx. 2.
[2] *On* Matt. xxvi. 8, *P.L.* xxvi. 192; so too St. Cyril, *Catech.* ii. 14, xiii. 16; the apocryphal *Ascension of Isaias*, probably of the second century A.D.; St. Justin, *Dial.* 120, etc.; indeed St. Jerome says "that

That Isaias was a Prophet goes without saying; St. Chrysostom calls him "the Coryphæus of the Prophets,"[1] while St. Jerome terms him an Evangelist rather than a Prophet,[2] "so clearly does he set out all the mysteries of the Church of Christ that one might fancy he was not foretelling the future so much as writing the history of the past";[3] and again "by reason of his virtue he enjoyed the vision of God";[4] elsewhere he tells us that for this cause amongst others he was, according to the Jews, slain by Manasses.[5] Hence St. Jerome claims that in the prophecies of Isaias all is to be found: "physics, ethics, logic, all Scripture";[6] yet the sole key to his prophecies is Christ: "the Jews indeed read the Bible but they do not understand it; they hold its parchments in their hands but they have lost Christ of whom those parchments told."[7] He maintains, too, that it is folly to say, as did the Montanists, that "the Prophets spoke in ecstasy and did not understand what they said; or that while it was their function to teach others they themselves grasped not what they said."[8] For the Prophets, he reminds us, are essentially "seers."[9]

But to-day many seem inclined to agree with the Montanists, for it would almost seem to be a rule that in the Bible things are never what they seem but the very reverse; critics have "taken away the key of knowledge" so that "he who runs may (not) read."

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he was sawn in two by Manasses with a wooden saw is a most solidly established tradition among the Jews," he adds that many Christians apply to him the statement in Heb. xi. 37, *on* Isa. lvii. 2, *P.L.* xxiv. 546-547, *cp.* Origen on Mt. xiii, no. 18; *ed.* De la Rue, iii, 465.

[1] *Hom.* xiv. 1 on 1 Tim. v. 8.

[2] *Ep.* liii. 7, *Prol.* to *Comment.* on Isaias.

[3] *Adv. Rufin.* ii. 31, *P.L.* xxiii. 454; *cp.* St. Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, XVIII. xxix. 1.

[4] *Dial. adv. Pelag.* ii. 21, *P.L.* xxiii. 562.

[5] *On* Isa. i. 9, *P.L.* xxiv. 33.

[6] *Prol.* to *Comment.* on Isaias, *P.L.* xxiv. 19.

[7] *On* Isa. iii. 1.

[8] *Prol.* to *Comment.* on Isaias and *on* i. 1.

[9] *Ep.* liii. 4, *on* Isa. i. 1, *cp.* 1 Sam. ix. 9, Isa. xxx. 10, xxxii. 3, xvxiii. 7.

I. The Political Situation of the Time.

The political history of the period must be grasped if we would understand the prophecies of Isaias. At the time he began to prophesy Juda under Azarias, 797-747, and Israel under Jeroboam II, 823-783, had enjoyed a long period of peace owing, in part, to the decadence of Assyria. But in 745 Tiglath-Pileser III, 745-727 B.C., had resuscitated that country and had entered on a career of conquest which was to have baneful effects on Palestine. On the death of Zacharias, B.C. 749-748, the last of the stock of Jehu, a series of revolutions took place in the northern kingdom, 4 Kings xv. 8 ff., it was at this stage that Tiglath-Pileser invaded the northern districts of Galilee and carried away the tribe of Nephtali, 4 Kings xv. 29. It seems probable that Samaria and Syria had become vassals to the Assyrian but had leagued together to throw off his yoke. We cannot be certain whether they tried to induce Achaz, 4 Kings xvi. 5, to join them, but a little later we find them united in an attempt to dethrone Achaz and put Tabeel in his place, Isa. vii. Isaias strove against this resistance to Assyria, for its king was the "hammer of the nations" and divinely appointed to purify them, vii. 17-25. Achaz, however, repudiated the advice and did what was worse than oppose the Assyrian, he summoned him to his aid, 4 Kings xvi. 7. The result was the fall of Damascus in 732,[1] and the destruction of Samaria in 722-721.[2] Egypt, which viewed with alarm the advance of the Assyrian power, was really the arm on which the whole of Palestine and Syria relied at this crisis, and the key to the earlier chapters of Isaias is that Prophet's strenuous opposition to an alliance with Egypt: "Egypt is man and not God," xxxi. 3. This was proved when, in 720 B.C., Assyria under Sargon, 722-705, defeated Egypt at Raphia on the border.[3] Three years later we find Sargon again in the west, and this time it was the turn of Philistia,[4] where, according to the Assyrian annals, Azotus

[1] Schrader, *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, 1888, i. 246-248, 256; Pinches, *The Old Testament and Assyria and Babylonia*, 1908, 353.

[2] Schrader, *ib.* 263-264.

[3] See *British Museum Guide to Assyria and Babylonia*, 1922, p. 179.

[4] Pinches, *l.c.*, p. 365.

was stormed in 711, Isa. xx. 1; the same annals tell, under the year 711, of renewed revolts of Juda, Edom, Moab, and Philistia, but we know nothing of any invasion of Judæa at this time. Meanwhile hope for Palestine arose in an unexpected quarter; Merodach-Baladan, king of the Chaldeans, had been a constant menace to Assyria, and in 712 he sent an embassy to Ezechias congratulating him on his recovery from sickness. This embassy and the reception accorded it by Ezechias, had important results; indeed in a sense it serves as a key to the arrangement of Isaias' prophecies as we shall see later. In 705 Sennacherib came to the throne of Assyria, and shortly after this the Ethiopians, whose king Tirhaka was one of the most warlike of all the Pharaohs, appear to have sent an embassy to propose an alliance with Palestine against the dreaded Assyrian, Isa. xviii. The geographical position of Palestine, wedged in as it was between the two greatest empires of the day, *cp.* Isa. xix. 23 and xxvii. 13, made it the latters' battle-ground, for each of the contending parties felt that in securing that country as an ally it was making sure of a frontier defence. Hence the Judæan court became a seething hot-bed of political intrigue; for its courtiers saw that they to some extent held in their hands the destinies of the then known world. In spite of Isaias' warnings, Juda appears to have coquetted with Egypt, but the decisive battle of Eltekeh in 701[1] showed the hollowness of trusting in that "broken reed"—Egypt. The chronological arrangement of the expeditions of Sennacherib against Palestine is difficult to determine, for the Assyrian accounts do not easily harmonize with that given in the Bible, 3 Kings xviii, Isa. xxxvi-xxxvii.[2] It has been suggested that Sennacherib purposely confused the account in order to cloak his failure; or that the Bible combines accounts of two separate invasions; or again that in the annals of Sennacherib the account is broken off after the first invasion and Ezechias'

[1] Pinches, *l.c.*, p. 376. For Eltekeh see Jos. xix. 41, Schrader, *l.c.*, p. 300. Whether the siege of Jerusalem took place after or before this battle is not clear, *cf.* Pinches, *l.c.*, p. 376. Josephus, *Ant.* X. i. 4, says that Sennacherib went thence to besiege Pelusium and that it was there he heard of the advance of Tirhaka.

[2] See Schrader, i. 308-310.

payment of tribute; this last view is perhaps the best but our information is scanty; it is wiser to suspend judgement until further "finds" in Assyria shall have cleared up the question.[1]

II. The Plan and Divisions of the Prophecies.

These fall into two broad divisions, which have been recognized from the very earliest times:

i-xxxix. The overthrow of the Assyrians; or threats of Divine justice.

xl-lxvi. The redemption from Babylon; or promises of Divine mercy.

Whereas the rest is cast in a poetical frame, chaps. xxxvi-xxxix are in prose and are purely historical, a repetition of 4 Kings xviii. 13-xx, 2 Paral. xxxii. Thus we have:

i-xxxv. The overthrow of the Assyrians.

xxxvi-xxxvii. An historical retrospect.

xxxviii-xxxix. An historical prospect wherein the Prophet looks forward and sees the result of Ezechias' pride in his reception of the ambassadors of Merodach-Baladan; the nation shall go into captivity in Babylon.

xl-lxvi. The outcome of that exile in the near, as well as in the distant, future; as God has done to Assyria, so shall He do to Babylon.

The foregoing are only broad general divisions; coming to details we have:

(*a*) i-vi. Introduction. i. 2-31. A threat—developed in vii-xxxv. ii. 1-v. 30. Consolation—developed in xl-lxvi. vi. The Prophet's inaugural vision.

i. 27 may be termed the key to the whole book; hence the Rabbis term the Prophet "the Prophet of the Divine mercy."

(*b*) vii-xii. Prophecies directly against Syria and thus indirectly against Assyria whose vassal Syria was. This section has also been called the *Emmanuel* section, *cf.* vii. 14, viii. 8, 10 (Hebrew), xi. 1-10, xii. 6. It contains three distinct prophecies:

(1) vii. 1-25. Achaz seeks Assyrian help but Emmanuel is promised.

(2) viii. 1-ix. 7. Emmanuel's birth.[2]

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[1] For Schrader's solution of the problem, see *ib.*, pp. 302-306. It may be well to bear in mind Sayce's remark that "in the judgement of many Assyriologists Sennacherib is the least trustworthy of the historians of Assyria," *Records of the Past, New Series*, i. 8.

[2] Patristic comments on this great "Emmanuel" prophecy will be found in St. Justin Martyr, *Apol.* i. 33-35; *Dial.* 43, 66, 87; Clement of Alexandria, *Pæd.* i. 5; Tertullian, *De Carne Christi*, 17, 21, 23, *De Resurrectione carnis*, 20, *Adv. Judæos*, 9, *Adv. Marcionem*, iii. 7, 12-13, iv. 10; Origen, *Contra Celsum*, i. 24, *P.G.* xi. 726; Eusebius, *H.E.*, V viii; St. Basil, *Hom. de Genealogiis Christi*, 3; St. Jerome, *in loco*, *P.L.* xxiv. 104, 108. See *R.B.*, 1893, p. 381; *J.T.S.*, July, 1909, April, 1925.

(3) ix. 6-xii. 6. Emmanuel's glorious kingdom.

The intimate connection between these chapters and chaps. xl-lxvi should be noted. Both treat in the most striking way of the person of Christ.

(*c*) xiii-xxvii. Prophecies against various nations. They shall all be destroyed, but a *remnant* of them all shall share in the glory of the Messias.

Against Babylon, xiii. 1-xiv. 27; Philistia, xiv. 28-32; Moab, xv. 1-xvi. 14; Damascus, xvii. 1-14; Ethiopia and Egypt, xviii. 1-xx. 6; Babylon, xxi. 1-10; Duma (Idumæa), xxi. 11-12; Arabia, xxi. 13-16; the "Valley of Vision" (Jerusalem), xxii. 1-25; Tyre, xxiii. 1-18; finally the universal judgement; a description of it, xxiv; its fruits, xxv; gratitude for it, xxvi; practical conclusion, xxvi. 20-xxvii. 13.

(*d*) xxviii-xxxv. Preparation for the coming of Sennacherib.

xxviii. Samaria shall suffer. xxix. Jerusalem also. xxx-xxxi. Especially those who counsel alliance with Egypt. xxxii. Terrible threats intermingled with promises. xxxiii. Yet woe to the Assyrian, even though he be God's chosen instrument of wrath. xxxiv. The general destruction of unbelievers. xxxv. The glory of the redeemed.

(*e*) xxxvi-xxxix. The prose section.[1] This historical section falls into two distinct parts:

(1) xxxvi-xxxvii. The coming of Sennacherib; his destruction.

(2) xxxviii-xxxix. The illness of Ezechias, his miraculous recovery; the consequent visit of ambassadors sent by Merodach-Baladan; Ezechias' complacency in the prospect of such an alliance; he shows them all his treasures. The consequent prophecy that all these same treasures should one day be carried away to Babylon.

The first portion, xxxvi-xxxvii, serves as a species of climax to the preceding prophecies; God had fulfilled His promises by destroying Sennacherib; the latter portion, xxxviii-xxxix, serves to introduce the prophecies, xl-lxvi, concerning the ultimate redemption from Babylon.

But the arrangement of these two portions of this historical section presents certain difficulties. First of all: which event preceded in order of time, the illness of Ezechias and the consequent arrival of the ambassadors from Merodach-Baladan; or the coming of Sennacherib, and his defeat? According to 4 Kings xviii. 13 Sennacherib came up "in the fourteenth year of king Ezechias," so also Isa. xxxvi. 1, in 2 Paral. xxxii. 1 no indication of time is given. Now according to the received chronology, which at this point does not appear to conflict with that furnished by archæology, the fourteenth year of Ezechias would fall in 712 B.C.; but Sennacherib did not come to the throne until

[1] For a study of the text of this section see *R.B.*, October, 1898.

705. On the other hand, the fourteenth year of Ezechias, 726-697, should mark the date of his illness, for he received a promise that he should live fifteen years longer, and he died B.C. 697. Moreover the Assyrian records attribute Sennacherib's campaign against Palestine to the year 701. Hence it has been suggested that the words "in the fourteenth year of Ezechias" have been misplaced in the Biblical records and really belong to the account in Isa. xxxviii. 1 of Ezechias' sickness which actually did fall in that year. But a further difficulty presents itself: how comes it that in *Isaias* the order of these two events has been transposed? It is possible that in this prose section Isaias has put first the account of the coming of Sennacherib because that event marked the sequel to the previous prophecies and was therefore their natural complement; hence we have in this portion, xxxvi-xxxvii, an "historical retrospect" as though the Prophet would say: "See what God promised and see how fully He executed it." He then gives us, out of its due order, the account of the coming of the Chaldean ambassadors because, though this event had taken place some fourteen years before it, yet in the Prophet's plan it served to introduce the rest of his prophecy—as indeed it did introduce the exile and was its cause.

(*f*) xl-lxvi. After the threat of exile the Prophet passes at once to the redemption from it; he nowhere talks of the fulfilment of the threat, he supposes it. This section may be conveniently divided into three parts which seem to be purposely distinguished from one another by the refrain "there is no peace for the wicked, saith the Lord," xlviii. 22, lvii. 21, and in extended form, lxvi. 24. The respective themes of each of these divisions may be indicated in the opening words of each, thus xl. 2, "her evil is come to an end," xl-xlviii, "her iniquity is forgiven," xlix-lvii, "she hath received of the hand of the Lord double for all her sins," lviii-lxvi. The theme throughout is "the Redemption"; but it is a twofold redemption which the Prophet has in mind: the material one from Babylon, the spiritual one—of which the former was but a figure—from the power of sin. Hence there are two redeemers: Cyrus, divinely chosen and spoken of by name long before his birth, xliv. 28-xlv. 3, and the Redeemer from sin, *viz.* the Messias. The difficulty

of these chapters consists in great part in the way in which the Prophet passes over insensibly from the type to the antitype, from the material to the spiritual. But we may safely consider xl-xlviii as treating of the material redemption and redeemer, *i.e.* of release from Babylon by the aid of Cyrus; xlix-lvii as treating expressly and directly of the Redeemer from sin, *i.e.* Christ; while lviii-lxvi treat of the final kingdom of Christ. The difficulty is further enhanced by the use made of the term "Servant of the Lord." This was the title of the theocratic king, also of the nation considered in the abstract: had Israel remained faithful they would never have needed redemption from captivity; hence the nation is spoken of as "the Servant of the Lord," as being adopted and as having a mission entrusted to it as the means established by God for the salvation of the world. Cyrus is never spoken of as "the Servant of the Lord" but as His anointed, His chosen instrument for the redemption of Israel from Babylon. But in a far higher sense is the Messias so spoken of; He is no merely ideal figure but a real Person who is to do what Israel has failed to do.[1]

The preceding analysis seems to show how the book grew into its present shape. The "occasional" character of many of the prophecies, those against the various nations, for example, shows that they were delivered on different occasions; but the way in which—as now arranged—they all conspire to a definite end shows that they have been edited in order to bring out this object in clear fashion so that chaps. xl-lxvi are really the goal of the whole book. The Prophet knew by Divine revelation the Babylonian captivity and wished to prepare the people for it, above all for the idea of ultimate redemption—not only from it—but from what it symbolized, *viz.* sin. The key-note of all is "trust in God"; this trust they ought to have if they will but reflect on His faithfulness to His promises in the past as shown in the salvation of Israel from Syria and Assyria. A far greater woe is at hand, but they must trust, and they have good reason to do so.

[1] See more below, p. 306.

III. Notes.

vii. 9. "If you will not believe you shall not continue" (R.V.), "Ye shall not be established"; the Septuagint rendered this "ye shall not understand," a rendering very dear to St. Augustine who constantly so quotes the passage because of the truth inculcated, *viz.* that we only really begin to understand when we believe, *cf. Tract.* xv. 23 *in Joann.*, etc.

vii. 11-16. The Jews resisted the application of this prophecy to Christ on the grounds that (*a*) it was a sign of redemption from the captivity only, to which we might reply: *à fortiori* from the captivity of sin; (*b*) that it was a sign for the Prophet's contemporaries, but then the "House of David" continued right down to the coming of Christ; (*c*) that the Hebrew word עַלְמָה, "Halma," did not mean a "virgin"; but if not, then wherein lay the "sign" or significance?

viii. The "child" here mentioned is literally son of Isaias but prefigurative of Christ, see St. Thomas *on* Isa. viii, *cf.* verse 18 where Isaias and his children are said to be "for a sign and a wonder." Note verses 8 and 10 "Emmanuel" and *cp.* vii. 14.

ix. 1-10. An ecstatic vision of Him who is "signified"; 11-21, the Prophet returns to him who "signifies."

x. Though the whole of this section, vii-xii, is directly concerned with Syria, yet that country was vassal to Assyria, 4 Kings xv. 29, xvi. 9, which had but just now, B.C. 721, stormed Samaria also, and is shortly to come up against Jerusalem, xxxxi-xxxviii. In x. 19-25, note the doctrine of the remnant that shall be saved.

xi. The Messias or Christ, of "the root of Jesse"; the final redemption, "for the second time," verse 11. He shall work, *cf.* xxvii. 12-13.

xii. A canticle of thanksgiving for the mercies thus foreshadowed fittingly closes this section.

xiii-xiv. Prophecies against Babylon, the Medes, Assyria and Philistia. Since xiv. 28 is referred to the year of the death of Achaz St. Jerome would suggest that chap. vi is to be referred to the time of Joatham, B.C. 751-735; vii-xiv. 28 to that of Achaz; xiv. 29 *ff.* to that of Ezechias. Chap. xiv is one of the most magnificent pieces of imagery in the whole of the Bible.

xv-xvi. Against Moab. Note the remarkable familiarity with the minute geography of the district, *cf.* Jer. xlviii; xvi. 1 is generally referred to the payment of tribute by the Moabites, 4 Kings iii. 4, but St. Thomas remarks on this: "Some—though only by doing violence to the text (extorte)—would explain this literally of the tribute of lambs," *in loco.* St. Jerome's comment is: "What we are interpreting is not history but prophecy. Now all prophecy is shrouded in enigmas and while, in abrupt clauses, speaking of one thing, passes to another, lest if the Scripture were to keep to the (historical) order it would no longer be a foretelling of the future but a narrative (of the past). And the meaning here is: O Moab, whom the lion is to ravage and out of whom no remnant shall be saved, have this consolation: Out of thee shall come the Lamb without spot who shall take away the sins of the

world," and he goes on to point out the allusion to Ruth. He then quotes verse 2 and says: "He now returns to the (historical) order from which he had set out"; a little later he adds: "there is no doubt whatever but that this chapter foretells the coming of Christ."

xvii. Against Damascus and Syria though the reference to Aroer (in Moab ?) is strange; verses 4-14 seem to apply all the foregoing to Juda and Jerusalem.

xviii-xx. A warning against alliance with Egypt. The mention of Sargon, xx. 1, and his siege of Azotus, is interesting since this is the only place in the Bible which names this king of Assyria. His *Annals* however, as well as various minor inscriptions at Khorsabad in Niniveh, are now available, and we learn that at that time the Ethiopian dynasty in Egypt was leaguing with certain Palestinian cities, notably Azotus, against the encroachments of Assyria. Of his campaign against Azotus, which broke up this league, Sargon writes:

"Azuri, king of Azotus, determined within himself to render no more tributes; he sent hostile messages against Assyria to the neighbouring kings. I meditated vengeance for this, and I withdrew from him the government over his country. I put his brother Akhimit on his throne. But the people of Syria, eager for revolt, got tired of Akhimit's rule and installed Yaman, who like the former was not the legitimate master of the throne. In the anger of my heart I did not assemble the bulk of my army nor divide my baggage, but I marched against Azotus with my warriors. . . . Yaman learned from afar of the approach of my expedition; he fled beyond Egypt towards Libya and no one ever saw any further trace of him. I besieged and took Azotus. . . . I carried away Yaman's gods, his wife, his sons, his daughters, his money and the contents of his palace, together with the inhabitants of his country."[1]

xix. Of these prophecies St. Jerome says: "All these can be understood of the coming of Christ τροπικῶς (or figuratively)"; "the sea" in verse 5 he explains of the Lake Mareotis. Note the blessing promised to Egypt and Assyria, verses 24-25.[2]

xxi. Babylon shall be destroyed by the Medes and Persians, *cp.* xiii. 17, Jer. li. 11 and 28, also xxv. 25. For "the desert of the sea," *cf.* Jer. li. 36-37. "The lion," verse 8, is explained by St. Jerome of Cyrus. It seems impossible to grasp the meaning of the chapter unless we read it "antiphonally." For the prophecies against Idumæa *cf.* Jer. xlix, Ezech. xxv and xxxv, also *Abdias*.

xxii. This would seem to refer to the siege of Jerusalem under Ezechias,[3] see the reference to the two pools, 9-11, 2 Paral. xxxii. 3-4, 30. The sudden intrusion of the narrative concerning Sobna should be compared with the prose section, xxxvi-xxxix.

xxiii. Against Tyre and Sidon, *cf.* Ezech. xxvi-xxviii. In verse 13 the

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[1] *Annals* of Sargon, the Khorsabad Inscription, *R.P.* ix., p. 11; Schrader, *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, Eng. trans., ii. 89-92.

[2] For the text of the "city of the sun" see *Aids* I (1926), pp. 167-168.

[3] So the "Hebræus" whom St. Jerome consulted, *P.L.* xxiv. 195; *cf.* Schrader, *l.c.* ii. 99-101.

Septuagint reads "It (Chaldea) was laid waste by the Assyrians"; the Hebrew has "This people is not; the Assyrian has set them for destruction."

xxiv. 1-12. God's judgement on the whole earth; 13-16, yet a remnant shall be saved; 17-20, the desolation of the earth; but 21-23, the Lord shall come. Hence xxv-xxvi, canticles of joy at his coming. In harmony with this note the expression so constant on the lips of Isaias, "waiting for the Lord," *cf.* viii. 17, xxv. 9, xxvi. 8, xxxiii. 2, xl. 31, xlix. 23, li. 5, lx. 9, lxiv. 2, *cp.* Gen. xlix. 10, 18, though the Hebrew original is often obscured in translation. Note, too, xxv. 1, a precise parallel to the expressions so frequent in the so-called "Deutero-Isaiah."

xxvii. The destroyers of Israel shall themselves be punished; so too, xxviii, the obstinate Israelites who have made "a league with death," on them "the overflowing scourge" shall come, for, like Ephraim, 1-4, they have been drunkards, 7-8; yet a remnant shall be saved, 5-6; the promise of the Corner-stone, with the accompanying demand for faith, 16, *cf.* vii. 9.

xxix. Woe to Jerusalem—here called "Ariel" or "the mount of God," verses 1, 2, 7, *cf.* Ezech. xliii. 15-16; a remnant shall be saved—of the simple believers, 18-24, *cf.* xxxii. Woe again, xxx. 1-7, to those Israelites who put their trust in Egypt, xxxi. 1-4, for, 8-14, they have rejected "the Holy One of Israel"; yet again a remnant shall be saved, 15-26. Woe to Assyria, 27-33. It is worth while remarking here how often Isaias—as indeed the Old Testament in general—is unintelligible save in the light of the New Testament, *e.g.* xxiv. 23, xxv. 7, xxviii. 16, xxx. 26. Note, too, the seeming antitheses: the Prophet seems, almost in the same breath, to say and unsay, *e.g.* xxii. 23-24 and 25, xxvi. 14 and 19, xxx. 30*a* and 30*b*, xxxi. 4 and 5.

xxxii-xxxiii. The kingdom of the Messias is promised—but to the simple, *cp.* xxix. 18-24 and note especially xxxiii. 18, "His eyes shall see the KING in His beauty."

xxxiv-xxxv. The judgement on all nations, yet the promise of a Redeemer, see especially xxxv. 10.

xxxvi-xxxix. The prose narrative. For Sobna and Eliachim, xxxvi. 3, *cp.* xxii. 15-25; for Ezechias' reform, verse 7, *cf.* 1 Paral. xxxi. 1. The "Syrian tongue," verse 11, should of course be "Aramaic" as in Hebrew. Presumably Sennacherib wrote in Assyrian cuneiform; that Ezechias would have been able to read it may be deduced from the Tell el-Amarna correspondence of the fifteenth century B.C. which shows the vassal kinglets of Palestine corresponding freely with their Egyptian suzerain in Babylonian. Finally, note Ezechias' magnificent declaration of his faith, xxxvii. 16-20, and compare the pure monotheism of his prayer with the emphatic monotheistic teaching throughout chaps. xl-xlviii, *cp.*, too, Ezechias' canticle, xxxviii. 10-20.

xl-lxvi. The latter part of *Isaias* falls into three well-marked sections, as we have seen. They deal with the redemption from the Babylonian captivity which was as yet far distant, for Sennacherib died, B.C. 681, and Jerusalem was not finally stormed till B.C. 586, a hundred years later. But throughout, this redemption is but a type of the redemption of the world from sin; while the redeemer from the Babylonian

captivity, Cyrus, xliv. 28, xlv. 1, 4, xlvi. 11, xlviii. 15, is but a type of Christ, the world's Redeemer.

The fall of Babylon had already been spoken of, xiii-xiv; it is now emphasized, xlvi. 1-2, xlvii. 1-15, and the people are to come out from her, xliii. 14. In order to make this amazing prophecy credible the attributes of God are insisted on with a vehemence which would be almost monotonous were it not so inspiring. God is omniscient and can therefore foretell the future, xl. 1-17, xli. 22-26, xlii. 9, xlv. 21, xlvi. 10, xlviii. 3-7. He is omnipotent, xl. 25-31; He is the only God, xliv. 6-8, 24, xlv. 14-15, 21-22, xlvi. 9; He is the Creator, xliii. 1, 15, 21, xliv. 2, 21, 24, xlv. 7, 9, 12, 18, xlvi. 13, li. 13. In face of this, idolatry is absurd, xl. 18-24, xliv. 9-20, xlvi. 5-8, lvii. 1-13.

The great problem throughout these chapters is the identity of him who is called "the Servant of the Lord." At times the term is used of Jacob or Israel, or the Chosen People, *e.g.* xliv. 1-2, 21, xlv. 4, xlviii, 20. At other times for One who far transcends him, *e.g.* xlii. 1-4, 6, *cp.* Matt. xii. 18-21, Luke ii. 32, Isa. xlix. 6; but immediately after xlii. 1-6 it is again Jacob who is the "servant," who is blind and deaf to the commands of God and has needed the purification of the exile. Once more it is clearly Christ who is referred to, xliii. 10, xliv. 26, but, as before, there is an immediate transition to one who was but a figure of Christ, *viz.* Cyrus, xli. 2, 25, xliv. 28, xlv. 1, 4, xlvi. 11, xlviii. 15, though he is nowhere called the "servant" in express terms. But as the prophecy unfolds itself all these figures fade into the background and there gradually emerges with a clearness which has ever made the devout term Isaias "Evangelist" rather than "Prophet," the majestic figure of One who can say: "The Lord hath sent me and His Spirit," xlviii. 16, *cf.* lxi. 1, who was called from the womb, xlix. 1, 5, and who yet is called "My servant Israel," xlix. 3; He speaks in the first person, l. 4-9, and has "given His body to the strikers," verse 6; he is "My Just One who is nigh," li. 5, lxii. 1-2; His visage shall be inglorious yet "He shall sprinkle many nations, and kings shall shut their mouth at Him," lii. 13-15, *cf.* lxiii. 1-6; the climax is reached with the truly stupendous description of the sufferings of the "Man of Sorrows," *cp.* Ps. xxi; there then follow the two canticles of joy over the marvels thus foreshadowed, liv-lv.

lx-lxvi. The glory of the Church of Christ into which the Gentiles shall flow, *cf.* lxvi. 12 and Ps. lxxi. The triumph of the Passion, lxiii. 1-6; a song of gratitude, 7-19; a prayer for His speedy coming, lxiv, with the Divine answer, lxv; all are now "servants" of God, lxv. 14.

IV. The Integrity of the Book.

(i) **The Critical View.**—The fact that the book falls naturally into distinct parts has always been recognized but of recent years it has been dissected into various lifeless members by the critical scalpel. Koppe in 1779 first questioned the Isaianic authorship of chap. 1, and he almost immediately put forward the view that the whole section xl-lxvi was not really the work

of the Isaias who was contemporary with Ezechias. Subsequent criticism has proceeded so far in its ruthless application of its own literary canons that by many critics now not more than a sixth part of the whole is allowed to be by the Isaias of the eighth century B.C., and we are told to refer to some "Great Unknown," xiii-xiv. 23, xxi. 1-10, xxiv-xxvii, xxxiv-xxxv, xl-lxvi. It is not easy to understand the principles which have led critics thus to reject so much of the book.[1] It used to be a dislike to the idea of such astounding prophecies as those contained in the latter part of the book, especially the naming of Cyrus close upon one hundred and fifty years before his birth. But modern critics are not so much influenced by this consideration as by certain literary canons which they regard as established; for it is evident that the reference of chaps. xl-lxvi to an author contemporary with the Babylonian captivity will not make the allusions to the Passion of our Lord in liii any the less prophetic. The difficulty however which, from the point of view of prophecy, has the most weight with critics may be expressed as follows: Prophecy connotes vision of the future, and we have no right to assign limits to the future which may be laid bare to the prophetic gaze; there is, in other words, no *terminus ad quem* for the Prophet. But the Prophet must, so it is maintained, take his stand in the present, that is he must speak to his contemporaries in terms derived from their own surroundings. This the author of xl-lxvi does not do, for he speaks to the Hebrews of 700 B.C. as though the exile were already an accomplished fact, whereas in the time of Ezechias it was still in the remote future. But prophecy of this kind could have meant nothing to Isaias' hearers; they could not have been content to take the captivity for granted as he did; they might well have been excused had they shrugged their shoulders and said that it might concern their posterity but certainly not themselves!

[1] Thus it is maintained that xiii. 1-xiv. 23, xxi. 1-10, xxxiv-xxxv do indeed refer to Assyria but not the Assyria of Isaias' time; xv-xvi are regarded as older than Isaias who added xvi. 13-14; and while xxiv-xxvii may date from the period of exile, xl-lxvi are subsequent to it. This process of dismemberment still goes on so that nowadays advanced critics refuse to regard even xix, xxiii and xxxiii as due to the Isaias of the days of Ezechias, see G. A. Smith in *H.D.B. s.v. Isaiah.*

The critical attitude could hardly be more forcibly expressed than by Sir G. A. Smith:

"Chaps. 40-66 have no title and make no claim to be by Isaiah. 40-48 plainly set forth the ruin of Jerusalem, and the exile as having already taken place. Israel is addressed as if the time of their penalty in servitude to Babylon were exhausted, and their deliverance is proclaimed as immediate. Cyrus is named as their saviour, and is pointed out as already upon his career, and blessed with success by J(ehovah). Nor is it possible to argue, as some have tried to do, that the Prophet is predicting these things as if they had already happened. For, as part of an argument for the unique divinity of the God of Israel, Cyrus, 'alive and irresistible, and already accredited with success, is pointed out as the unmistakable proof that former prophecies of a deliverance for Israel are already coming to pass. Cyrus, in short, is not presented as a prediction, but as a proof that a prediction is being fulfilled. Unless he had already appeared, and was on the point of striking at Babylon, with all the prestige of unbroken victory, a great part of 40-48 would be unintelligible' (Isa. 40-66, *Expositor's Bible*, 9 *ff.*; see the argument there in detail)."[1]

This kind of argument is difficult to meet. Of course chaps. xl-lxvi have no title when once you have cut them off from the rest of the book with its very precise title. As for the argument itself, it debases the whole prophecy. What astounding proof of the almighty power of the one and only God is to be found in His claim that it is He who has raised up the well-known conqueror of whom all are talking? Why should God insist on the fact that He has called Cyrus by name, "though thou hast not known Me," xlv. 4, *cf.* xlvi. 11, xlviii. 15, if Cyrus is already a well-known personage?

It is also urged that the prophecy itself was couched in terms unintelligible to the Hebrews of the eighth century B.C. What did they know of the Chaldeans or the Medes, nations which only came into prominence, the one towards the close of the eighth century, the other towards the close of the sixth? They could consequently have meant nothing to the Hebrews of Ezechias' time. If we could imagine Blessed Thomas More prophesying in the time of Henry VIII an invasion of England by the Japanese—or rather, to make the parallel complete, a redemption of England from the Japanese—we should have a parallel to the prophecies contained in Isa. xl-lxvi.

[1] *H.D.B.* ii. 493.

This difficulty is exaggerated. In the first place the idea of captivity was no new one to the Hebrews of those days, it had been foretold even in Deut. xxviii; they had seen the inhabitants of Samaria carried away by Sargon, and they knew that such was the custom of the Assyrians. Micheas iv. 8, had foretold the same thing, and he was practically Isaias' contemporary: "Thou . . . shalt come even to Babylon, there thou shalt be delivered; there the Lord will redeem thee out of the hand of thine enemies." Secondly, while it is true that the references to the Medes and Chaldeans surprise us, we have no solid ground for supposing that they were so absolutely unknown to the Hebrews of the eighth century B.C. The Medes are mentioned in Gen. x. 2. In an inscription of Adad-nirari III, B.C. 812-783, referring to his campaign in 803, he mentions the Medes;[1] so also does Tiglath-Pileser III under the year 739.[2] The same must be said of the Chaldeans who are mentioned in the inscription of Adad-nirari above referred to —"all the kings of the land of Kaldu did homage." Lastly, it should be remembered that prophecy is for all time and not solely for the immediate present, that is it affects all subsequent peoples as well as those to whom the message is primarily delivered; and though we should naturally expect it to be intelligible, at least in its main outlines, to those who first heard it, and whom it was primarily intended to profit, we cannot on any *à priori* grounds deny the possibility of a prophecy which was unintelligible, at least in some of its aspects, to those who were contemporary with its delivery.

The philological argument has been much insisted on by certain critics. It is maintained that there is a veritable gulf between the vocabulary of chaps. i-xxxix and chaps. xl-lxvi. But here again the argument is precarious and has been exaggerated. If we go by such things as *hapax legomena*, expressions only occurring once, we find ourselves in difficulties. For in chaps. i-xii there are at least seventy-eight expressions which are not found in the rest of Isaias; in xvii-xx, xx. 11–xxiii. 18, xxviii-xxxiii—which critics commonly allow to be the genuine work of Isaias—eighty similar *hapax legomena* have been counted. When we turn to xl-lxvi

[1] Pinches, *l.c.*, p. 341. [2] Pinches, *l.c.* 351.

—which all critics reject—we find that there are only about eighty *hapax legomena* in all these twenty-six chapters ; while in chap. i there are forty-five words or forms which can only be paralleled in the parts rejected on the score that they are not by Isaias.

A more glaring example of the species of obsession—for we can call it nothing else—which seems to come over critics when once they are caught by the fascination of dissecting the prophecies could hardly be found than the following from one of the most recent commentaries on Isaias :

" In Judean environment, in the days of the Persian and Seleucid rule, were produced not a few masterpieces of religious literature, and one of the earlier of these far surpassed its fellows. A Hebrew poet wrote of the coming age, of the plan of the one God in the unfolding of human history." But " in the interests of a theory, and in defence of Jewish prerogatives which were challenged and in danger, the little volume of great poems was marked as a work of ' the Babylonian exile.' This was done very simply by inserting two words (the same two) in three different contexts, and by retouching one conspicuous passage, the promise of a great captain and deliverer, in such a way as to make it unmistakably a prediction of Cyrus. This insuring of the interpretation was doubtless made in good faith, perhaps with official sanction."[1]

The " two words " are לְכוֹרֶשׁ, " to Cyrus," xlv. 1, xliv. 28, and they are to be excised in the interest of the writer's views on Hebrew metre.[2]

(ii) **Some of the Arguments for the Unity of the Book.**—It is impossible here to do more than summarize the arguments adduced in favour of the integrity of the whole prophecy.

(*a*) *Ecclus.* xlviii. 25-28, thus speaks of Isaias:

" Ezechias did that which pleased God and walked valiantly in the way of David his father, which Isaias the great Prophet and faithful in the sight of God had commanded him.

" In his (Isaias') days the sun went backward and he lengthened the king's life.

" With a great spirit he saw the things that are to come to pass at last and comforted the mourners in Sion. For ever he showed what should come to pass and secret things before they came."

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[1] C. Torrey, the *Preface* to his *Second Isaiah*, 1928.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 40 ; see *R.B.* July, 1928, p. 632.

These words are remarkable, and they are inspired. They single out as Isaias' claim to our admiration just those very points which have led modern critics to reject his authorship of the parts in question.

(*b*) Josephus says that

"God stirred up the mind of Cyrus and made him write this throughout all Asia: 'Thus saith Cyrus the king: Since God Almighty hath appointed me to be king of the habitable earth, I believe that He is that God whom the nation of the Israelites worship; for indeed He foretold my name by the Prophets, and that I should build Him a house in Jerusalem.' This," adds Josephus, "was known to Cyrus by his reading the book which Isaias left behind him of his prophecies; for this Isaias said that God spoke thus to him in a secret vision: 'My will is that Cyrus, whom I have appointed to be king over many great nations, send back My people to their own land, and build My Temple.' This was foretold by Isaias one hundred and forty years before the Temple was demolished. Accordingly when Cyrus read this and admired the Divine power, he . . ."[1]

(*c*) The whole force of xl-lxvi lies in their being *prophetic*, *cf.* xli. 23, xlii. 9, xlv. 21, xlvi. 10, xlviii. 3, 5, 16. It is absurd to say, as has been maintained, that in these verses God refers to the prophecies about Cyrus as already fulfilled; a cursory examination of them will show that they refer to Sennacherib and Sargon.

(*d*) A comparison of *Cyrus' decree*, Esdr. i. 1-2, with Isa. xliv. 27-28, xlv. 1-3, will show that the decree may well have been formed with reference to the prophecy; this would tend to confirm Josephus' statement given above. It may be remarked, too, that the stress laid on the "*naming*" *of Cyrus* beforehand would be ludicrous in a writer who actually knew him—even though, as some have suggested, he alone foresaw how wonderful his career was to be.

(*e*) In i-xxxix we have *punning allusions* to the name of

[1] *Ant.* XI. i. 1-2. The famous cylinder of Cyrus, found at Babylon, will serve as the best commentary on this statement of Josephus: L. 12. "He (Marduk) sought out an upright prince after His own heart, whom He took by His hand, Cyrus, king of the city of Ansan; He named his name; to the kingdom of the whole world He called him by name," *cf.* Isa. xliv. 26-28, xlv. 1, 4. It is assuredly the perversity of criticism to say, as does Jensen: "The impression given is almost as though the author of the prophetic passage must have known the text of the Cyrus cylinder" (*The Old Testament in the Light of the Ancient East*; Engl. trans., vol. ii, p. 232).

Ezechias, *cf.* xxxv. 4 and xxxix. 1; it is remarkable that the same play upon his name, and upon the name of his Queen Hephsibah, is of frequent occurrence in xl-lxvi, *cf.* xli. 6, 7, 9, xlii. 6, xlv. 1, lvi. 2, 4, 6, lxii. 4-5; in this latter place occurs the reference to Hephsibah but it is obscured in the Douay version by the translation of her name into "My pleasure in her"; *cf.*, too, 2 Paral. xxix. 3, 34, xxxii. 5, 7.

(*f*) Lastly, if xl-lxvi are cut away we are unable to explain the inversion of order dwelt on above and the whole prophecy thus becomes disjointed, and the portion excised, too, becomes unintelligible.

V. The Style of Isaias.

It would be impossible to exaggerate the beauty as well as the variety of Isaias' style. Every known figure of speech can be illustrated from his writings, and many of his expressions have become commonplaces of the language. *Proverbial expressions*: iii. 18, v. 18, xiv. 1, 9, xxv. 8. xxvi. 3, 10, 20, xl. 6, etc.; *vivid figures*: i. 31, x. 14, xiii. 19-22, xiv. 23, xvii. 6, xxiv. 13, xxviii. 18, xxix. 8, xxxi. 4, xxxvii. 27, etc.; he has peculiar *refrains*: v. 25, ix. 12, xvii. 21, xlviii. 22, lvii. 21, lxvi. 24; he uses *parables*: v. 1-7, xiv. 4; *personifications*: xxvii. 1, li. 5-10, lii. 10, liii. 1; the following—among a crowd of others—may be indicated as specimens of the *sublimity* of his style: xiv. 4-21, xxiii. 16-18, xxxiv. 1-17, xxxv; note also the remarkable *play upon words*: xlvi. 2-7, lxiii. 9; the following constantly recurring expressions should be noted: the need of *trust and hope*: xxvi. 3-4, xxx. 15, xl. 31, lvii. 13; "waiting for the Lord": viii. 17, xxv. 9, xxvi. 8, xxxiii. 2, lxiv. 4; "the silence of God: xlii. 15, lvii. 11, lxv. 6; God "hides His face": liv. 8, lvii. 17, lix. 2, lxiv. 7; *canticles* and *prayers* are frequent: xxi, xxv, xxvi, xxxviii. 9-20, xlii. 10-12, xliv. 23, lxi. 10-11, lxiii. 7; for *prayers* note Israel's confession of sin: lix. 9-16, and the prayer for the coming of the Redeemer: lxii, lxiii. 15-19, lxiv. 12.

VI. Theology of Isaias.

The glorious vision seen in the Temple, vi, had a marvellous influence on the Prophet's presentation of the God of

Israel, and the word "glory" is ever on his lips, ii. 10-21; God is the *Creator*, xliii. 15, xliv. 24, xlv. 12, 18; He is *from everlasting*, xl. 28, xliii. 10-13, xliv. 6; "the *First and the Last*," xli. 4; the *Only God*, xliv. 8, 24, xliii. 10-11, xlv. 5-6, 14-24, xlvi. 9, xlvii. 8, xlviii. 12; *Omniscient*, x. 15, xxix. 16, xl; *Omnipotent*, liv. 16-17; He has absolute *foreknowledge*, xli. 22-26, xlii. 9, xliii. 9, xliv. 7, xlv. 11, 21, xlvi. 10, xlviii. 3-5; hence He has created all things *for Himself*, xliii. 7, 21, 25, xlviii. 9-11; hence, too, He is "the *Lord of Hosts*," xxii. 12-15, etc.; *the King*, xli. 6, 21, xliii. 15; the *Ruler of all nations*, v. 26-30, vii. 17-20, xlviii. 14; hence, too, His titles: the *Holy One of Israel*, which occurs throughout the whole book; *the Most High and the Eminent*, xiv. 14, lvii. 15.

The Redemption.—The sublime idea of God which dominated Isaias finds expression in his declarations concerning the future Redeemer of Israel. Of the restoration in general he speaks in xliii, xlviii. 20-21, xlix. 17-26, li. 11, lv. 12-13, lvii. 13-21, lix. 17-21, lx, lxv; *Israel* was the "chosen servant" who by their example should have shown the Gentiles the way of salvation, xli. 8, xlii. 19-22, xliv. 1, 2, 21, xlv. 4; but Israel was a failure, xliii. 21-28, lxv; therefore, to bring them back from the captivity which their failure had brought upon them *Cyrus* is designated and called by name nearly one hundred and fifty years before he was born, xli. 2, 25, xliv. 28, xlv. 1, xlvi. 11; but the real Redeemer is *Christ*, who shall ransom them from the far more grievous bondage of sin, xlii, xlviii-lvii.[1] He is a *personal Redeemer*, and no mere type or figment, xlv. 8, 13, xlviii. 16-17, xlix. 1-22, l. 4-9, lii. 13, liii, lxi, lxiii. 1-6; He is of the stock of *David*, ix. 7, xi. 1, 10, xvi. 5, xxii. 22, xxxvii. 35; His Father is the "Father" of the redeemed nation, lxiii. 16, lxiv. 8; the people is termed "My people," li. 1-6, lii. 4-6, lxiii. 8, lxiv. 9; throughout the whole runs the repeated promise that a REMNANT should be saved—*e.g.* x. 20-23, xi. 11-16, xvii. 14, xix. 25, xxvii. 12-14, xxxvii. 32, lxv. 8-10; lastly, *forgiveness* is promised in fullest measure, i. 18, xliii. 25, xliv. 22, lv. 7, lvii. 15.

[1] For the Rabbinical teachings on the "suffering" Messias see *J.T.S.*, July, 1925, p. 362.

VII. The Septuagint Version.

The Septuagint version is naturally of great interest. It differs much from the Hebrew[1] and, according to St. Jerome, deliberately omits passages concerning Christ.[2]

VIII. Replies of the Biblical Commission to Questions concerning Isaias.

JUNE 28, 1908.

DE LIBRI ISAIÆ INDOLE ET AUCTORE.

Propositis sequentibus dubiis Commissio Pontificia de Re Biblica sequenti modo respondit:

Dubium I. Utrum doceri possit, vaticinia quæ leguntur in libro Isaiæ—et passim in Scripturis—non esse veri nominis vaticinia, sed vel narrationes post eventum confictas, vel, si ante eventum prænuntiatum quidpiam agnosci opus sit, id prophetam non ex supernaturali Dei futurorum præscii revelatione, sed ex his quæ iam contigerunt, felici quadam sagacitate et naturali ingenii acumine, conjiciendo prænuntiasse?

Resp. Negative.

The following replies to questions proposed have been furnished by the Pontifical Biblical Commission:

i. Can we teach that the prophecies which occur in the Book of Isaias—and generally in the Bible—are not really predictions; but that they are either narratives composed subsequent to the event, or, on the supposition that we have to see in some of them predictions previous to the event, only predictions in the sense that the Prophet foretold them by way of mere conjectures based upon things which had already happened, and which he, by reason of a certain sagacity and his own natural acuteness was enabled to forecast, and that they

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[1] See St. Jerome *on* Isa. viii. 11, *P.L.* xxiv. 118.

[2] *Ibid.* on Isa. ii. 20, "though I have given much quiet thought to the matter I cannot think why the Seventy refused to translate into Greek so patent a prophecy concerning Christ. The other (Greek) translators have as a matter of fact translated it, though in ambiguous fashion, and have given it a heretical twist; nor is this to be wondered at, for we could not expect them to say anything that could magnify Christ in whom they did not believe." *Cf.* Swete, *Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, p. 30; also St. Justin, *Dial.* 68, 71, 84; St. Irenæus, *Adv. Hær.* III. xxi. 1; *Aids* I (1896), p. 192. For studies on the Septuagint text of Isaias see St. John Thackeray, *J.T.S.*, January, 1909, January, 1911; also Ottley, *The Book of Isaiah according to the Septuagint, Codex Alexandrinus*, 1904 and 1909.

consequently were not due to a supernatural revelation from God who foreknows the future ?

Reply : In the negative.

Dubium II. Utrum sententia quæ tenet, Isaiam ceterosque prophetas vaticinia non edidisse nisi de his quæ in continenti vel post non grande temporis spatium eventura erant, conciliari possit cum vaticiniis, imprimis messianicis et eschatologicis, ab eisdem prophetis de longinquo certo editis, necnon cum communi SS. Patrum sententia concorditer adserentium, prophetas ea quoque prædixisse, quæ post multa sæcula essent implenda ?

Resp. Negative.

ii. Can the view which holds that Isaias and the other Prophets only published predictions of things which were to happen immediately, or after a short interval, be reconciled with the predictions—especially the Messianic and eschatological ones—which they certainly set forth as referring to the remote future ? Can it be reconciled, too, with the common view of the Fathers who unanimously assert that the Prophets also foretold things which were only to be fulfilled after the lapse of many ages ?

Reply : In the negative.

Dubium III. Utrum admitti possit, prophetas non modo tamquam correctores pravitatis humanæ divinique verbi in profectum audientium præcones, verum etiam tamquam prænuntios eventuum futurorum, constanter alloqui debuisse auditores non quidem futuros, sed præsentes et sibi æquales, ita ut ab ipsis plane intelligi potuerint ; proindeque secundam partem libri Isaiæ (cap. 40-66), in qua vates non Iudæos Isaiæ æquales, at Iudæos in exsilio babylonico lugentes veluti inter ipsos vivens alloquitur et solatur, non posse ipsum Isaiam iamdiu emortuum auctorem habere, sed oportere eam ignoto cuidam vati inter exsules viventi assignare ?

Resp. Negative.

iii. Can we hold that the Prophets, not merely as reprovers of human depravity and preachers of the Divine word for the gain of their hearers, but also as predictors of future events, must always have addressed themselves to a present and contemporary, and not to a future, audience, if they would be fully intelligible to them ? And, in this same connection, can we hold that the second part of the *Book of Isaias*, chaps. xl-lxvi, in which the seer addresses and comforts, not the Jews contemporary with Isaias, but those mourning in exile in Babylon, and that, too, as though he were living in their midst, cannot be attributed to Isaias, then long dead, but rather to some unknown seer living among the exiles ?

Reply : In the negative.

Dubium IV. Utrum, ad impugnandam identitatem auctoris libri Isaiæ, argumentum philologicum, ex lingua stiloque desumptum, tale sit censendum, ut virum gravem, criticæ artis et hebraicæ linguæ peritum, cogat in eodem libro pluralitatem auctorum agnoscere ?

Resp.: Negative.

iv. Is the philological argument—one derived from the language and the style, and employed to throw doubt upon the identity of the author of the *Book of Isaias*—of such force as to compel a serious student, *viz.* one who is versed in critical principles and well acquainted with Hebrew, to acknowledge the presence of a plurality of authors in the book?

Reply: In the negative.

Dubium V. Utrum solida prostent argumenta, etiam cumulative sumpta, ad evincendum Isaiæ librum non ipsi soli Isaiæ, sed duobus, immo pluribus auctoribus esse tribuendum?

Resp.: Negative.

Die autem 28 Iunii, 1908, *in audientia ambobus Reverendissimis Consultoribus ab Actis benigne concessa, Sanctissimus prædicta responsa rata habuit ac publici iuris fieri mandavit.*

v. Are there really solid arguments, even when taken cumulatively, for the view that the *Book of Isaias* is not to be attributed solely to Isaias himself, but to two or even more authors?

Reply: In the negative.

On June 28, 1908, in an audience graciously given to the two consultors, the Holy Father ratified the above replies and ordered their publication.

IX. Bibliography.

Patristic.

St. Jerome says that in his time there were many Greeks who had written on Isaias but no Latins save "the holy martyr Victorinus," and his commentary has not come down to us. Of the Greeks he mentions Didymus who had compiled eighteen books on chaps. xl-lxvi, Origen with thirty tomes of which the twenty-sixth had even then disappeared, and twenty-four *Homilies* of which nine survive, *P.G.* xiii. 219-259. Eusebius Pamphilus with fifteen books ("ten" in *Vir. Ill.* lxxxi) which were supposed to be historical but were far more of a mystical character, *Prol.* to his *Comment.* on Isaias, *P.L.* xxiv and *cf. Pref.* to Bk. v, *ib.* 154, these have come down almost complete, *P.G.* xxiv. 84-529. In addition we have fragments—and dubious ones—of St. Basil's commentary on i-xvi, *P.G.* xxx. 117-667. St. Cyril of Alexandria, *P.G.* lxx. 9-1450; St. Chrysostom on chaps. i-viii, *P.G.* lvi-lvii. St. Jerome stands practically alone among the Latins, *P.L.* xxiv; his commentary is invaluable for its minute comparison of the Hebrew and Greek texts. Theodoret, *P.G.* lxxxi. 215-494. Procopius of Gaza, *P.G.* lxxxvii. 1817-2718.

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THE PROPHECIES OF JEREMIAS

I. The Political Situation.
II. Divisions, Analysis and Chronological Order of his Prophecies.
III. Notes.
IV. Modern Critical Views.
V. The Style of Jeremias.
VI. Jeremias and Deuteronomy.
VII. Bibliography.

"There appeared also another man admirable for age and glory, and environed with great beauty and majesty. Then Onias answering said: 'This is a lover of his brethren and of the people of Israel; this is he that prayeth much for the people and for all the holy city, Jeremias the Prophet of God'" (2 Macc. xiv. 13-14).

Jeremias, יִרְמְיָהוּ, Yirme-Yahu, or in an abbreviated form יִרְמְיָה, meaning "the exalted of the Lord."[1] He was sanctified from his mother's womb,[2] filled with the Holy Spirit,[3] the spirit of prophecy, and prophesied for forty-one years at least, or from the thirteenth year of Josias (639-608), i. 2, xxv. 3, *viz.* 627 B.C., till the capture of the Holy City by Nabuchodonosor in 586.[4] He was expressly forbidden to marry, xvi. 1-2. According to St. Jerome Ezechiel began his prophetic work in Babylon in the thirty-fifth year of Jeremias' mission in Jerusalem.[5] That he was

[1] St. Jerome *on* Jer. iii. 9, *P.L.* xxiv. 822.
[2] St. Jerome, *Ep.* xxii. 21, cxxiii. 13; St. Augustine, *Ep.* clxxxvii. 37, and especially *Opus Imperf. contra Julianum*, iv. 134.
[3] Origen, *Hom.* xi on Jeremias, *P.L.* xxv. 665-666.
[4] St. Jerome on i. 1.
[5] *Ibid.* and on xxx. 3, on Ezech. xii. 7, Josephus, *Ant.* X. v. 1.

a priest appears from i. 1.[1] Nearly all that he said was typical of Christ,[2] indeed he himself in his own person has always been regarded as a type of Christ Himself.[3] He foretold, by a special revelation[4] made to him, things of the distant future,[5] "he sees in spirit the things that are to happen."[6]

When the Chaldeans took the city they treated Jeremias with the greatest respect and gave him leave either to go to Babylon or to stay in Palestine, xxxix-xl. He chose to remain with the remnant of the Jews in Palestine, but was carried by them into Egypt, xliii, where he continued to prophesy, xliii-xliv. According to one tradition he was stoned to death by these same Jews in Egypt; according to another he was taken to Babylon by Nabuchodonosor when the latter ravaged Egypt in accordance with Jeremias' own prophecy. If the last chapter of 4 Kings was written by the Prophet, as many have thought,[7] he may have lived there till the reign of Evil-Merodach, the successor of Nabuchodonosor, B.C. 562.

A curious tradition is preserved by the author of 2 *Maccabees* concerning the sacred fire which he bade the captives preserve, also of his hiding the Tabernacle and the Ark.[8]

[1] *Ant. ib.* But *cf. Expositor*, March, 1923.

[2] Origen, *Hom.* i on Jeremias, *P.L.* xxv. 588.

[3] "Ipso nomine præfigurat Dominum Salvatorem," St. Jerome on xxiii. 9; *cf.* Origen, *Hom.* xi, *P.L.* xxv. 666. "All the Churches agree," says St. Jerome "that the words (spoken in xi. 18) are to be understood as spoken by Christ in the person of Jeremias," *in loco*, *P.L.* xxiv. 756.

[4] St. Jerome on xxviii. 10.

[5] On xxx. 3; see chap. xxv on the seventy years of captivity.

[6] On iv. 23.

[7] Josephus, *Ant.* X. v. 1 says: "This Prophet denounced beforehand the sad calamities that were coming on the city. He also left behind him in writing a description of that destruction of our nation which has lately happened in our days, and the taking of Babylon"; Josephus evidently regarded the fall of Jerusalem in 586 B.C. as prefiguring its capture by the Romans in A.D. 70.

[8] 2 Macc. ii. 1-10, see the Revised Version. This account seems to be made up at least in part from the *Ep. of Jeremias*, Bar. vi, though in that Epistle there is no mention of the sacred fire.

I. The Political Situation.

As in the case of Isaias, it is necessary to grasp the state of affairs in the Eastern world if we would understand the prophecies of Jeremias. The following genealogical table will show the relationships of the kings of Juda under whom he prophesied :

Josias, 639-608

Joachaz, 608	**Joachim** (Eliachim), 608-597	**Sedecias** (Matthanias), 597-586
	Joachin (Jechonias), 597	

The reign of Ezechias in the previous century had been glorious ; the Assyrians had been driven back at his prayer, and Israel seemed to have turned to God with their whole hearts. But the long and iniquitous reign of Manasses, 696-641, had undone all the good wrought by his father. Hence the wrath of God was upon the nation, xv. 1-5 ; but, as always, He gave them a time for repentance and raised up the pious King Josias and the Prophet Jeremias to warn and instruct the apostate people. From the outset the Prophet knows that the case of Israel is hopeless : "I have set thee this day," said the Lord when He gave him his commission, "over the nations and over kingdoms, to root up and to pull down, and to waste and to destroy, and to build and to plant." The situation was complex. Isaias had insisted on the inviolability of God's Temple, xxxvii. 33-35, xxxi. 4, etc., and his prophecies had been fulfilled. Moreover, he had declared that even though the Assyrian was God's chosen instrument of vengeance, yet "Blessed be My people of Egypt, and the work of My hands to the Assyrian, *but Israel is My inheritance*," xix. 25. When Jeremias began to prophesy Assyria was but a shadow and the Chaldeans but a name ; hence the temptation was great to disregard them both and fancy that as God had done in the days of Ezechias so would He do now. Hence the

fanatical trust which the people reposed in the Temple; so long as that existed there could be no fear for Juda, vii and xxvi. In the time of Isaias the people's hopes lay in Egypt, and an active body of counsellors urged an alliance with that country; in the days of Jeremias there seem to have been few active politicians; on the contrary, a spirit of apathetic and blind confidence prevailed.

Truly his was an unenviable task. He had to go about the streets with an unwelcome message, xi. 6; he had to speak in the king's palace, xxi. 1, xxiv. 6; he had to speak and act his parables in the potter's house, xviii-xix; he had to take his stand in the entry of the Temple and denounce even that Holy Place, vii. 1, xxvi. 1; his cry had ever been "submit to Babylon, for it is the will of God," xxi. 1-10, xxvii-xxix, xxxvii, xxxviii; and he had had to say in the name of God "I will bring an everlasting reproach upon you, and a perpetual shame which shall never be forgotten," xxiii. 40, xxiv. 9. His message had fallen on deaf ears and the false prophets had openly flouted him, xxiii. 15-46, xxvii. 9–xxviii. 17, xxix. 21-32, *Ant.* X. vii. 3; while more than once he had been cast into a filthy prison, xxxii. 2, xxxiii. 2, xxxvii. 4, 14, xxxviii. 6; and even set in the public stocks, xx. 2. His passionate love for his people and country breaks out at every turn, yet he is forbidden to pray for them, xiv. 11. So terrible is his burden that at times he would willingly cast it from him and prophesy no more, *cf.* xx. 7-18, so strangely reminiscent of the words of Job, *cp.* Ecclus. xlix. 8-9.

It is this that gives the peculiar tone to Jeremias' prophecies. He sees in the light of God the coming catastrophe, he realizes that it is well merited, but he loves his nation with a passionate love and grieves for their blindness. Hence the pathetic prayers which form so striking a feature of the whole book, *e.g.* xiv. 19-22. Always regarded as a figure of our Lord in his sufferings, he is especially so in the mournful outlook he has upon the Jewish world; we might assign to him as his motto: "If thou also hadst known the things that are to thy peace, but now they are hidden from thine eyes . . . because thou hast not known the time of thy visitation."

Yet throughout, despite the unceasing condemnation and

threat of Divine punishment, the thought of the ultimate redemption is almost as prominent as in the latter portion of Isaias, *cf.* xxix-xxxiii, l, and note "David their king whom I will raise up to them," xxx. 9, xxxiii. 17, 26.[1]

After the death of Josias in a futile attempt to withstand Pharaoh Nechao in his attack on the Assyrians, events moved on apace. Ninive fell in 612, Nabopolassar inaugurated the Neo-Babylonian Empire, and his son Nabuchodonosor succeeded him in 605; Joachaz, son of Josias, was taken prisoner by Nechao in 608, and his brother Eliachim (Joachim) was set upon the throne by the Egyptian monarch, only, however, to fall into the hands of the Babylonians shortly after; after three years of vassalage, he rebelled in the hope of support from Pharaoh Hophra despite Jeremias' warning, xlvi, but was punished by an incursion of Syrians, Moabites, Ammonites and Chaldeans, 4 Kings xxiv. 1-2. The battle of Carchemish, 605, sealed the fate of Egypt, 4 Kings xxiv. 7. When Joachim died in 597 the people were bidden not to weep for him, Jer. xxii. 18-19, just as they had been told not to mourn for Josias, *ib.* 10, "for he shall be buried with the burial of an ass." Joachin, who succeeded, was no better, the curse was upon him, "an earthen and a broken vessel, write this man barren . . . for there shall not be a man of his seed that shall sit upon the throne of David," *ib.* 28-30. He was to go into exile in Babylon never to return, despite all the lying assurances of the false prophets, xxviii. Nabuchodonosor came up against him and carried him away to Babylon, there was no one to say him nay. The vessels of the Temple were carried off, and an immense number of the nobility went with them into exile. Sedecias (Matthanias) was placed upon the throne by the Babylonians, but he was a weak character, xxxviii. 14-28, *Ant.* X. vii. 2, and foolishly rebelled against Nabuchodonosor who came up in the ninth year of Sedecias and invested the city. The king attempted a reform, but changed his mind, xxxiv. 8-22, and in his eleventh year, the fifth month, the city fell, 586. Sedecias fled but was captured, and the last king of the stock of David was blinded

[1] See Josephus' statement that Jeremias also foretold that on their return the Jews should "rebuild the Temple and restore Jerusalem," *Ant.* X. vii. 3, which is not in our present copies of the Prophet's writings

by the king of Babylon after his sons had been put to death before his eyes.

During all these stirring times Jeremias had not been silent. When Ninive fell in 612 he foretold that the nation of the Jews would go into captivity in Babylon and would remain there seventy years, xxv, and this in spite of the fact that, only a few years before, an Egyptian king had claimed suzerainty over Palestine by dethroning one king and setting up another. These *seventy years* were thus practically contemporary with the duration of the Neo-Babylonian Empire which—inaugurated after the fall of Ninive—succumbed in 538 to the forces of Cyrus, the Jews being allowed to return in 536 B.C.

II. Divisions, Analysis and Chronological Order of the Prophecies.

A broad division might be made as follows:

i-xlv. Prophecies relating to home affairs.
xlvi-li. Those relating to foreign affairs.
lii. Supplementary historical chapter.

But a more practical one would be:

i-iii. 5. Introduction.
iii. 6-xxiv. Prophecies and sermons of the time of Josias, 627-608 B.C.
xxv. 1-13, xlvi-li, xxv. 15-23. Prophecies against the nations.
xxvi-xxxviii. Prophecies subsequent to the time of Josias, 608-586 B.C.
xxxix. An epilogue ; the actual capture of the city.
xl-xlv, lii. An appendix, treating of the events which followed upon the fall of the city.

We have inserted chaps. xlvi-li between verses 13 and 15 of chap. xxv, for these chapters contain the various prophecies against the nations. In *Isaias* and *Ezechiel* similar prophecies against the Gentiles occur in the centre of the book, Isa. xiii-xxviii, Ezech. xxv-xxxii. Chap. xxv appears to give a summary view of these prophecies, and it seems natural to assign them a place in this chapter as has actually been done by the Greek translators who insert these prophecies between verses 13 and 15, verse 14 being omitted. The Septuagint, indeed, presents us with a text of *Jeremias*

which differs remarkably from the present Hebrew text.[1] It is calculated that it is at least one-eighth shorter than the Hebrew; this is of interest when we reflect that the Old-Latin version was made from it and was the one used by the Fathers antecedent to St. Jerome. These *omissions* by the Septuagint are very striking, we give some of the more remarkable:

x. 5-8, 10; xi. 7-8; xvii. 1-4; xxvii. 13-14, 19-22; xxix. 16-20; xxx. 10-11; xxxiii. 14-26; xxxiv. 11; xxxix. 4-13; li. 44-49, etc. Nor are there merely omissions; a comparison of the Greek and Hebrew (Vulgate) texts of chap. xxvii will show that nearly every verse has been cut down in a systematic fashion. Thus nearly 2,700 words of the original text are omitted in the Greek version. Such a fact calls for explanation, and various theories have been put forward to account for it. Before, however, detailing some of these theories, it will be well to notice certain difficulties in the present arrangement of the Hebrew, and therefore of the Vulgate text. These will best appear when we attempt to arrange the prophecies chronologically.

The following data furnished by Jeremias will show how far the order of his prophecies as at present arranged differs from the chronological one:

i. 2, the thirteenth year of Josias, 629 B.C.

xxi. 1-2, in the reign of Sedecias, during the siege, or 588-586 B.C.

xxii. 11, concerning Sellum or Joachaz, elder son of Josias, 4 Kings xxiii. 33.[2]

xxii. 18, of Joachim, son of Josias, 2 Chron. xxxvi. 2-5, 609-597, 4 Kings xxiv. 2.

xxii. 24-30, of Jechonias or Joachin, son of Joachim, also called Conias

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[1] Thus St. Jerome: "Omnino confusus," *Præf. in Jeremiam*, *P.L.* xxviii. 848; "librariorum errore confusum," *Prol.* to his commentary, *P.L.* xxiv. 680, and "præpostero ordine describuntur," *on Ezech.* xxx. 17, *P.L.* xxv. 285. "There is," he says more than once, "no historical order in the Prophets, especially so in Jeremias and Ezechiel," *on* Jer. xxi. 1, and again: "there is no historical order in the Prophets and Psalms," *on* Jer. xxv. 1, xxvi. 1. See, for example, Jer. xxi. 9 and xxxviii. 2.

[2] According to St. Jerome the Jews of his time referred this to all the sons of Josias whom they regarded as grouped together under the name "Sellum," meaning "the consummation" or the end of the kingdom. St. Jerome himself refers it to Sedecias.

in the Hebrew text of xxii. 24, 28, xxxvii. 1. He reigned three months, 597 B.C.; here we have a prophecy of his captivity, *cp.* xxiv. 1.

xxiv. 8-10, of Sedecias, 597-586 B.C., foretelling his captivity.

xxv. 1, the fourth year of Joachim, 606-605 B.C., which is also the first year of Nabuchodonosor and the twenty-third since Jeremias began to prophesy in the thirteenth year of Josias or 629 B.C.

xxv. 11-12, the seventy years' captivity, 606-536 B.C.

xxvi. 1, "the beginning of the reign of Joakim," 609-597 B.C.

xxvii. 1, "the beginning of the reign of Joakim," but verses 12 and 20 show that we ought to read Sedecias for Joakim.

xxviii. 1, "the beginning of the reign of Sedecias," in the fourth year or 594-593 B.C.

xxxii-xxxiv, "the tenth year of Sedecias" identified with the eighteenth year of Nabuchodonosor or 587 B.C., *cp.* xxv. 1, lii. 12, during the siege.

xxxv. 1, "in the days of Joakim," 609-597 B.C., during a siege by Nabuchodonosor, verse 11.

xxxvi. 1, "in the fourth year of Joakim" or 606-605 B.C., *cp.* xxv. 1.

xxxvi. 9, "in the fifth year of Joakim" or 605-604 B.C.

xxxvii. 1, "Sedecias reigned instead of Jechonias," therefore presumably at the commencement of his reign, 597-586 B.C., though verse 4 may show that it was during the siege or 588-586 B.C., unless the reference is to an earlier siege of which we know nothing.

xxxix. 1-2, from the ninth to the eleventh year of Sedecias or the period of the final siege with the fall of Jerusalem.

This confusion in the chronological arrangement shows us that the book has undergone considerable editing; and this conclusion is fully borne out by the state of the Greek text already referred to. Origen[1] remarked this long ago: "in Jeremias we found much transposition and alteration of the words of the prophecies." Some have been inclined to regard these differences between the texts as due to the existence of two or more editions of the prophecies, as may be indicated by xxx. 2, xxxvi. 2, 23, and 32. But it seems clear that the changes existing are due to deliberate action on the part of some editor, note the variations between the two texts of xxvii referred to above, and the place assigned in the Hebrew (Vulgate) and Greek texts to the prophecies against the nations. Hence it seems more in accordance with the facts to allow the existence of two separate editions of the Hebrew text, one of them lying at the base of the Greek translation, the other at the base of the present Massoretic Hebrew text.[2] In confirmation of this it should

[1] *Ad Africanum.*

[2] See Streane, *The Double Text of Jeremiah*, 1896; also *R.B.*, January, 1898, p. 134, July, 1903, July, 1909, p. 471; *J.T.S.*, January, 1919, for

be noted that the Septuagint translators are as a rule exceedingly servile in this book, a fact which may show that they translated carefully what they had before them. It will be convenient to give here the order of the chapters according to the Septuagint:

Septuagint.		*Vulgate.*
xxxii. 1-24.	=	xxv. 14-38.
xxxiii. 1-6, 13.	=	xxvi. 1–xlvi. 13.
li. 1-35.	=	xliv. 1-30.
xxvi. 1-28.	=	xlvi. 1-28.
xxix. 1-7.	=	xlvii. 1-7.
xxi. 1-44.	=	xlviii. 1-47.
xxx. 1-5.	=	xlix. 1-5.
xxix. 8-23.	=	xlix. 7-22.
xxx. 12-16.	=	xlix. 23-27.
xxx. 6-11.	=	xlix. 28-33.
xxv. 14-18.	=	xlix. 34-39.
xxvii. 1-xxviii. 64.	=	l-li. 64.
lii. 1-34.	=	The same.
i-xxv. 13.	=	The same.

Both the Hebrew and the Greek text are cited in N.T.; thus in Matt. ii. 18, we have a citation from xxxi. 15 which only occurs in the Hebrew text; in Heb. viii. 9, on the contrary, we have a quotation from xxxi. 32 which only occurs in the Septuagint.

III. Notes.

i. 10. "To root up . . .," this was the terrible commission of Jeremias, xviii. 7, xxxi. 28, xlv. 4.

i. 3. Note the reference to the Chosen People, xii. 7, 10, 14, xxxi. 31-32.

i. 11-12. Note the visions impressed, apparently, on his imagination rather than on his sense organs, see St. Thomas, *Summa Theol.* 2da. 3dae. clxxiii. 2, and *cp.* Jer. 1. 13-16, xxiv. 1 *ff.*

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the structure of chaps. l-li; also *Expositor*, July, 1920; St. John Thackeray on the Greek translators of *Jeremias*, in *J. T.S.*, January, 1903; for the fact that the translator was none too familiar with Hebrew see Davidson in *H.D.*B. ii. 574; St. Jerome constantly points to the gaps he has left, *cf.* on v. 27, *P.L.* xxiv. 720. St. Justin, *Dial.* 72, accuses the Jews of mutilating the text of (xi. 19?) "from the sayings of the same Jeremias have been cut out 'The Lord God remembered His dead people of Israel who lay in the graves, and He descended to preach to them His own salvation.'" St. Irenæus quotes this passage as "Isaias," *Adv. Hær.* III xx and as "Jeremias," IV xxii, so too in his recently discovered *Apostolica Prædicatio*, 78.

ii. 11-13, 20, 27-28. Jeremias gives us an appalling picture of the idolatry rampant in those days in Jerusalem, *cf.* iii and *cp.* Ezech. xvi and xxii, vii. 17-21, x. 3-5; Isa. xl. 18, xliv. 12-20, xi. 12-13. Nor did this gross idolatry cease when the city fell, xliv. 16-19.

iii. 14. As in Isaias and Ezechiel this doctrine of a remnant that shall be saved constantly recurs in Jeremias, v. 18, xv. 11, xxiii. 4.

v. 28. Reminiscent of Deut. xxxii. 15; *cf.* Jer. vii. 10-11, xi. 4, for similar references to Deut. xii. 1, etc., iv. 20.

vi. 10-11. It is the Prophet who is speaking; as so often, he breaks out into sudden prayers at the sight of the revelations made to him, *cf.* x. 23-25, with which *cp.* Ecclus. xxxvi. 2, xiv. 20 *ff.*, xv. 15-18, xvi. 19-20, xvii. 13-18, xviii. 19-23, xx. 7-18.

vi. 30. A "household word," *cf.* viii. 20, xiii. 23, xxix. 13, xxxi. 3.

vii. 25. "Rising early," so always in Jeremias of the work of the Prophets, xi. 7, xxv. 2-4, xxvi. 5, xxxv. 14-15, xliv. 4.

vii. 12. Silo where the Ark was first established, 1 Sam. xiv., Jer. xxvi. 9.

vii. 18. "The queen of heaven," Astarte, the Isis of the Babylonians, Venus and Aphrodite among the Romans and Greeks, *cf.* xliv. 17.

vii. 32. Tophet, *cp.* Isa. xxx. 33.

vii. 22-23. That there was no command of animal sacrifices until the people fell into idolatry is maintained by St. Jerome *on* Ezech. xx. 27, so too St. Thomas, *Summa Theol.* 1-2dae. cii. 3. See Isa. i. 11-18, xlii. 23, Amos v. 21-27.

ix. 17-21. Note for the *Lamentations* of Jeremias.

x. 11-13. The similarity of tone between this and other passages on the attributes of God in Isaias, *e.g.* xl. 12, 22, is remarkable.

xi. 19. One of the passages where the "typical" character of the Prophet appears most clearly.

xii. 1-7. The problem of evil and the prosperity of the wicked, *cf.* Ps. lxxii, Job xxiv.

xii. 9. "A speckled bird," literally the peacock, says St. Jerome, but he adds that the Septuagint and other Greek translators render it "spelunca hyænæ," a hyena's cave.

xiii. One of the many symbolic actions or "acted parables" which the Prophet had to perform, *cf.* xviii, xix, xxxii, li. 59-64.

xiv. 13-16. How prominent a part these false or self-deceived prophets played in the life of the time is clear from v. 13, 31, xxii. 14-40, xxvii. 9-18, xxviii, xxix. 8-32, where we find them even in Babylon in the early part of the exile. In this chapter the Prophet prays for the people, in xv for himself.

xiv. 8-9. A most beautiful reference to the Messias, *cf.* Gen. xlix. 10, Isa. xxv. 9 and notes there.

xx. 7. "Thou hast deceived me, O Lord." St. Jerome explains that the Prophet had thought when his commission came to him, i. 5, that it was the heathen who were to be punished, not his fellow-countrymen, whereas he now learns that he is prophesying against Juda.

xx. 14. "Cursed be the day." "Tribulations looked at in themselves are contrary to nature, hence it is no sin to feel a natural abhorrence of them, though it would be a sin if a person acted unreasonably because of them. Moreover since they are for our spiritual profit the

Saints glory in them, just as the patient is glad of the operation which heals him. Note, too, that to curse the natural 'day' would be absurd and sinful; but a day on which some harm happens to us can be called an evil day, just as a feast-day is one on which some good thing happened," St. Thomas, *in loco*.

xxi. 1. Phassur, the son of Melchias, not the same person as Phassur son of Emmer, xx. 1.

xxii. 30. Yet Christ was of the stock of David through Jechonias. The Prophet means that no purely human offspring of David's house should sit on the throne again.

xxiii. 5-6. The great Messianic prophecy in Jeremias, *cf.* Ps. lxxi. 7, Zach. vi. 12.

xxiii. 9. "Gazing at the face of Almighty God, that is the Father; gazing at the face of the Son who, according to the Apostle, 'is the brightness of His glory and the figure of His substance,' Heb. i. 3, the Prophet, both in body and soul, is overwhelmed with horror and realizes that he is nothing; as the Psalmist says, 'I am become as a beast before Thee!' Ps. lxxii. 23," St. Jerome, *in loco*.

xxv. 20. Ausitis is the Greek rendering for the land of Uz, Job. i. 1.

xxv. 26. Sesac is understood by St. Jerome as an acrostic for Babylon, *cf.* Schrader, *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, ii. 108-109.

xxv. 38. "The dove," perhaps a synonym for Babylon, though it is difficult to understand. St. Jerome seems to prefer "sword," *cf.* xlvi. 16, l. 16.

xxvi. 16. Note this for the criterion of true prophecy, *cf.* xxviii. 8-9.

xxvi. 18. A quotation of Mich. iii. 12, one of the very rare instances of one Prophet explicitly quoting another, *cp.* Isa. ii. 1-4 and Mich. iv. 1-3.

xxviii. 10-11. "Hananias the Prophet." Apropos of the fact that the Septuagint here omitted the word "Prophet" "lest they should seem to call one a Prophet who was not so," St. Jerome remarks: "As though there were not many things said in Holy Scripture according to the opinion of the time at which the events are narrated and not in accordance with the actual truth of things (non juxta veritatem rei continebat). So Joseph, too, is called in the Gospel the Lord's father. And Mary herself, who knew that she had conceived of the Holy Spirit . . . says to the Son: 'Son, why hast thou done so to us? Behold thy father and I have sought thee sorrowing.'" And a little later: "Historical truth and order are preserved, not—as we have said—according as facts were, but according as at that time they were thought to be."

xxviii. 17. See the similar death, Ezech. xi. 13.

xxx. 2. For this command to write his prophecies, *cf.* xxxvi. 2 and 32; e signifies that a long time is to elapse before the fulfilment.

xxx. 10. "My servant Jacob" as in Isa. xlv. 4, etc. Note, too, how Jeremias' teaching on the redemption, *e.g.* iii. 14-25, xvii. 24-27, xxiii, xxix. 14, xxx. 10-24, xxxi, xxxii. 37-44, xxxiii. 6-26, etc., seems an echo of Isa. xl-xlviii.

xxx. 9. "David their king," *cf.* Ezech. xxxvii. 24. From chap. xxx onwards we have what may be called the Messianic portion of the prophecy; it should be compared more especially with Isa. vii-xii, xl-lxvi. The Jews however endeavour to explain all the references to

the redemption as fulfilled in the return from Babylon. The expression "David their king," when he had long been dead, is comparable to St. Paul's "first and second Adam," 1 Cor. xv. 45, Rom. v. 14, *cf.* St. Peter's argument, Acts ii. 22-32, and St. Paul's, xiii. 34-37.

xxxi. 21. "A woman shall compass a man," a reference to the Virginal conception and birth of Christ. The Septuagint omits the clause though, according to St. Jerome, they—or rather the Latin version derived from them—read : "in circuitu tuo circuibunt homines." Aquila and Symmachus translate as does St. Jerome.

xxxi. 25-26. The sudden change of persons is awkward ; St. Jerome understands verse 26 of the people.

xxxii. 18-19. An echo of Exod. xxxiv. 7, so often quoted, *cf.* Ps. lxxxv. 15.

xxxii. 13. The whole transaction is intended to show that the captivity would be lengthy, *viz.* seventy years, xxv. 11-12, xxix. 10.

xxxiv. 14. Note the reference to the Mosaic law, Exod. xxi. 2.

xxxvii. 12. It was but natural that the son of Hananias should hate Jeremias, *cf.* xxviii. 17.

xlviii. Note the same minute familiarity with the geography of Moab as in Isa. x, xv, xvi.

xlix. 16, *cf.* Abdias i.

l-li. For the fall of Babylon *cf.* Isa. xiii, xiv, xxi, xlvii.

IV. Modern Critical Views of the Prophecies.

In xxxvi. 4 Baruch is said to have written at the dictation of the Prophet "all the words of the Lord which He spoke to him," and when the king threw this record into the fire Baruch was commanded to write again "all the former words that were in the first volume . . . and there were added besides many more words than had been before," *ib.* 28, 32. Many critics base their reconstruction of the prophecies on the supposition that Baruch actually wrote all that Jeremias had prophesied up to that time and that the second copy served as the basis of our present book. But it may be doubted whether we are to take verse 2 so literally as this would demand ; the Prophet may have merely sent a summary ; indeed the fact that in the second copy "there were added besides many more words than had been before" would seem incompatible with the notion that a complete record was made ; some would even suggest that the lack of order and the uncertainty of some headings to the prophecies is due to the Prophet's forgetfulness of precise details of time and place after the lapse of twenty

years; see for a certain vagueness in dating, xiv. 1, xxvi. 1, xxvii. 1, xxviii. 1, xxxv. 1, xlvi. 1, xlvii. 1, xlix. 34. There is, too, a curious fluctuation between the more personal heading "And the Lord said to me," x. 1, xiii. 1, xv. 1, xvi. 1, xix. 1, xxv, and the more "editorial" heading "the word that came to Jeremias from the Lord," vii. 1, xiv. 1, xviii. 1, xxi. 1, xxx. 1, xxxii. 1, xxxv. 1, xxxvi. 1, xl. 1, xliv. 1, xlvi. 1, xlvii. 1.

Criticism has on the whole been less destructive in the case of Jeremias than in that of Isaias, though there are some who would regard xxv, xlvi, xlix. 34, li. 59 as simply additions by subsequent editors.[1]

V. The Style of Jeremias.

The style of Jeremias is marked by abrupt transitions which, while involving a certain ruggedness and unevenness, yet contribute not a little to the charm of his prophecies.[2]

Certain features should be noted: Symbolic actions: xiii, xviii, xix.[3] Allusions to the composition of his prophecies: xxv. 13, xxx. 2, xxxvi. 2, 32. The action of God on the Prophets: xxxvi. 18, xlii. 7. Symbolic visions: i. 11-18, xxiv. 1-10. Sudden changes of the speaker:[4] iii. 22, xiv. 20-22. Prayers: the most exquisite prayers are often suddenly interjected into the midst of his discourses, *cf.* iii. 22-25, xiv. 8-9, xv. 15-18, xvi. 18, xvii. 13-18, xx. 7-18, xxxii, 17-25. Many of his striking expressions have passed into ordinary speech: ii. 13, vi. 30, viii. 20, 22, xi. 19, xii. 5, xiii. 23, xx. 14,

[1] See *Encyclopædia Biblica*, *s.v. Jeremiah*, 2375.

[2] St. Jerome, *Prologue* to his version, *P.L.* xxviii. 847; and again: "Quantum in verbis simplex videtur et facilis, tantum in majestate sensuum profundissimus," *Prol.* to bk. x, on chap. xxx.; and again: "His language is to Hebrew ears more rustic than that of Osee, Isaias and some others of the Prophets, but his meaning is as profound seeing that he prophesies by the same spirit as they did. His simple diction is due to his place of birth, for he sprang from Anathoth, to-day a village and but three miles from Jerusalem," xxix. 27, xxxii. 8, xxxvii. 11.

[3] See D. Buzy, *Les Symboles de l'Ancien Testament*, 1923; M. H. Farbridge, *Studies in Biblical and Semitic Symbolism*, 1923.

[4] "The change of person—especially in the writings of the Prophets—makes it difficult to understand," St. Jerome on Jer. viii. 15, *P.L.* xxiv. 739; also on xxxi. 25-26.

18, xxii. 24-30, xxiii. 23-29, xxv. 16, xxix. 12-13, xxxi. 3, 29, xlviii. 44.

The Rabbins called Jeremias *the Prophet of desolation* but this term only conveys a half truth. It was indeed his mission "to root up, to pull down, and to destroy," but no one of the Prophets, not even excepting Isaias, has left us such gems of consolation. Thus the Isaianic doctrine of the *Remnant* fills a large place in Jeremias' prophecies, v. 18, vi. 9, ix. 24, xv. 11, xxix. 12, xxx, xxxi, xlii. 19. And though there is no such section as the "Comfort ye" of Isaias, yet the *doctrine of the Messias* and of a Messianic kingdom is insisted on again and again, iii. 17-19, xiv. 8-9, xvii. 13, 24-26, xxii. 4, xxiii. 5, xxx. 9-24, xxxi. 22, xxxii. 37-44, xxxiii. 6-26, xlvi. 27-28. The references to the *Davidic King* should be noted, xxx. 9, xxxiii. 15, 21; to the *Chosen People*, xxx. 22, xxxi. 1, 7; to the Divine *Fatherhood*, iii. 19, xxxi. 9; the existence of a *written law* may be argued from such passages as viii. 8, ix. 13, xviii. 18, xxvi. 4, xxxi. 33.

VI. Jeremias and Deuteronomy.

The Prophet is steeped in the spirit of *Deuteronomy* and its phraseology is often on his lips, *e.g.* vii. 4, xxxii. 34, and compare ii. 6 with Deut. xxxii. 10, v. 15 with Deut. xxviii. 49, vii. 3 with xxviii. 26, etc. Modern critics claim that we have here a proof that Deuteronomy was composed, not merely discovered, in the time of Jeremias, but the fact that it was discovered at that time is quite sufficient explanation of Jeremias' familiarity with *Deuteronomy*.[1] Indeed the Prophet's familiarity with other portions of the Bible has never received adequate attention from Biblical critics; in the following parallels it is not always easy to say where the priority lies; xxiii. 5-6 and xxxii. 15, *cf.* Isa. iv. 2, xi. 2, l and li, *cf.* Isa. xiii and xlvii; xlviii and Isa. xv; x. 3-5 and Isa. xl. 19-20, xli. 7; xiv. 10 and

[1] The discovery of *Deuteronomy* (?) by Helcias the priest was made in the eighteenth year of Josias, 639-608, therefore B.C. 621, 4 Kings xxii. 3, when Jeremias had already been prophesying for six years. It is somewhat strange then that he was not consulted on that occasion, 4 Kings xxii. 12-20.

Osee viii. 13; x. 25 and Ps. lxxviii. 6; x. 13 and Ps. cxxxiv. 7; xlix. 7-16 and Abdias 1-8.

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LAMENTATIONS

I. Introductory.
II. Contents of the Laments.
III. Of the Author and Date.
IV. Its Place in the Canon.
V. Bibliography.

I. Introductory.

"Echa," אֵיכָה, or "Chinoth," קִינוֹת, in Greek Θρῆνοι, in the Vulgate "Threni." "Jeremias," says St. Jerome, "bewailed the ruin of his city in a fourfold alphabet which we have restored to the measure of metre and to verses."[1] In fact the first four chapters are a form of acrostic, each verse in i, ii, and iv, commencing with consecutive letters of the Hebrew alphabet, *cp.* Ps. cxviii, etc. In chap. iii each set of three verses begins with a fresh letter of the alphabet.[2] Chap. v, or the *Prayer of Jeremias*, contains twenty-two verses, the number of letters in the Hebrew alphabet, but is not constructed as an acrostic.

The metre of these "laments" is quite peculiar, there is a cæsura in the line with the result that what may be termed "a limping" verse is formed. Examples may be found in Jer. ix. 17-22, Isa. xiv. 4-21 and Ezech. xix.[3]

[1] Preface to his translation of *Jeremias*; also *on* Ezech. xxvii. 2.
[2] See St. Jerome *on* Zach. xii. 12, *P.L.* xxv. 1515.
[3] On the metre see G. A. Smith, *Jeremiah*, p. 39. *J.T.S.*, October, 1905, a review of Condamin, *Jérémie*; *Expositor*, August, 1913.

II. Contents of the "Laments."

A. i. 1-11. The poet describes the state of the fallen city; i 12-22, he weeps over the ruin of Jerusalem.

B. ii. 1-10. God's destroying wrath is depicted; ii. 11-22, He is just, therefore the city must repent.

C. iii. 1-18. Speaking in the person of the outcast people he laments their calamities; iii. 19-39, he turns to God his Redeemer; iii. 40-66, his absolute trust in God.

D. iv. 1-11. Their sins are the cause of this destruction; how blessed they were before they fell; iv. 12-22, yet the nations—and especially Edom—shall reap their due meed of punishment.

E. v. 1-22. The Prophet's prayer for his people.

III. Of the Author and Date.

In the Greek and Latin text a short preface is prefixed; it is generally given in the Douay Bibles, but with a note saying that it is no part of sacred Scripture. In this preface the received opinion is stated, namely that these *Lamentations* were composed by Jeremias after the people had been carried into captivity. But Josephus has preserved a tradition that *Lamentations* was composed by Jeremias after the death of Josias, B.C. 608,[1] an opinion based on Jer. xxii. 10-13 and 2 Paral. xxxv. 25; and accepted by some of the Fathers, though the state of things described in *Lamentations* in no sense accords with the circumstances of Josias' death. That Jeremias was the author can hardly be doubted; the strain throughout is remarkably similar to that of many passages in his prophecy, and several verses in *Lamentations* find their almost exact parallel in the prophecy, *cp*. i. 2, and Jer. xiii. 17; i. 16 and Jer. xiv. 17; ii. 18, iii. 14, and Jer. xx. 7; iii. 52-54, and Jer. xxxviii. 6.

The modern view however is that *Lamentations* is not to be attributed to Jeremias. It is argued that his name is not given, that the place of the book among the Hagiographa as one of the five Megilloth or "rolls" shows that Hebrew tradition dissociates it from Jeremias, that it betrays a certain dependence on *Ezechiel*, and that finally

[1] *Ant*. X. i. 5.

it is akin to the so-called "Deutero-Isaiah," the latter Psalms and *Job*.[1]

IV. Its Place in the Canon.

Lamentations is rarely named in the ecclesiastical lists, it finds no place, for instance, in those furnished by the Councils of Florence and Trent. In the present printed Hebrew Bibles it is placed among the *Hagiographa* for liturgical reasons; but originally it stood immediately after *Jeremias*, as Origen, St. Hilary and St. Jerome bear witness. The Hebrews counted as many books of the Bible as there were letters in the Hebrew alphabet, or twenty-two; thus St. Jerome says, *Prol. Galeatus*:

"So there are twenty-two books of the Old Law; that is, five of Moses, eight of the Prophets, nine of the Hagiographa. Some, however, place Ruth and Lamentations among the Hagiographa and account these books as among the number of these latter; and thus they say there are twenty-four books of the Old Law."

It is, of course, owing to this custom of attaching *Lamentations* to Jeremias that its name is wanting in some lists.

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[1] *H.D.B.*, *s.v. Lamentations.* Cheyne, *E.B.*, *s.v. Lamentations*, would refer it to *c.* 470-450 B.C.

THE BOOK OF BARUCH

I. Of Baruch Himself.

This book is an appendix to *Jeremias*; its sixth chapter does not belong to it but is a separate *Epistle* of Jeremias to the captives going into Babylon. Baruch was the devoted secretary who stood by the Prophet throughout. That he was with him for a long time is evident from Jer. xliii. 3 and xlv. 5, prophecies which belong to 604 B.C. He it was who wrote the two series of Jeremias' prophecies at the latter's dictation, Jer. xxxvi. 4, 18, 32; he was consoled by the Prophet when in distress, Jer. xlv; and he ministered to him in prison, xxxii. 16. Josephus says that when Jerusalem was taken, Jeremias "desired of Nabuzardan that he would set at liberty his disciple Baruch, the son of Neri, one of a very eminent family, and exceedingly skilful in the language of his country."[1]

St. Jerome refers to a Hebrew tradition that Jeremias and Baruch fled to Egypt before Nabuchodonosor took Jerusalem.[2]

[1] *Ant.* X. ix. 1.

[2] *On* Isa. xxx. 6.

II. Contents and Divisions.

A. i. 1-14. Preface : Baruch is described as reading the book (which follows) in the presence of the captives in Babylonia ; they are filled with repentance, and send to the Temple in Jerusalem the silver vessels which had been taken away; at the same time they ask for prayers and sacrifices from the High Priest in Jerusalem both for themselves and for Nabuchodonosor and Balthassar his son.

The statement that Sedecias had replaced the golden vessels taken away by Nabuchodonosor, 4 Kings xxiv. 14, seems involved, probably there is some gap in the text.

Balthassar is termed the son of Nabuchodonosor as throughout *Daniel*, *e.g.* v. 11, 18. If it be certain, as the Babylonian records seem to make it, that he was really son of Nabonidus and perhaps no relation whatever of Nabuchodonosor, it will only follow that the Biblical writer is speaking in accordance with the general impression of his time. We have a similar case in Tob. i. 18 where Sennacherib is spoken of as the son of Shalmaneser whereas he was son of Sargon, himself an usurper, so that Sennacherib was not even a relative of Shalmaneser. The truth is that the term " son " is probably to be taken for " successor."

B. i. 15-v. 9. The contents of the " book."

i. 15-iii. 8. A prayer of repentance ; in it are many parallels to Deut. xxviii, to *Jeremias*, *Daniel*, especially chap. ix, and *Isaias*.

iii. 9-v. 9. An exhortation to the dispersed Israelites ; there are many parallels to *Job*, *Jeremias*, and *Proverbs*.

An endeavour has been made to break up i. 15-iii. 8 into two prayers so that i. 15-ii. 5 would be the prayer used by the remnant left in Palestine whereas ii. 6-iii. 9 would represent the prayer used by the exiles in Babylon. But there seems no satisfactory indication that this is the case.

How any critic can maintain that this prayer, i. 15-iii. 8, cannot be the work of Baruch and consequently not written as it purports to be, i. 2, " in the fifth year " after the first siege of Jerusalem in B.C. 597, on the sole ground that the prayer shows no consciousness of personal but only of national guilt, passes understanding, i. 17, 22, ii. 5, 10, 12, 18, iii. 1, should be sufficient answer to this.

The section iii. 9-iv. 4 certainly seems to stand by itself, as also does iv. 5-v. 9. The former contains a personification of Wisdom based apparently on Job xxviii and xxxviii and identifying this wisdom with the law, iv. 1-4. The latter contains a very wonderful personification of the city of Jerusalem mourning for her children. Critics argue that since it is based on the *Psalms of Solomon* it must date from after the revolt of Bar Cocheba in A.D. 135 and that it was written originally in Greek. But with whom does the priority lie, with *Baruch* or the *Psalms of Solomon* ? No compelling reason has yet been adduced for saying that it cannot have been penned by Baruch himself save the truly amazing verses iii. 36-38 which seems to state a fact rather than a

prophecy.[1] Is it possible that these verses are a Christian comment on the foregoing picture of Wisdom?

C. vi. The Epistle of Jeremias. This should be compared with Ps. cxiii and Isa. xl-lxvi, *cp.* also 2 Macc. ii. 2-8.[2]

III. The Theological Teaching.

The terms in which God is addressed are of interest. Thus note, "the Eternal God," iv. 7, 10, 14, 20 (in some Greek texts), 22, 35; "the Everlasting Saviour," iv. 22; "the Holy One," iv. 22, 37, v. 5; "the Most High," iv. 20; "the Maker," iv. 7; "the Almighty," iii. 1, etc.

The references to "Sheol" or the underworld in ii. 17, iii. 11, 19, should be compared with Ps. vi. 5, Isa. xxxviii. 18-19. The famous passage, iii. 36-38, is quoted of the Messias by at least thirty Fathers during the first five Christian centuries.

IV. The Date of the Book.

There is nothing in the language of the book to compel us to assign it to a later date than the time of the captivity; and though St. Jerome says in his *Preface* to his translation of Jeremias: "I have omitted the Book of Baruch his secretary, the Hebrews neither read it nor possess it," yet Origen, by using "obeli" in his Hexaplar text, shows that he had a Hebrew text before him. Indeed there can be but little doubt that the original language was Hebrew; for the former portion of the book, at least, is full of Hebraisms. Modern critics, however, vary in the dates they assign to the book; thus while Ewald attributes it to about the year 320 B.C., others refer it to the year 70 A.D., or shortly after. We have indicated above the reference to the underworld, such a reference seems hardly compatible with a late date.

[1] Quoted as "Jeremias" very often, *e.g.* Lactantius, *Inst.* iv. 13, St. Augustine, *Civ. Dei*, XVIII. xxxiii. 1.

[2] See Olympiodorus, *P.G.* xciii. 773-778, 780, also *Expos. Times*, November, 1921. Origen includes the Epistle in his list of Canonical Books, on Ps. i, *cf. H.E.* VI. xxv. 2, but St. Jerome speaks of it as ψευδεπίγραφον, Prol. to his Commentary on Jeremias, *P.L.* xxiv. 680.

V. Its Canonicity.

Baruch was excluded from the Reformers' Canon, but it has always found a place in the Canon of the Catholic Church. In the Latin lists its presence is often not detected because it was grouped together with *Jeremias*. The same must be said of the *Epistle*, perhaps referred to in 2 Macc. ii. 2. Tertullian, St. Cyprian, St. Cyril of Jerusalem, and St. Athanasius,[1] all include *Baruch* and the *Epistle* in the Canon. Even St. Jerome, while omitting *Baruch* in the *Preface to Jeremias*, elsewhere[2] quotes v. 5 simply as "Baruch" without reservation; and again: "Baruch receives an epistle from Jeremias,"[3] words which may refer to Bar. vi, the *Epistle of Jeremias*, though possibly they refer to Jer. xxxvi.

VI. The Language in which it was Written.

As regards the language in which the book was originally written opinions differ considerably. Thus while some hold that the earlier portions may have been originally in Hebrew but the latter in Greek,[4] others maintain that the whole was originally in Hebrew.[5] While, too, some maintain that the Greek translation of i. 3-iii. 8 was by the same hand as translated Jeremias and that iii. 9 *ff.* was rendered into Greek by another translator,[6] others hold that the entire Greek text was made by one translator but that in its present state the Greek text has been influenced by Theodotion's version.[7]

The Latin text in the Clementine Vulgate was not revised by St. Jerome; there also exists a Latin text which has, it is thought, been revised in accordance with the text preserved by St. Jerome.

[1] At the Council of Nicæa, definitions iii. 10, iv. 1, *Oxford Translation of the Fathers*, vol. i.

[2] *Ep.* lxxvii.

[3] *Ep.* xxxi.

[4] Marshall in *H.D.B.*, *s.v. Baruch*.

[5] Harwell, see *Bibliography*.

[6] *H.D.B. l.c.*

[7] So Harwell, *l.c.*

VII. Bibliography.

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THE PROPHECIES OF EZECHIEL

I. The Prophet and his Times.
II. The Political Situation.
III. Divisions and Analysis.
IV. Notes.
V. The Style of Ezechiel.
VI. His Theological Teaching.
VII. Modern Criticism of the Prophecies.
VIII. The Greek Text.
IX. Bibliography.

"It was Ezechiel that saw the glorious vision (i and x) which was shown him upon the chariot of cherubims. For he made mention of the enemies under the figure of rain (xiii. 13, xxxviii. 9) and of doing good to them that showed right ways (iii. 16-21, xviii, xxxiii)," Ecclus. xlix. 10-11.

I. The Prophet and his Times.

Ezechiel, יְחֶזְקֵאל, or "God (El) strengtheneth," *cp.* "Ezechias," חִזְקִיָּהוּ, or "The Lord (Yah) strengtheneth." Ezechiel's name is only given here and xxiv. 4, but see the play on his name in iii. 8-9. In Ecclus. xlix. 10 his inaugural vision is referred to, as also his moral teaching. Beyond the bare statement that he was a priest and the son of Buzi we know nothing of his early life. The "thirtieth year" with which he opens is tantalizing. It would seem to refer to some well-known era, perhaps to the reform inaugurated by Josias in B.C. 621,[1] and would thus correspond with the

[1] So St. Jerome on i. 1, *P.L.* xxv. 17. Josephus, *Ant.* X. vi. 3, says he was young when carried off, but this seems irreconcilable with the text of i. 1-3.

"fifth year of the captivity of Joachin," 597-592. In this latter year, then, Ezechiel saw the vision which opened his prophetic career. As he was already a priest he must have been at least thirty years of age and would therefore have been born *c.* 630 B.C., or about the time Jeremias began his prophetic work in "the thirteenth year of Josias," B.C. 640-609, that is 628-627, Jer. i. 2-3. Ezechiel's wife went with him into captivity and died in the ninth year of their exile, B.C. 588, xxiv. 18. His last dated prophecy is referred to the twenty-seventh year of the exile, B.C. 570, xxix. 17.

The scene of his labours was Tel-Abib, obscured in the Vulgate, Septuagint, and Douay by being translated instead of transliterated "the heap of new corn," iii. 15. This was on the banks of the Chebar, כְּבָר,, in Babylonia, not the Chobor, חָבוֹר, the river bank to which the inhabitants of Samaria were transported by Sargon, 4 Kings xvii. 6.[1]

Though we know little or nothing of Ezechiel save from his prophecies there can be no doubt that he was a highly educated man and, from his minute description of Tyre and its commerce, must have known well the world of his day. That his imaginative powers must have been of a very high order is evident from his amazing imagery, *e.g.* chaps. xxviii-xxxii, as also from his use of allegory, xvi, xvii, xix, and xxiii, while his descriptions of Tyre, her merchandise, her fall and the lament over her are unsurpassed in the Bible, xxvi-xxviii.

He tells us he was a priest, i. 3, but we should know it at once from his description of the ideal Temple, xl-xlviii ; no one but a priest familiar with the courts of the Lord could have drawn that picture. We have called it "ideal"[2]

[1] See Schrader, *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, Engl. trans., ii. 119.

[2] Note St. Jerome : "The whole description of Judæa, the land and the tribes, is but a figure of the Church that is to be in heaven. Read *Josue*, read the latter portion of *Ezechiel* and you will see that whatever the former speaks of historically on earth the latter promises spiritually in heaven," *Adv. Jovin.* ii. 34, *P.L.* xxiii. 332. When writing his commentary on *Ezechiel* St. Jerome dreaded the problem of Ezechiel's Temple, "the Hebrews and the Latins have preserved on the subject 'grande silentium,'" *Prol.* to bk. xi, *cf. Prol.* to bk. xii, and later on, on xl. 5, he says that his study of the question reminds him of nothing so much as his boyish incursions into the Roman catacombs "where all was darkness."

because it does not stand for the Temple of Solomon as Ezechiel knew it, nor does it correspond with the second Temple built after the restoration. This latter point needs emphasizing for it may serve as an indication of the date at which the description was penned; could anyone have done it after the rise of the second Temple, finished B.C. 516? And who but a priest would have ventured to omit from the ritual of the Temple the Feast of Weeks, the first-fruits, the copious gilding and the wine of the sacrifices?[1]

In some MSS. of the Septuagint and in the Vulgate text of the title of Ps. lxv (lxiv) this Psalm is called "A Canticle of Jeremias and Ezechiel to the people of the captivity when they began to go out," presumably because this Psalm fittingly expresses the teachings of those two Prophets.

The Book of Ezechiel proceeds in orderly fashion and there are no passages of outstanding difficulty. But apart from the corrupt state of the text the main problem for the reader lies in the astounding visions described and in the curious symbolical actions which the Prophet used as a vehicle for expressing the messages he received from God. Because of the obscurity thence arising the Hebrews were not allowed to read *Ezechiel* till they had attained the age of thirty.[2] Josephus says that Ezechiel "was the first person that wrote," a somewhat enigmatic statement; he adds that "he left behind him in writing two books"[3] where we may detect perhaps an allusion to the two distinct sections into which our present book falls *viz.*, i-xxxix and xl-xlviii. Josephus is also at pains to show that Jeremias and Ezechiel are not in conflict in their prophecies about the captivity of Sedecias, Ezech. xii. 13.[4]

As in the case of the prophecies of Jeremias, we cannot follow Ezechiel's thought unless we keep before our eyes the figures of the "Princes of Juda" at the time:

[1] For the Temple of Ezechiel see Perrot et Chipiez, *Le Temple de Jérusalem et la Maison du Bois-Liban restitués d'après Ezéchiel*, 1899; also H. Sully, *The Temple of Ezechiel's Prophecy*, 1887 and 1921, *cf. Expository Times*, February, 1923.

[2] St. Jerome, *Prol.* to his *Commentary*, *P.L.* xxv. 17, where he adds that the same applied to the *Canticle of Canticles* and to the earlier chapters of *Genesis*, *cp. Ep.* liii. 8.

[3] *Ant.* X. v. 1.

[4] *Ibid.* X. vii. 2, viii. 2.

Josias,
d. B.C. 609

Joachaz	**Joachim**	**Sedecias**
reigned three months, 609 (Ezech. xix. 4)	reigned eleven years, 608-597	reigned eleven years, 597-586. In 607/6 he rebelled against Nabuchodonosor, whence the first siege (Ezech. xvii. 18, xix. 5-9)
	Joachin reigned three months, 597 B.C., when he was taken captive to Babylon. Ezechiel's prophecies are dated by his captivity	

THE CHRONOLOGICAL DATA.

i. 2, "the fifth year of the captivity of Joachin," or Jechonias, who reigned for three months in B.C. 597, therefore 593/2.

viii. 1, "in the sixth year," of the same captivity or B.C. 592/1.

xvii. 12-18, threat of captivity by reason of the king's revolt, *cp.* 4 Kings xxiv. 30; Jer. xxiv. 8-10, xxv. 9-14, xxvii. 6-22, xxviii-xxix, against Sedecias.

xx. 1, "the seventh year," B.C. 590/89, *cp.* xxi. 21, of the approaching siege.

xxiv. 1-2, "the ninth year," B.C. 588/7, during the siege.

xxvi. 1, "the eleventh year," B.C. 587/6, corresponding to "the tenth year of Sedecias," Jer. xxxii. 1.

xxix. 1, "the tenth year," B.C. 588/7.

xxix. 17, "the twenty-seventh year," B.C. 571/70, of the siege of Tyre.

xxxi. 1, "the eleventh year," B.C. 588/7.

xxxii. 1, 17, "in the twelfth year," B.C. 587/6.

xxxiii. 21, "the twelfth year of our captivity," B.C. 586,[1] corresponding to "the eleventh year of Sedecias" and "the eighteenth year of Nabuchodonosor," Jer. xxix. 1-2, lii. 29.

xl. 1, "the twenty-fifth year of our captivity" or "fourteen years after the fall of the city," B.C. 573/2.

We must also bear in mind the following dates:

B.C. 628/7. The beginning of Jeremias' ministry.

B.C. 621. The reform under Josias owing to the discovery of the Book of Deuteronomy.

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[1] The Syriac text and some Hebrew copies read "the eleventh year"; it is hard to believe that it took over a year for the news of the capture of the Holy City to reach the exiles. At the same time the dating seems consistent throughout.

B.C. 609/8. Josias was slain at Megiddo and his son Joachaz reigned only three months.

B.C. 609/8-597. Joakim, also son of Josias.

B.C. 606/5. Daniel had been carried into captivity by Nabuchodonosor as the result of an earlier siege, Dan. i. 1-3.

B.C. 597. His son Joachin reigned but three months.

B.C. 597-586. Sedecias, another son of Josias.

B.C. 592. The beginning of Ezechiel's ministry.

B.C. 588-586. Siege and capture of Jerusalem by Nabuchodonosor.

We need not suppose that the state of the exiles was one of servitude; in fact, the reverse seems to have been the case judging by the message sent to them by Jeremias, xxix. 1-7; they certainly had houses of their own, Ezech. iii. 24, xxxiii. 8. The same feature appears in Daniel; he and his companions could, if they had so chosen, have lived in luxury. The allusions to Daniel by Ezechiel are certainly striking; he is classed with Noe and Job as the typical righteous man, xiv. 14, while his wisdom is already proverbial, xxviii. 3. But, though striking, such a knowledge of Daniel is not to be wondered at for he had been a captive in Babylon some fourteen years when Ezechiel began his ministry. How constant was the communication between the exiles and those still left in Jerusalem is evident from Jer. xxix, which indicates among other things that false prophets had apparently met with a cordial reception among the captives, 15-32; but Ezechiel's message to them from the Lord, "I will be a little sanctuary to them in the countries whither they are come," xi. 14-25, as well as his words which suggest that the exiles then in Babylonia were of a higher moral character than those who would shortly be sent thither from Jerusalem, may indicate a change, xiv. 21-23.

"No Prophet is acceptable in his own country" and Ezechiel was no exception to the rule. The ancients of Israel came it is true and sat before him,[1] but his words were "to them as a musical song sung with a sweet and agreeable voice; they hear thy words and do them not."[2]

[1] viii. 1, xiv. 1, xx. 1.

[2] xxxiii. 30-32.

II. The Political Situation.

The political situation at the time is comparatively easy to grasp. Assyria is no more; from its ashes have sprung the now flourishing Neo-Babylonian Empire and the Empire of the Medes and Persians, though these latter are only to reach their full power at a later period when they are to prove the destruction of the Babylonian Empire. The Jews are vassals of Nabuchodonosor II who has taken Joachin to Babylon, and in his stead has set up his uncle Matthanias after changing his name to Sedecias, the "righteousness of God," instead of the "gift of God." But though in a state of vassalage the kingdom still stands and Jerusalem has not been destroyed. For the state of feeling in that city itself we must turn to the prophecies of Jeremias as well as to those of Ezechiel; for the state of mind of the captives in Babylonia Ezechiel is our sole informant. In Jerusalem a spirit of foolish optimism prevailed, viii. 12, ix. 9; in Babylonia a spirit of profound depression, xii. 27, xx. 49, xxxiii. 10, 24, 30-33. Isaias had insisted on the inviolability of Sion, and the destruction of Sennacherib had justified his attitude; hence the inability of the Jews to believe in the coming catastrophe. Yet none save the most foolish optimist should have failed to see that the days of David's city and David's line were numbered. What, then, had become of all the glorious prophecies of Isaias, xl-lxvi? Ezechiel's mission is to show that while God will be faithful in His threats as well as in His promises, and that consequently the city is doomed, yet whereas His threats are for a time, His promises are for eternity; the Davidic line has indeed fallen on evil days, yet: "I will set up one shepherd over them, and he shall feed them, even My servant David," xxxiv. 23. Thus from 592-586 Ezechiel foretold the destruction of the city, though even at this period he insists on the doctrine that a remnant shall be saved, *e.g.* xvii. 22; from the fifth year to the tenth month of the ninth year he foretold the calamity, xxiv. 1; from the tenth month of the twelfth year, xxxiii. 21, he told of the new hope.

III. Divisions and Analysis.

There is a remarkable similarity between the arrangement of the prophecies of Ezechiel and those of Isaias.

i-iii. 22. An introductory portion, with an account of the Prophet's inauguration to his office, *cf.* Isa. i-vi.

iii. 23-xxxix. Preparation for the Messianic salvation, *cf.* Isa. vii-xxxvii

xl-xlviii. Description of the Messianic salvation, *cf.* Isa. xxxviii-lxvi.

The central portion, iii. 23-xxxix, also runs on lines parallel with Isa. vii-xxxvii.

iii. 23-xxiv. 7. Against the Chaldeans, as Isa. vii-xii against the Syrians.

xxv-xxxii. Against the nations, as Isa. xiii-xxvii against the nations.

xxxiii-xxxix. Threats of punishment, mingled with promises of ultimate redemption, as in Isa. xxviii-xxxvii when preparing the nation for the coming of Sennacherib.

Yet the very names of these two Prophets show forth their different rôles : Isaias, "Salvation of the Lord," but Ezechiel, "whom the Lord strengthens."

The book may be divided variously :

(*a*) i-xxiv, up to the siege of Jerusalem.

(*b*) xxv-xlviii, the promise of final redemption.

Or :

(*a*) i-xxxii. Threats of punishment.

(*b*) xxxiii-xlviii. The consolation.

A truer division, one perhaps more in accordance with the Prophet's mind, would be :

(*a*) i-xxxii. The purely prophetic portion.

(*b*) xxxiii-xlviii. The ideal Messianic kingdom.

We can distinguish the following stages in Ezechiel's work as a Prophet :

A. i. He is roused up to his task by a series of visions.

ii. 1-iii. 15. His commission ; he eats the book.

iii. 16-21. Seven days later he is appointed the "watchman" over Israel.

B. iv-vii. Of the fate of the city and the nation.

viii-xi. Of the state of affairs in Jerusalem.

C. xii-xxiv. He denounces the false ideals current.

D. xxv-xxxii. Prophecies against the nations ; these seem to fill the gap caused by the silence imposed on him, xxiv. 27-xxxiii. 22, though some of these prophecies may belong to a later period, *e.g.* xxix. 17, xxxii. 1, 17.

E. xxxiii-xxxix. After the news of the destruction of Jerusalem ; he is again appointed a "watchman" over Israel, xxxiii. 1-20, *cp.* iii. 18 *ff.* He now dwells on the ideal monarchy, xxxiv, the ideal land, xxxv-xxxvi, the ideal people, xxxvii, with a (?) digression on the invasion by the Scythians who shall, for a time only, destroy this ideal.

F. xl-xlviii. The ideal theocracy.

FULLER ANALYSIS.

A. i-xxiv. Preparatory to the fall of the city.

(*a*) i-vii. In the *fifth* year, B.C. 592. i-iii. Introductory, his call, his vision. iv-vii. Symbolical descriptions of the future fall of the city. viii-xix. In the *sixth* year, B.C. 591.

(*b*) viii-xi. He is carried to Jerusalem in spirit; there he witnesses the prevailing idolatry; the Cross, "Tau," is marked upon the foreheads of the elect, ix; his inaugural vision is renewed, x; the punishment of the presumptuous people, yet a remnant shall be saved, xi.

(*c*) xii-xix. He is carried back to Babylonia where he foreshows by symbols the captivity of Sedecias, xii; and argues against the false prophets, xiii; even Noe, Daniel, and Job would not avail by their prayers to save the people because of their idolatry, xiv; the people is likened to a lopped branch from a vine—it is fit for nothing but the fire, xv; their past infidelities are detailed, they make punishment inevitable; yet: "I will remember My covenant with thee in the days of thy youth, and I will establish with thee an everlasting covenant . . . and thou shalt know that I am the Lord," xvi; a parable of the two eagles, Assyria and Egypt, and their treatment of the vine—Israel; but God Himself will replant that same vine, and it shall become a mighty cedar, xvii; the doctrine of sin, each shall bear his own and not that of his father, xviii, *cf.* xxxiii; under the figure of a lioness Juda is depicted; under that of her cubs, Joachaz and Joachin, the former was taken into Egypt, the latter into Babylon, xix.

(*d*) xx-xxiii. The *seventh* year, B.C. 590. xx. What God did for the nation in the past, and the return they made Him; yet despite this: "I will accept of thee for an odour of sweetness . . . and you shall know that I am the Lord when I shall have done well by you for My own Name's sake." xxi. The sword against Juda and against Ammon; the siege of Jerusalem is at hand, yet the instrument of God's wrath, Babylon, shall ultimately be punished. xxii. The princes, the priests, the prophets, and the people, have done ill, therefore: "I will disperse thee among the nations . . ." but ". . . I will possess thee in the sight of the Gentiles and thou shalt know that I am the Lord." xxiii. The sins of Juda and Israel are depicted in striking terms: "you shall bear the sins of your idols, and you shall know that I am the Lord."

(*e*) xxiv-xxv. In the *ninth* year, B.C. 588. Under the figure of a boiling pot the siege is described; Ezechiel's wife dies, he is forbidden to mourn for her; he is forewarned that a fugitive from the siege shall come to him with the tidings, *cf.* xxxiii. 21.

B. xxv-xxxii. Prophecies against the nations.

xxv. Ammon, Moab, Edom, and Philistia shall not rejoice over the fall of Jerusalem, for upon them also the scourge shall come. xxvi-xxviii. In the *eleventh* year, B.C. 587/6. Prophecies against Tyre and Sidon; Juda shall be redeemed. xxix-xxx. 19. In the *tenth* year, B.C. 588/7. The desolation of Egypt, not till after forty years shall it be inhabited, xxix. 17; reference is made to "the *seven and twentieth* year"; Egypt is given to Nabuchodonosor as wages for his service against Tyre as the instrument of Divine wrath; "but a horn shall bud

forth to Israel," xxix. 21. xxx. 20. In the *eleventh* year, B.C. 587/6,[1] the *first* month; further prophecies against Egypt. xxxi. In the *eleventh* year, the *third* month; as the Assyrian fell for his pride, so also shall Egypt be brought low; a vivid description—under the figure of a spreading cedar—of the Assyrian in his greatness, yet "he went down into hell." xxxii. In the *twelfth* year, B.C. 586/5. A further lamentation over Egypt; a picture of Hades; Assyria, Elam, Mosoch, Tubal and Edom are all gathered there with Egypt.

C. xxxiii-xlviii. The consolation.

xxxiii. The Prophet is reminded that he has been set as a *watchman* over Israel, *cf.* iii. 17-21; the doctrine that each man shall bear his own sin is repeated, *cf.* xviii. The promised "fugitive," xxiv. 26-27, arrives "in the *twelfth* year[2] of our captivity, in the tenth month, on the fifth day of the month," xxxiii. 21-22; Ezechiel, with a certain air of triumph, says: "then shall they know that a Prophet hath been among them." The tide has turned, the siege is over, Jerusalem is no more, the vengeance has been taken, it is time to speak of the removal of God's wrath, hence:

xxxiv. A prophecy against the "pastors" of Israel who have failed, but: "I Myself will seek My sheep and will visit them" and "I will raise up for them a bud of renown."

xxv. Let not Edom rejoice in the downfall of Juda, her turn shall come, *cf.* xxv. 8-14.

xxxvi. A prophecy against "*the mountains of Israel*," *cf.* vi. 3; they have been afflicted but: "this is the people of the Lord . . . I will put a new spirit within you." Yet the warning is added: "It is not for your sakes that I will do this . . . be confounded and ashamed at your own ways."

xxxvii. A vision of a *field of dried bones*; the Prophet, by the power of God, causes them to be once more clothed with flesh; so shall it be with Israel, the schism between Juda and Israel shall be healed: "they shall be My people and I will be their God, and *My servant David* shall be king over them."

xxxviii-xxxix. Prophecies against *Gog* and (their territory) *Magog*. Gog probably stands for the *Scythians* who had overrun Armenia and had apparently reached as far as Bethsan in the plain of Esdraelon, *cf.* xxxix. 11, later called Scythopolis. In spite of this scourge: "I will hide My face no more from them, for I have poured out My spirit upon all the house of Israel."

D. xl-xlviii. In the five and twentieth year, B.C. 572,[3] a vision of future glory. An idealized description of the Temple and its courts as they

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[1] Note the date of this chapter which should apparently precede chaps. xxix-xxx. St. Jerome remarks that in Daniel and Ezechiel the historical order is often disarranged; but this seems the only instance in Ezechiel, *on* Dan. vii. 1, *P.L.* xxv. 17.

[2] See note on the chronological table, p. 338.

[3] Since the last date given was the twelfth year, xxxii. 1, thirteen years seem to have passed without any Divine message for the people, but see note on chap. xxiv.

will be in the days of the Messias; also of the land and its boundaries, of the city and its walls: "and the name of the city from that day: *the Lord is there.*"

The foregoing analysis will show how just is the title given to Ezechiel in the Talmud—*the Prophet of the Divine Fidelity.* The aims and ideals of the Prophets are often illustrated by the various titles which they give to God. In Isaias the expression "Holy One of Israel" is most frequent, it embodies the doctrine for which he strove; it never occurs in Ezechiel who insists rather on the *fidelity* of God, "the Lord Jehovah" is his usual formula, "I, Jehovah, have said it"; "Ye shall know that I am the Lord." Again, in Isaias the term "Lord of Hosts" is frequent; but in Ezechiel only in xiv. 11, 14. For in truth God was no longer on the side of the armies of Israel but on those of their enemies. Even the very names of these two Prophets show forth their different rôles: 'Isaias,' "Salvation of the Lord," but 'Ezechiel,' "whom the Lord strengthens."

IV. Notes.

ii. 2. "The spirit entered into me," *cf.* Zach. v. 5, etc., "the Angel that spoke in me."

i. 3. Israel is a "rebellious people," "obstinate," "a provoking house"; these expressions recur throughout the prophecies of Ezechiel, *e.g.* ii. 4, 6, iii. 7, 26, xii. 2, etc.

iii. 15-16. The long intervals between the periods of prophetic activity are very noticeable in the case of Ezechiel, *cf.* 4 Kings iii. 15.

viii. 3. When asking whether Angels can assume bodily appearances St. Thomas lays down the principle that "from the very mode of speech adopted by Holy Scripture we can discover what is meant to be understood as something that actually happened, and what is meant to be understood as prophetic vision. For when some apparition is meant to be taken as a vision there are always added some words expressive of a vision (and he quotes this passage). From which it follows that things which are simply narrated as happening must be equally simply understood as having happened," *De Potentia*, vi. 7.

viii. 3. "The idol of jealousy, to provoke to jealousy." Perhaps a reference to some idol such as that which Manasses set up "in the Temple of the Lord" and thus provoking God to indignation, 4 Kings xxi. 7; *cp.* xxiii. 4-16.

ix. 8. For this doctrine of the remnant that is to be saved—as in Isaias and Jeremias—*cf.* xi. 13, xii. 16, xiv. 22-23.

xi. 17-21. Though not so detailed as in Isaias the doctrine of the redemption of Israel and the world in general is set forth here, *cf.* xvi. 60-63, xx. 34-49, xxxiv, xxxvi, xxxvii, xxxix. 21-29.

xi. 19. The promise of a new spirit, *cf.* xxxvi. 26, Jer. xxxi. 33.

xii. 9. Ezechiel is a mystery to the onlookers, *cf.* xxiv. 19; he is a "sign" to them. xii. 11, but they jeer at him, xii. 27.

xii. 12-13. Sedecias shall not "see" the land because he shall be blinded, 4 Kings xxv. 7.

xiii. Against the false prophets, xiv. 9; *cf.* xxii. 25, 28.

xiv. 7. "The proselytes," better perhaps, "the strangers that dwell." Note their strange mentality: they were idolators yet they came to "consult" the Lord through his Prophet, xiv. 7.

xiv. 14-20. Noe, Daniel and Job, *cf.* xxviii. 3 and notes on p. 342.

xvi. 3, 45. Jerusalem is said to have an Amorite for her father and a Hittite for her mother because of her Canaanite origin here expressed by naming two of the principal members of that stock, *cf.* Gen. xv. 16, Amos ii. 9, Jos. i. 4.

xvii. 2. "A riddle and a parable." All Ezechiel's prophecies at this period are cast in mysterious mould in order to make his hearers think, *cf.* Ps. lxxvii. 2 and Matt. xiii. 34-35. The "eagle" is Nabuchodonosor.

xviii. 25, 29, xxxiii. 20. The apostasy of Israel.

xix. 14. A "lamentation" over Joakim.

xx. The unwearying patience of God with Israel throughout their history.

xx. 1-3. Though the captives scoffed at Ezechiel yet they came to consult him, viii. 1, xiv. 1.

xx. 25. "I gave them statutes that were not good." As St. Jerome points out: "It does not follow that because a thing is not good it is therefore evil (and he illustrates by 1 Cor. vii. 1-3); but God gave to Israel scattered among the heathen 'statutes that were not good,' that is He gave them up to their own thoughts and their own desires to do 'things that were not convenient,' Rom. i. 28."

xx. 29. "What meaneth the High Place to which you go? And the name thereof was called 'High Place' until this day." There is a play upon words here which it is quite impossible to express in English but without which the meaning evades us.

xx. 31. That the Israelites did practise human sacrifice is clear from this and many other places, *e.g.* 4 Kings xvi. 3.

xx. 40. For this picture of the church as set upon a hill, *cf.* Isa. ii. 1-2, 40, Mich. iv. 1-2, Matt. v. 14.

xxi. 6-15. He is to mourn as a sign to them; later on he is not to mourn, xxiv. 16-17.

xxi. 19-23. Nabuchodonosor is depicted as standing at the north of the Dead Sea on the east of Jordan and endeavouring to decide by divination whether he shall go to the left, continuing on the east of the river and so proceed to attack Ammon, or whether he shall go to the right and across the river and so attack Jerusalem.

xxi. 25. The "wicked prince" is Sedecias "whose day is come"; the previous date, xx. 1, is the seventh year of the captivity of Joachin, or B.C. 590.

xxiv. Note the "acted parable" of the boiling pot, *cp.* Jer. i; see too the many symbolical actions performed by Ezechiel, iv. 1-3, 4-8, 9-17, xii. 18, v. 1-17, xii- 3-7, 18.

xxiv. 16-17. Now the Prophet is not to mourn—not even for his wife who had then died.

xxiv. 19. He is a mystery to the onlookers; his symbolic actions would thus seem to have been literally performed, *cf.* verse 24, he is "to be a sign" to the people.

xxiv. 26. The promise that a fugitive from the siege should one day

arrive with the news of the fall of Jerusalem. From now till the arrival of the fugitive he is to be silent, *cf.* xxxiii. 22.

xxiv. On the order followed note St. Jerome's words: "From the twelfth year, the tenth month to the twenty-fifth year, xl. 1, no year is mentioned nor any time signified, but simply 'the word of the Lord came to me . . . against this or that.' Whence we are to conclude that all the things said during those thirteen years were said at different times, but not at definite intervals from one another," on xxxiv. 1, *P.L.* xxv. 328.

xxvi-xxviii. Prophecies against Tyre and Sidon, *cf.* Isa. xxiii. If up to now Ezechiel has been somewhat monotonous, if there has been a certain sameness in his denunciations with their perpetually recurrent phrases, the same cannot be said of the following chapters: xxvi-xxxvii. If any proof were wanted of the high degree of education he possessed it would readily be found in his marvellous picture of the wealth and trade of Tyre with her exports and imports to and from all parts of the known world.

xxvi. 6 *ff.* This story of a siege of Tyre by Nabuchodonosor was flouted in St. Jerome's day by men who said they had read the Greek and Phœnician histories which said nothing about it; yet, says St. Jerome, "we can prove that many things are narrated in the Bible which do not occur in Greek histories; we cannot accept the authority of men whose perfidious lies we abhor."

xxviii. The similarity to Isa. xiv should be noted, *cf.* xxxi. 18-32.

xxix. 18. On this dating St. Jerome remarks that we are not to look for historical order in *Jeremias* or *Ezechiel* or in the *Psalms*, so too on xxx. 29; *cp.* xxxii. 1, 17, xxxiii. 21.

xxix. 12-14, 19, xxx. 10 *ff.* Egypt was conquered by Nabuchodonosor and lay under Babylonian power for forty years; later, too, the Persians under Cambyses conquered her.

xxix. 21. "A horn shall bud," *cf.* Jer. xxiii. 5.

xxx. "Here we should note that in the Prophets the historical order is never observed, at least only in some, not in all places. For they are not narrating the past but foretelling the future according as the Holy Spirit willed. But in the historical books, as for example in the five books of Moses, in Josue, Judges, Ruth and Esther, Samuel and Kings, Chronicles, Esdras and Nehemias, we never find the historical order inverted," St. Jerome *on* Ezech. xxx, *P.L.* xxv. 296.

xxx. 15-16. "Alexandria" should be Thebes, as in the Septuagint.

xxxi. A picture of what Assyria *had* been, for Ninive had fallen in B.C. 612.

xxxiii. 21. The arrival of the promised fugitive from Jerusalem, *cf.* xxiv. 26, in "the twelfth year of the captivity."

xxxiii. 32-33. Once more Ezechiel's words are to his hearers but "a song sung with a sweet and musical voice," *cf.* xii. 9, 27, xxiv. 19.

xxxiv. 11-17. The promise of Christ as the "Prince of Pastors," *cf.* John x. 1-16, Heb. xiii. 20, 1 Pet. ii. 25, v. 4, *infra* xxxvii. 24-27; 23-24, "My servant David," xxxvii. 24-28, and verse 30 the reference to "Emmanuel."

xxxvi. 22-23. The Chosen People, in what sense they are so termed, *cf.* verse 32.

xxxvi. 25. The Sacrament of Baptism is foreshadowed.

xxxvii. 16-28. This healing of the schism between Juda and Israel is spiritually fulfilled in the Church "the one ark of salvation" for all; according to St. Jerome it prefigures the final conversion of the Jews, Rom. xi. 11-32.

xxxvii. 1. St. Jerome comments: "in spirit, not in body, but 'without the body,'" *cf.* viii. 3, 2 Cor. xii. 2.

xxxvii. 26. The promise of the outpouring of the Holy Spirit, *cf.* xxxix. 29.

xxxviii-xxxix. Gog, says St. Jerome, is the Goth, *Prol.* to Book XI *on* Ezechiel; elsewhere he speaks of these chapters as foretelling the advent of some nation of the future, *on* Ezech. xxxviii. 17; also, on the authority of Josephus, he identifies Mosoch with the Cappadocians, Tubal with the Iberians or Spaniards, Gomer with the Galatians, Thogorma with the Phrygians; St. Augustine deprecates the notion that Gog and Magog are to be identified with any barbarian people in particular, *De Civ. Dei*, XX. xi. In chap. xxxviii their advent is foretold, in chap. xxxix their destruction. They are generally identified nowadays with the Scythians; Bethsan was called Scythopolis because occupied by them, Jos. xvii. 11, 2 Macc. xii. 30. For recent excavations there see *R.B.* and *P.E.F.*, 1923 onwards. Assurbanipal mentions in his *Annals* "sons of Gog, a chief of the Saka," thus confirming perhaps the identification with the Scythians, *R.P.* ix. 46.

xl. 46. Throughout this description of the ideal Temple it is the descendants of the line of Sadoc who are to minister in the sanctuary, xliii. 19, xliv. 15, xlviii. 11, *cf.* 2 Sam. xv. 14-36, 3 Kings i. 38-42, ii. 27, 2 Paral. xviii. 16, xxiv. 2-6, for the rejection of the line in Abiathar.

xliii. 2. Once more the vision of the Cherubim.

xliii. 15-16. "Ariel," *cf.* Isa. xxix. 2 for this mysterious word which St. Jerome interprets as "God is my light" though more probably "the mountain of God."

xliii. 19-27. It reads as though this was a personal offering to be made by Ezechiel himself; the Septuagint has it all in the plural, an offering made by the Levitical priesthood in general.

xliv. 1-4, and throughout the next two chapters, the ideal prince rather than the Messias.

xliv. 10-14. The apostate Levites are to be replaced by the descendants of Sadoc, see above, xl. 46.

xliv. 16-31. A repetition of the Mosaic ritual for the priestly service.

xlviii. 25. The prophecy fittingly concludes with "Emmauel," *cf.* Isa. vii. 14.

V. The Style of Ezechiel.

Certain expressions occur very frequently, hence there is a certain sameness and monotony; with hammer-like insistency he repeats his words and his figures of speech till they ring in our ears even as they must have rung in the ears of his fellow-captives; thus the expression "son of man"

occurs nearly a hundred times. No other Prophet has made such use of symbol as Ezechiel. Both Jeremias and, in a lesser degree, Isaias, performed certain symbolical actions with a view to driving home their teaching, but Ezechiel is told to turn nearly every act of his life into a symbol. Many of the commands thus laid upon him must have been revolting to flesh and blood and must have provoked the scorn of those who witnessed them, so that he pathetically cries out, xx. 49, "Ah, ah, ah, O Lord God, they say of me, Doth not this man speak by parables?" He was to wear *bonds*, iii. 25; to be as one *dumb*, iii. 27; to carry on a mimic *siege* of a plan of Jerusalem, iv. 1-3; to *sleep* on his *left* side for a certain number of days, iv. 4-5; and again on his *right* side for a fixed time, iv. 6; to *eat* his food by measure, iv. 9-17; to cut off his *hair* and perform certain symbolical actions with it, v. 1-4; solemnly and publicly to *remove* from his dwelling, and that in a fashion which must have provoked merriment from the bystanders, xii. 3; he was to *eat with haste*, xii. 18; not to *mourn* for his wife—an outrage to Jewish sensibilities, xxiv. 18-27; to signify the reunion between Juda and Israel by joining together two pieces of *stick*, xxxvii. 16-20, etc. There is no adequate reason for regarding these acts as other than realities and as actually performed.[1]

It is the custom to explain the Prophet's transportation to Jerusalem, viii. 3, as being merely "in the spirit," but St. Jerome will have none of this in iii. 14: "the Prophet was carried away, not, as some think, in spirit, but in his very body, as we are told of Habacuc in Dan. xiv according to Theodotion";[2] at the same time on viii. 3 St. Jerome insists that "it was not in the body but in the spirit that he was carried away . . . and made to see the city and the Temple."[3] Yet Phaltias is said to have fallen down dead, xi. 13, when Ezechiel prophesied, almost as though he had heard the prophetic denunciation. On the other hand, the whole scene depicts the elders of Jeru-

[1] For the symbols employed by Ezechiel and for his visions see D. Buzy, *Les Symboles de l'Ancien Testament*, 1923, also in *R.B.*, April and July, 1920; *cp. R.B.*, 1894, p. 586; *Expository Times*, April, 1909, where the vision of the Cherubim is explained as a sight of the aurora!

[2] *On* Ezech. iii. 14, *P.L.* xxv. 38.

[3] *Ibid.* 78-79.

salem as acting all unconscious of any other presence save their own.

Modern writers seem almost unanimous in regarding the symbolic actions as not being really performed, but their reasons are hardly satisfactory. One writer says they could not possibly have been performed in pantomime;[1] but why not? Others argue that since some of them were contemporaneous with other acts they could not have been meant literally, and they instance the case of the Prophet sleeping always on the same side,[2] as though this meant any more than that when he slept he was to sleep on that side, not that he was to remain asleep day and night! For St. Jerome the sleeping on one side for a long period as well as the episode of the dung wherewith he was to cook his food are real and not merely symbolical expressions.[3]

And these symbolical actions had their influence on the Prophet's literary methods: he instinctively cast his prophecies into parabolic form, and some of these *parables* form the most sublime passages in his book, *cf.* xxvi-xxviii, the prophecies against Tyre; also xxxi-xxxii, the laments over Egypt. For other parables *cf.* xv, xvii, xix, xxiv. The wonderful passage where the sword of God's wrath is personified, xxi, will serve as an example of Ezechiel's dramatic power.

VI. Theology of Ezechiel.

From the day of his inaugural vision Isaias was overwhelmed with the "glory" of God, and that word was constantly on his lips. It is the same with Ezechiel: all through the period of his ministry he never forgets the vision by the Chobar, and with him, too, the "glory" is a favourite expression. He dwells upon the omniscience, omnipotence, and omnipresence of God whose decrees are absolute, who is Lord of all the nations, the only God, who does all things for His own name's sake, xx. 9, 14, 22, 44, xxxvi. 21-23, xxxix. 7, xliii. 8. We have already referred to the terms in which the Prophet insists on the

[1] Skinner, *s.v. Ezekiel*, *H.D.B.* 817.
[2] Davidson, *Ezekiel*, Cambridge Bible, xxxvii.
[3] *On* iv. 8, *P.L.* xxv. 47-48.

responsibility of the individual for his own personal sin, xviii and xxxiii. This doctrine is especially noticeable in view of the fact that Ezechiel's prophecies in general are directed against the nation as a whole which is described as "a provoking house," ii. 5-6, xii. 2, etc., since they are obstinate in their sin, iii. 5-7, v. 7, and idolators, vi, viii. 10, xiv. 5-6, xxii. 14, etc.

But side by side with this teaching regarding the enormity of sin and the retribution it will bring there runs all through Ezechiel's prophecies a golden thread of promise for the future: the *restoration* itself is dwelt upon at great length, xxiv. 11-31, xxxvi. 8-15, xxxix. 22-29; the *schism* shall be healed, xxxvii. 16-28; a *new heart* shall be given them, xi. 16-20; a *remnant* shall return, xi. 13, 16, xii. 16, xiv. 22, xvi. 60-63, xvii. 22-24, xx. 40, xxii. 15-16; they are called "*My people*," xi. 20, xiv. 11, xxxvii. 23, xxxviii. 14-15, xxxix. 7; a king of *David's line* is promised them, xxxiv. 23-24, xxxvii. 24-25; there even occurs the peculiarly Isaianic expression "My servant Jacob," xxxviii. 25.

VII. Modern Criticism of the Prophecies.

Critics as a whole have spared the Book of Ezechiel though Holscher sees the hand of the "Redactor" or late editor everywhere. On philological, historical and stylistic grounds a student of the modern American school[1] would hold that the book in its present form was written after 1-2 Kings, after Isa. xiv and subsequent to the completion of the Pentateuch; probably, too, after Aggeus, Zacharias, Abdias, Isa. xiii, xxii, xxxiv, xl-lxvi; possibly after Joel, the Aramaic portions of Daniel and Zach. ix-xiv, but before Ecclesiasticus and the Hebrew portions of Daniel.

VIII. The Greek Text.

The Greek text is peculiar; it omits much of the Hebrew,[2] though often there are reasons for thinking it superior to the existing Massoretic text.[3] In iv. 4-5 the

[1] M. Burrows, *The Literary Relations of Ezekiel*, 1925.
[2] See St. Jerome on i. 22, *P.L.* xxv. 29, *et passim*.
[3] *Cp. The People and the Book*, p. 185.

390 days appears in some MSS. as 190 or even 150.[1] Of one of the omissions St. Jerome remarks that the translators thought well to "pass it over in silence lest it should prove a stumbling-block to those who might think it a contradiction to what had gone before. But in the case of Holy Scripture it is better to translate what we find before us, even though we may not understand it, than to remove something which we do not understand. For on principles like these many other things which we cannot express and which transcend human minds could be eliminated."[2] The limitations of the Greek translators especially appear in geographical passages, *e.g.* xxxviii-xxxix, xlvii. 15-20, xlviii. 1, 28, etc. Sometimes, too, they transliterate instead of translating, and *vice versa*, *e.g.* xxviii. 13, xxx. 17, xxxii. 29-30, where the Hebrew relative אשר is made to stand for Assyria, xxxviii. 2, 13, xxxix. 11, 16. The striking play on the word במה or "high place" is well brought out in the Greek though not in the Latin of xx. 29.[3]

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[1] St. Jerome, *P.L.* xxv. 46, where he points out that the Hebrew, Aquila, Theodotion and Symmachus all agree in reading 390.

[2] On i. 13-14, *P.L.* xxv. 25.

[3] See St. John Thackeray, *J. T.S.*, April, 1903; for the Lucianic text see *R.B.*, July, 1911.

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THE BOOK OF DANIEL

I. The Life and Times of Daniel.
II. Contents and Divisions of the Book.
III. The Prophet's Purpose in the Book.
IV. Historical Data and Chronological Tables, B.C. 626-530; Some Account of the Historical Personages of the Period.
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IX. Bibliography.

I. The Life and Times of Daniel.

"Behold thou art wiser than Daniel! No secret is hid from thee!"
—Ezech. xxviii. 3.

Daniel, דָּנִיֵּאל perhaps "God, (defender) of my right," but דָּנִאֵל in Ezech. xiv. 14, 20, xxviii. 3; he belonged to the royal stock, i. 3, and was carried into captivity in Babylon by Nabuchodonosor after the siege of Jerusalem undertaken by that king in his third year.[1] We are told that the gift of wisdom was marvellously bestowed upon Daniel when a boy on occasion of the trial of Susanna, xiii. 4; as a youth he gave a wonderful example of faith and trust in God when he chose to keep the law even at the risk of losing the king's favour, i. 8-16. Coming to the Babylonian court

[1] 4 Kings xxiv. 1-2 where we are merely told that Joachim rebelled in his third year, and we can only conclude that there ensued a siege and a partial captivity.

about the year 606, he remained there—or at Susa—till the third year of Cyrus or about 536 B.C. The following historical notices concerning him are given: he interpreted Nabuchodonosor's dream—besides repeating the dream which the king had forgotten, ii; as a reward he was made governor over all the provinces of the empire, ii. 48, and had a residence assigned him in the royal palace, ii. 49; in the first year of Balthassar, *c.* 555 B.C., he was vouchsafed a wonderful vision relating to the Seleucidan Empire and the rule of Antiochus Epiphanes, vii; in the third year of the same king, 553, he saw a similar vision relating to the destruction of the Persian Empire at the hands of Alexander the Great, the subsequent rise of the Seleucidan Empire and the rule of Antiochus Epiphanes, viii; he witnessed the fall of Balthassar and the capture of the city by Darius the Mede in 538, v; Darius made him one of the three princes over the one hundred and twenty governors whom he had set over the empire, vi; at the close of this same chapter we read that "Daniel continued[1] in the reign of Darius and in the reign of Cyrus the Persian"; in the first year of this same Darius, 538, Daniel "understood by books" that the close of the seventy years of captivity was at hand, ix; in the third year of Cyrus final revelations were made to him concerning the future troubles of the Seleucidæ and the Ptolemies—the Romans are to come and put an end to the conflict, x-xii.

II. Contents and Divisions of the Book of Daniel.

Though no chronological order is followed in the presentation of events, the book falls naturally into two distinct parts, followed by an appendix.

A. i-vi. God's wondrous doings in the Babylonian court through the instrumentality of Daniel and his friends.

B. vii-xii. The marvels God will work in other empires besides that of Babylon.

C. xiii-xiv. An appendix containing the stories of Susanna and of Bel and the Dragon.

Fuller Analysis.

A. i-vi. The marvels wrought by God in the Persian court.

i. The fidelity of Daniel and his friends to the law; the wisdom divinely bestowed upon them.

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[1] R.V. "prospered."

ii-vi. Five events showing God's power even in the courts of foreign kings.

ii. Nabuchodonosor's dream which he forgets but which Daniel repeats to him and interprets : the Babylonian kingdom and those which were to succeed it are represented under the figure of a statue ; but "a stone cut out of a mountain—without hands," shall destroy them and is itself a symbol of the kingdom which the God of heaven will set up.

iii. Nabuchodonosor sets up a mighty statue and orders all to adore it ; Daniel appears to have been absent from Babylonia at the time, viii. 2, but his three friends are thrown into the furnace for refusing to obey ; they are unharmed and the king sees One in the likeness of "the Son of God" walking with them in the flames ; they sing the canticle *Benedicite* or "Song of the Three Children"; they come out from the furnace at the king's bidding and he publishes a decree forbidding blasphemy of the "Most High God," for "there is no other that can save in this manner."

iv. Nabuchodonosor has another dream which Daniel interprets as signifying that the king will be an outcast from his palace for seven "times" or—presumably—years,[1] as actually comes to pass.

v. The story of Balthassar's great feast, of his profane use of the sacred vessels taken by his father (*sic*) from Jerusalem ; the handwriting appears on the wall and Daniel interprets it ; "that same night" the city was taken and Balthassar slain. "Darius the Mede succeeded to the kingdom, being three score and two years old."[2]

vi. Daniel, promoted by Darius to high office, is accused of praying to his God, contrary to a decree which the king has been induced to pass ; he is thrown into the lions' den but is unharmed, whereupon Darius published a decree almost verbatim the same as that published by Nabuchodonosor, iii. 99-100.

This portion of the book closes with the words : "Now Daniel prospered in the reign of Darius and in the reign of Cyrus the Persian."

B. vii-xii. The *four visions* vouchsafed to Daniel.[3]

vii. In the first year of Balthassar : the vision of four beasts : a lioness, a bear, a leopard, and a terrible beast with ten horns and a little horn in the midst of them ; three horns are plucked out, but the little horn has eyes and a mouth. There follows a vision of "The Ancient of Days" who slays the last-named beast and deprives the other three of power. One "like the son of man" is then brought before the "Ancient of Days" and is invested with "glory and a kingdom." The vision is explained to Daniel but the names of the kingdoms are not given.

viii. A further vision in the third year of Balthassar, in Susa of the province of Elam. A ram from the east is overthrown by a goat from

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[1] For the historical character of chaps. v-vi *cf. J.T.S.*, October, 1915, and *P.E.F.*, April, 1916.

[2] Josephus, *Ant.* X. x. 6.

[3] These visions are not of course a sequel to the foregoing history but fit into it as their framework, *cf.* St. Jerome *on* vii. 1, *P.L.* xxv. 527.

the west. From the single great horn of the goat sprang four other horns, and out of one of them a little horn. This latter prospered and "took away the continual sacrifice." Gabriel explains that the ram signified the kingdom of the Medes and Persians, and the goat the kingdom of the Greeks or Alexander the Great; out of this latter shall spring four kingdoms, and out of one of them "a king of a shameless face."[1]

ix. In the first year of Darius the Mede Daniel sets himself to pray that the period of *seventy years* assigned by Jeremias for the duration of the exile should be brought to an end; Gabriel comes once more and tells him that since he is "a man of desires" his prayer is heard and "seventy weeks are shortened upon thy people"; there follows the mysterious prophecy concerning the time of the coming of the "Saint of Saints."

x-xii. In the third year of Cyrus Daniel is again instructed regarding the future of the kingdoms to spring from the dismembered empire of Alexander; the wars of the Seleucidæ and the Ptolemies are described, and the wickedness of Antiochus Epiphanes is dwelt upon; "but the Romans shall come upon him."

C. xiii-xiv. *The Appendix.*

xiii. The story of Susanna.

xiv. Daniel's destruction of the priests of Bel and of the dragon; he is cast into the lions' den at the instigation of the priests but is unharmed; Habacuc the prophet is taken by an angel into the den to minister to Daniel's needs; Darius publishes a decree which repeats much of what is found in the decrees of Darius, vi. 27, and Nabuchodonosor, iii. 99-100.

The Book of Daniel possesses, in common with *Esdras*, the peculiar feature that large portions of it are written in Aramaic or Chaldaic,[2] while other portions only exist in Greek; thus:

i. 1-ii. 4*a*	=	Hebrew.
ii. 4*b*-iii. 23	=	Aramaic.
iii. 24-90	=	Greek.
iii. 91-vii. 28	=	Aramaic.
viii. 1-xii	=	Hebrew.
xiii-xiv	=	Greek.

Neither pure Hebrew, however, nor pure Aramaic, nor pure Greek, are to be found in the book; the Hebrew has an Aramaic colouring, the Aramaic a Hebrew colouring, while the Greek is distinctly Hebrew in its syntax. The book falls into two parts, the narrative portion and the

[1] For the symbolism see Buzy, *Les Symboles de l'Ancien Testament*, 1923, also *R.B.*, July-October, 1918.

[2] And this change to Aramaic takes place in the middle of the narrative, see Boutflower, *Round about the Book of Daniel*, p. 6.

visionary; but the language is independent of this division, portions, that is, of the narrative are in Hebrew, others are in Aramaic and Greek; the same is the case with the portions devoted to the account of the visions.[1]

III. The Prophet's Purpose.

The order is not chronological. In the visionary portion the first and third year of Balthassar, chaps. vii and viii, precede the first year of Darius the Mede, ix. Similarly, a want of sequence is observable; the second dream, iv. 1, has no introductory note of time, and in verses 13 and 31 there is a remarkable change of gender and person. There are, too, certain repetitions: ii. 48 and iii. 97; ii. 44 and iii. 100, iv. 31, vi. 26, vii. 14, and vii. 27. Some of the expressions have become "household words," v. 27, x. 1, xii. 3.

The Psalter was certainly well known to the author; *cp.* iii. 40 and Ps. xlix; iii. 28-45 and Ps. l; ix. 14 and Ps. cxliv. 13; while the correspondence between Daniel's prayer, ix. 14-19, and parts of *Baruch* is remarkably close.

The analysis given above will show the justice of the Talmudical title given to Daniel, *the Prophet of the Divine Majesty*. It will also show the real character and scope of the book. For the wonders performed and the visions bestowed cover the whole period of the Captivity, and are clearly intended to show that, in the words of Mal. i. 14, "I am a great King . . . and My Name is dreadful among the Gentiles." The Jews in captivity might well be tempted to doubt the power of their God when they saw around them the evidences of wealth and power which the heathen courts displayed. Sion was no more, the Davidic stock had seemingly perished: what hope was there for the exiled people? Hence the twofold division of the book; their God is there—even in the Gentile palace; the present

[1] G. R. Driver, *The People and the Book*, p. 100, holds that the Aramaic of Esdr. iv. 8-23, v. 1—vi. 18 is western or Palestinian Aramaic and older than the Aramaic in Dan. ii. 4—vii. 28; *cf.* S. R. Driver, *L. O. T.*, p. 549, C. C. Torrey, *Notes on the Aramaic Part of Daniel*, 1909, also Wilson, *The Aramaic of the Book of Daniel* in *Biblical and Theological Studies*, New York, 1912, G. R. Driver, *The Aramaic of the Book of Daniel* in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1926, pp. 110-119.

may seem hopeless, but there is the future, and their God has manifested that future to His chosen servant Daniel.

But there are remarkable differences between the prophecies of Daniel and those of his predecessors in the office. The latter had ever regarded Sion as the centre of God's power; but for Daniel the whole world is the scene of God's manifestations of Himself. They had spoken of the Messianic kingdom as to follow immediately upon the restoration from captivity, Daniel points out that there will be intermediate kingdoms, and that "seventy weeks of years" will elapse before the coming of the Holy One—though this period is to be shortened. They had ever regarded the captivity as the last woe; Daniel shows, in the Apocalyptic portion of his book, that there are many woes to be endured before that period of glory which the Messianic kingdom should usher in. They had ever considered the Messias as their special and peculiar property; not so Daniel: the Messias is for the whole world since the whole world is His, as the wonders wrought in Babylon have shown. Once more: Isaias had, in his portrayal of the "Servant of the Lord," seemed to imply that His coming would mean the material glorification of the kingdom of Israel, *cf.* Acts i. 6, but Daniel almost ruthlessly sweeps away such notions when he says: "and there shall be in the temple the *Abomination of Desolation*; and the desolation shall continue even to the consummation and the end," ix. 27.

IV. Historical Data and Chronological Tables.

(*a*) The Historical Data in *Daniel* will show that there is no chronological order observed; they will also serve to indicate some of the problems presented by the book:

i. 1. A siege of Jerusalem by Nabuchodonosor (son of Nabopolassar, 626-604, and at that time Crown Prince) in the third year of Joakim, 609-597, *viz.* 607-606 B.C. The first year of Nabuchodonosor was the fourth of Joakim, Jer. xxv. 1.

ii. 8-iv. From the second to the ninth year of Nabuchodonosor, 605-596 B.C., *cf.* iv. 22, 31.

v. 1-31. In the reign of "Balthassar the king"; he is described as the son of Nabuchodonosor, vers. 2, 11, 13, 18, 22.

v. 31-vi. 28. "Darius the Mede succeeded to the kingdom, being three

score and two years old," and at the close "Daniel abode prosperously under the rule of Darius and under the rule of Cyrus the Persian,"[1] 559-530 B.C.

vii. 1. "In the first year of Balthassar the king of Babylon."

viii. 1. "In the third year of Balthassar the king."

ix. 1-2. "In the first year of Darius the son of Assuerus, of the seed of the Medes, who reigned over the kingdom of the Chaldeans."

x. 1. "In the third year of Cyrus king of the Persians," 534-533 B.C.

xi. 1. "And from the first year of Darius the Mede."

xiii. 65. "And king Astyages was gathered to his fathers and Cyrus the Persian received his kingdom."

The problems are many. Who was Balthassar, son of Nabuchodonosor? Who is the mysterious Darius the Mede? And why is there no mention of Nabonidus, the last king of Babylon? Had we only *Daniel* for this period we should reconstruct the history by saying that the Neo-Babylonian Empire came to an end with the defeat of Balthassar, son of Nabuchodonosor, at the hands of a certain Darius, who established a Median Empire on its ruins, and that this was succeeded by the Persian Empire under Cyrus. But from other historical sources we derive the following scheme for the Neo-Babylonian Empire and its destruction by Cyrus:

Nabopolassar, 626-604 B.C.
Nabuchodonosor, 604-561 B.C.
Evil-Merodach, 561-559 B.C.[2]
Neriglissar, 559-556 B.C.[3]
Labashi-Marduk, 556-555 B.C.
Nabonidus, 555-538 B.C.[4] (Balthassar, his son, seems to have been co-regent with him.)
Cyrus takes possession of Babylon, 536-530 B.C.
Cambyses, 530-521 B.C.
Darius Hystaspes of the Achæmenian branch of the family whence Cyrus sprang, succeeded him, 521-485 B.C.

There seems no room here for "Darius the Mede," while the only Balthassar mentioned is a son of Nabonidus and almost certainly not king.

[1] For this rendering see Gen. vi. 2 and Dan. iii. 31 in Hebrew.

[2] For Evil-Merodach, *cf.* 4 Kings xxvi. 27, Jer. lii. 31.

[3] Neriglissar is mentioned in Jer. xxxix. 3, 13, where his name is unfortunately broken up into Nergal and Sharesar; an inscription describing his building operations is given in *Records of the Past*, v.

[4] For this date see *P.S.B.A.* viii. 142.

(*b*) Chronological Table from 626-530 B.C.

Dates B.C.	*Neo-Babylonian Empire.*	*Palestine.*	*Egypt.* (Dyn. xxvi.)
626-604	Nabopolassar. (Fall of Ninive, 612.)	Josias, 639-608. Jeremias prophesies, 629-586. Joachaz, 609-608. Joachim, 609-597. Daniel prophesies, 606-636.	Psammetichus I, 664-610. Necho II, 610-594.
604-561	Nabuchodonosor. (Destruction of Jerusalem, 586.)	Joachim, 597. Sedecias, 597-586. Ezechiel prophesies, 593/2-565.	Psammetichus II, 594-589 Hophra, 589-570.
561-559	Evil-Merodach.		Aahmes, 570-526.
559-556	Neriglissar.		
556-555	Labashi-Marduk.		
555-538	Nabonidus. Balthassar.		
559-530	Cyrus.[1] (The destruction of Babylon, 536;[2] restoration of the Jews.)[3]		Psammetichus III, 526-525. (Dyn. xxvii, the Persians.) Cambyses, 525-521. Darius, 521-486. Xerxes I, 486-466.

[1] St. Jerome *on* Zach. i. 1.

[2] For the storming of Babylon, see Herodotus, i. 178-189, iii. 154-160.

[3] "To understand the latter portion of Daniel," says St. Jerome, "one has to read a crowd of Greek historians such as Sutorius, Callinicus, Diodorus, Hieronymus, Polybius, Possidonius, Claudius, Theonas and Andronicus, all of whom Porphyry says that he has read. Josephus, too, one must read, as also the authorities he cites; more especially should one read Livy, Pompeius Trogus and Justin," *Prol.* to *Comment.* on Daniel, *P.L.* xxv. 494.

(c) THE PERSIAN EMPIRE, 550-331 B.C.

- ACHÆMENES.
  - Teispes, *c.* 730
    - Cambyses
      - Cyrus
        - Teispes[1]
          - Cyrus, King of Anzan
            - Cambyses
              - Cyrus the Great[4] (the deliverer of the Jews), 559-530
                - Smerdis
                - Cambyses,[6] *d.* 521
          - Ariaramnes[2]
            - Arsames[3]
              - Hystaspes
                - Darius the Great (Hystaspes)[5] (*m.* daughter of Cyrus), 521-485
                  - Xerxes, 485-464[7]
                    - Artaxerxes I (Longimanus), 464-424
                      - Xerxes II, 1 month
                      - Sogdianus, 6 months
                      - Darius Nothus (*m.* Parysatis his sister), 423-404
                        - Cyrus (*d.* 401 in trying to oust Artaxerxes II. from the throne. He was the hero of Xenophon's Anabasis)
                        - (Son)
                          - Darius III (Codomannus), 338-331. The Persian Empire destroyed by Alexander the Great.
                        - Artaxerxes II, 404-358
                          - Artaxerxes III (Ochus), 358-338

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[1] Cylinder Inscription of Cyrus, line 21, *N.S.* v. 166.
[2] *N.S.* iii. 130.
[3] Herodotus, i. 209.
[4] For his genealogy, see *N.S.* v. 151 ; Herodotus i. 95, 130, 214.
[5] Herodotus, i. 209, vii. 2-4.
[6] *Ibid.* 163, 167 ; Herodotus ii. 1-2, iii. 1-38.
[7] *Ibid.* vii. 3.

(*d*) NABUCHODONOSOR, B.C. 604-561, "the hammer of the whole earth," Jer. l. 23, has left us his own portrait in the famous *India House Inscription* with its 619 lines of self-eulogy:

"Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon, the prince exalted, the favourite of Merodach, the pontiff supreme, the beloved of Nebo, the serene, the possessor of wisdom . . . my heart lifted me up, in chief have I regarded it . . . the great ramparts of Babylon I finished . . . king of Babylon, whom Merodach the great Lord for the weal of his city Babylon did call, am I. E-sagila and E-zida like the brilliance of the sun I made shine. The temples of the great gods like day I made bright. I verily am the maintaining king that maketh glad thine heart; the careful servant that maintaineth all thy town . . . from the time that Merodach created me for sovereignty; from the time that Nebo his true son committed his subjects to me, like dear life love I the building of their lodging place. Beside Babylon and Borsippa I did not beautify a city. In Babylon my favourite city which I love."[1]

See, too, an inscription describing the foundation work of the temple of E-zida: "Like as is the platform fixed firmly beneath thee (Nebo) by thy faithful command, let all the disobedient bow down beneath me."[2]

Another inscription on a bronze doorstep might almost be Nabuchodonosor's thanksgiving for recovery from his madness:

"Nebuchadrezzar, king of Babylon, patron of E-sagila and E-zida, eldest son of Nabopolassar, king of Babylon, am I. For Nebo, the supreme Lord, the lengthener of the days of my life, I have built anew E-zida, his house within Borsippa."[3]

(*e*) BALTHASSAR.—St. Jerome, on the authority of Josephus, Xenophon and Pompeius Trogus, says that Balthassar succeeded Labashi-Marduk.[4] He does not say, as does

[1] Translated by J. M. Rodwell in 1875, *Records of the Past*, v. 111 *ff.*; and again, *ib.*, *New Series*, by C. J. Ball, iii. 102 *ff.*

[2] *P.S.B.A.* xxxiv., p. 104.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 105. For this spelling of his name see Jer. xlvi. 2, Ezech. xxvi. 2, and in the inscriptions it is always so spelled. See R. Koldewey, *Excavations at Babylon*, tr., 1914. To those who would treat the whole story of Nabuchodonosor's madness as an allegory of the devil St. Jerome is content to point out that history contains many more incredible things, "besides," he says, "if we so treat it there is a danger lest we should want to treat other things too that we read (in the Bible) as mere shadowy fables," *on* Dan. iv. 1, *P.L.* xxv. 513, *cf.* Eusebius, *De Præparatione Evangelii*, ix. 41; *P.S.B.A.* xxxiv. 3, p. 105.

[4] *On* Dan. v. 1; St. Jerome calls him his son. Fox Talbot long ago maintained that the Balthassar in *Daniel* was a totally different person

Josephus, that the Babylonians knew Balthassar by the name of Naboandelus[1] or Nabonnedus,[2] nor that he was an usurper who reigned seventeen years,[3] as indeed was the case with Nabonidus, B.C. 555-538. Josephus adds that Cyrus the king of Persia and Darius the king of the Medes warred against him, and that on his flight to Borsippa Cyrus demolished the outer defences of Babylon "because it had cost him a great deal of pains to take it."[4]

(*f*) NABONIDUS is never mentioned in *Daniel*, but we know a great deal about him from other sources. His *Sippara Inscription* seems to date from the earlier period of Cyrus' advance, for he says that "Cyrus the king of Anzan, Merodach's little servant, with his small army overthrew the widespread people of the Manda; Istuvegu (Astyages) the king of the Manda he captured."[5] But while proclaiming great devotion to Merodach Nabonidus shows that he was much more interested in Sin the Moon-god, and Shamash the Sun-god, and still more absorbed in archæological investigations, so that he alienated the sympathies of his people.

(*g*) CYRUS.—The Babylonian inscriptions have furnished a so-called *Annalistic Tablet* of Cyrus' conquest of Babylon.[6] This document was evidently compiled by the priestly body which resented Nabonidus' neglect of the gods Nebo and Bel, a fact to which they refer several times.[7] Cyrus is termed king of Anzan and also king of Persia.[8] That he was welcomed is evident: "the 14th day, Sippara was taken without fighting; Nabonidus fled. The 16th day, Gobryas, the governor of the country of Gutium and the

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from the son of Nabonidus known to us from the inscriptions; see his translation of an inscription of Nabonidus, *Records of the Past*, v. 144.

[1] *Ant.* X. xi. 2. Josephus gives as his authorities Berosus, Megasthenes, Diocles and Philostratus.

[2] *C. Apion*, i. 20.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.*; *cp. R.P.* v. 147; *P.E.F.*, April, 1916, *Expos.*, September-October, 1924.

[5] Col. i. 27-29, *Records of the Past, New Series*, v. 169; Strassmaier, S.J., *Die Inschriften von Nabuchodonosor, Nabonidus, Cyrus, Cambyses und Darius*, 1889-1897; *P.S.B.A.* viii. 142, xi. 84.

[6] See Pinches, *T.S.B.A.* vii. 1, 1880, Sayce, *H.C.M.*, also in *Records of the Past, New Series*, v.

[7] Column ii. 6, 11, 20.

[8] Column ii. 1, 15.

soldiers of Cyrus, without fighting, entered Babylon."[1] Cyrus' first step was to establish peace: "peace to the city, peace to all the province of Babylon."[2]

Of even greater importance is the *Cylinder Inscription* of Cyrus of which one copy is in Berlin, another in the British Museum. Cyrus begins by relating the religious neglect of which Nabonidus had been guilty;[3] he then declares his mission in words strangely reminiscent of Isa. xliv. 28-xlv. 3, "He (Merodach) appointed also a prince who should guide aright the wish of the heart whose hand he upholds, even Cyrus the king of the city of Anzan; he has proclaimed his title; for the sovereignty of all the world does he commemorate his name."[4] He repeats the statement that "Merodach made him enter the city without fighting."[5]

(*h*) Assuerus.—More than one Assuerus is mentioned in the Bible. That the Assuerus mentioned in Esdr. iv. 6 is the Xerxes of history is clear from his position after Cyrus and Darius (Hystaspes) and before Artaxerxes. But when Darius the Mede is called "the son of Assuerus," Dan. ix. 1, quite clearly neither Darius Hystaspes nor his son Xerxes can be meant[6] but an Assuerus who, as father of "Darius the Mede"—who in B.C. 538 at the capture of Babylon was "three score and two years old," Dan. v. 31—must have been contemporary with Nabuchodonosor. The Greek text of Tob. xiv. 15 has "And he (Tobias) heard before his death of the destruction of Nineve which Nabuchodonosor and Assuerus had captured." This would identify "Assuerus" with Cyaxares I, B.C. 625-585. It would always be difficult for either Greeks or Hebrews to represent Babylonian and Persian proper names in their own language.

The Assuerus of *Esther* seems clearly identified with the historic Xerxes, B.C. 485-465, son of Darius Hystaspes.

(*i*) The Medes are mentioned in the Table of Nations, Gen. x. 2, as the Madai who are sons of Japheth. In the

[1] Column i reverse, 14-16. [2] *Ib.* 19.

[3] Lines 6-10, though the mutilated inscription does not give the name.

[4] 12. [5] 17 and 24.

[6] It is unworthy to write as does Curtiss, *H.D.B. s.v. Daniel*, p. 553, "A further confusion about Darius appears in ix. 1, where he is called the son of Ahasuerus or Xerxes. Darius I was the father of Xerxes." Even if the author of *Daniel* wrote in the Maccabean period he is not likely to have made so egregious a blunder.

Assyrian inscriptions they first occur in the *Annals* of Shalmaneser II, *c.* B.C. 850;[1] a century later they were conquered by Tiglath-Pileser III, *c.* 743,[2] and after the fall of Samaria Sargon deported the Israelites to "the cities of the Medes."[3] In the time of Esarhaddon, 681-668, we find them in alliance with the Manda who are probably the Cimmerians from a district north of Elam and their capital was Ecbatana,[4] the modern Hamadan. It was these Manda under Astyages who, in league with Nabopolassar the founder of the Neo-Babylonian Empire, captured Nineve in B.C. 612.[5] The Manda and the Medes are not to be identified; more probably they represent a confederation of nomad tribes.[6] According to Herodotus[7] and Ctesias[8] we have the following series of kings of the Medes:

Deioces, *c.* B.C. 710.
Phraortes, *c.* B.C. 647-625.
Cyaxares, *c.* B.C. 625-585, conqueror of Nineve.[9]
Astyages, *c.* 585-550, father-in-law of Cyrus.[10]
Cyaxares II, perhaps the "Darius the Mede" of Dan. v. 31, ix. 1, xi. 1.[11]

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[1] The Black Obelisk, 121, *R.P.* v. 36, also *N.S.* iv. 46.

[2] The Nimroud Inscription, 36-38, *N.S.* v. 124.

[3] 4 Kings xvii. 6, xviii. 11, always "remote Media" in the Inscriptions *e.g.* Annals of Sargon, ii. 2, xiv. 2, *R.P.* vii. 27-28, Sennacherib, Taylor Cylinder, ii. 35-36, etc.

[4] Esdr. vi. 2.

[5] For Astyages see *Annal. Tablet* of Cyrus, ii. 13, *N.S.* v. 165, the Sippara Inscription of Nabonidus, i. and ii. 23, 28-29, *N.S.* v. 169.

[6] See Herodotus, i. 101.

[7] Herodotus, i. 96-130.

[8] See J. Gilmore, *The Persica of Ctesias*, 1888.

[9] Probably the Assuerus of Tob. xiv. 15, see note on.

[10] According to Herodotus, i. 107, Astyages married his daughter Mandane to a Persian named Cambyses who thus became the father of Cyrus.

[11] See Prasek, *Medien und das Haus des Kyxares*, 1890. Boutflower *In and Around the Book of Daniel*, p. 11, following Winckler, regards Darius the Mede as son of Cyrus. St. Jerome calls him "the uncle of Cyrus" and adds that of the Greek historians some regard him as identical with Astyages, others as a son of Astyages, and they say that he is known to the Greeks by another name, *on* Dan. v. 1, κυάξαρεν, and viii. 3, *P.L.* xxv. 518, 535, where he seems to be copying Josephus, *Ant.* X. xi. 4: "he was the son of Astyages and had another name among the Greeks." This "other name" may have been Gobryas, a Greek meta-

V. Notes on the Text.

i. 1. Nabuchodonosor was not then king but only crown-prince. There is no contradiction then when in verse 5 we are told that they were prepared for "three years" while chap. ii opens with "the second year of Nabuchodonosor," that is as actually king. The siege referred to is not of course the final one in which the city was sacked and burned but the earlier one of 4 Kings xxiv. 1-2.

iii. 29. Many in St. Jerome's time regarded the stories preserved in *Daniel* as "impossible," especially those concerning Nabuchodonosor. Hence they elected to treat "Nabuchodonosor" as a metaphor for the devil and referred to such passages as Isa. xiv. 22, Luke x. 18 and Apoc. xii. They argued that no delicately brought up man could possibly have lived with beasts for seven years and that he would certainly have suffered bodily injuries from them; that the kingdom could not have endured seven years without a king; nor, again, could it have been restored to one who had been mad; further, that Chaldean histories are silent on the point though giving many far less important details. Consequently, they argued that "Nabuchodonosor" must here stand for the devil. St. Jerome is content to reply: "This we can in no sense accept lest all that we read should be taken for mere symbols (umbræ) and fables. Moreover since Greek and Roman histories narrate many far more incredible things, *e.g.* the stories of Scylla, the Chimæra, the Hydra, and the Centaurs, of men changed into birds and beasts, trees and flowers, stars and stones, is it incredible that in order to demonstrate God's power and humble the pride of kings this was done by Divine judgment?"

iii. 92. "It is hard to understand," says St. Jerome "how this wicked king could have deserved to see the Son of God," he prefers therefore to follow Symmachus who read "sons of the gods" or the Angels.

iii. 24-90. These verses only occur in the Greek text. It is remarkable that St. Jerome who, in theory at least, refused to regard as canonical anything not to be found in the Hebrew, yet comments on these verses at some length though he apologizes for so doing: "Up to this point we have touched but briefly, and from Theodotion's edition, on a few details in the hymn of praise of the three children, but it is not in the Hebrew; from now on let us keep to the Hebrew verity," *on* iii. 87.

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thesis for Ugbaru, *cf.* the Behistun Inscription of Darius Hystaspes, iv. 18, v, *R.P.* i. 126-128, also the *Annalistic Tablet* of Cyrus, i reverse, 15, 20, 22: "On the 16th day Gobryas, the Governor of the country of Gutium, and the soldiers of Cyrus, without fighting, entered Babylon . . . peace to all the provinces of Babylon did Gobryas his Governor proclaim. Governors in Babylon he appointed," *cp.* Herodotus, iv. 132: "Gobryas, one of the seven who had dethroned the Magus"—one of the pretenders after the death of Cambyses; Herodotus also says that he had a son, vi. 43, and a daughter who married Darius Hystaspes, vii. 2; see *P.E.F.*, April, 1916; *Irish Theol. Quarterly*, January, 1919; *J.T.S.*, 1913, pp. 512-513.

iv. 6. "Those who do not accept this vision as historical must explain who this 'Nabuchodonosor' was who saw the dream, also who Daniel was who interpreted it," St. Jerome *in loco*.

v. 1. "We must remember that this Balthassar was not the son of Nabuchodonosor, as those who read the story generally think." Thus St. Jerome, and he refers to Berosus and Josephus, who follows him, as saying that Nabuchodonosor reigned forty-three years and was succeeded by Evil-Merodach, and he by Labosoardach: "on whose death Balthassar his son, here spoken of by the Bible, became king; and when he too was slain by Darius the king of the Medes—uncle to Cyrus king of the Persians—and by Cyrus the Persian . . . then was the empire of the Chaldeans destroyed. The same account is given by Xenophon in his *Cyropædia*, by Pomponius Trogus and many others. In the Greek histories some call this Darius Astyages; others think he was son of Astyages and say that by the Greeks he was known by another name," St. Jerome *in loco*.

v. 25. The mere words could of course be read by the wise men, the problem was to explain their meaning when thus written on the wall. "Maneh" is the same word as in Luke xix. 13-25 where it is rendered "pound"; here it is used simply as a unit of weight like the shekel and the talent, for its precise value see vol. i (1926), pp. 288-289; "shekel" from the Hebrew root "to weigh out"; "phares," from the same root as "Pharisee" and meaning "to divide" or separate.

v. 30. For prophecies against the Medes, *cf.* Isa. xiii. 7, Jer. li. 28.

v. 30. The statement that "when Cyrus and Darius had won the victory together yet Darius alone succeeded to the kingdom, is in harmony with their age, their relationship and the kingdom; for Darius was sixty-two years old, the kingdom of the Medes was greater than that of the Persians, and the uncle as the elder rightly preceded the nephew on the throne," St. Jerome, *in loco*.

vi. 1. St. Jerome here quotes Josephus as saying that "Darius who was sixty when, with the help of Cyrus' sword, he took Babylon, was the son of Astyages but known by another name amongst the Greeks; he took Daniel with him to Media. . . . Consequently there is no need to feel perplexed when reading that Daniel is spoken of as now in the kingdom of Darius, now in that of Cyrus. . . . What follows took place under the Darius who slew Balthassar."

vi. 28. On this St. Jerome remarks: "Therefore what we read at the close of the first vision, i. 21, 'and Daniel continued even to the first year of king Cyrus' cannot mean the end of his life, for in the last vision, x. 1, we read that 'in the third year of Cyrus . . . a word was revealed to Daniel.' The present passage, then, means that until the first year of Cyrus, who destroyed the Chaldean Empire, Daniel was influential in Chaldea but that then Darius transferred him to the territory of the Medes."

vii. 1. Note this reference to Daniel as actually writing his prophecies, *cf.* xii. 1, 4.

vii. 1. "This and the following section precede historically the two previous ones; for these refer to the first and third year of Balthassar, whereas the preceding section refers to the last year—or rather to the last day—of Balthassar. . . . For in the earlier chapters the historical

order is followed: the marvels wrought under Nabuchodonosor, Balthassar, Darius and Cyrus; in those under discussion are narrated the dreams seen at each specified time; these the Prophet alone knew, for the barbarians they had no significance as signs or revelations; they are only written here so that posterity may remember what had been seen," St. Jerome *on* vii. 1.

vii. 4-5. The three kingdoms are perhaps those of Babylon, Media and Persia.

vii. 6. The four heads represent the four generals of Alexander; Ptolemy, Seleucus, Philip of Macedon and Antigonus divided up the kingdom among them.

vii. 8. The "little horn" is generally taken to be Antichrist.

vii. 13-14. See Acts i. 11, Phil. ii. 6-8.

vii. 28. From here onwards the Chaldaic language is used throughout *Daniel*.

viii. 2. Josephus speaks at length of the tower which Daniel built in Ecbatana, not Susa, he describes it as still standing and served by a Jewish priest, *Ant.* X. xi. 7; see *R.P.* i. 85, vi. 73, 88, *Annals* of Assurbanipal.

Ulai is mentioned by Assurbanipal as a river near Susa into which he threw the corpses of the Elamites he had slain, *R.P.* i. 71, ix. 53; in a list of the rivers of Assyria it (Ula, the River Eulæus) is spoken of as "the water which carries its sand to the sea," *ib.* xi. 150.

viii. 3. St. Jerome interprets the "ram" as Darius the Mede, and the horn "growing up" as Cyrus; but the "ram" in verse 5 he understands of Darius the son of Arsames, while the "goat" is Alexander the Great, and the two horns he breaks are the kingdoms of the Medes and Persians, verse 7.

viii. 8. Similarly the broken horn is Alexander, while the "four horns" will be the four generals who divided his empire, only to be in turn dominated by Antiochus Epiphanes, 9-12, *cf.* 1 Macc. i. 1 11.

viii. 14. The desolation wrought by Antiochus is to last 2,300 days which St. Jerome understands as covering the years between "the one hundred and forty-third" year, that is of the Seleucidan era when Antiochus defiled the Temple, 1 Macc. i. 21, and "the one hundred and forty-eighth" year when Judas cleansed it, 1 Macc. v. 21, *cf.* Josephus, *Ant.* XII. vi-ix.

viii. 15. "He has seen the vision as in a picture or image but he had not grasped its meaning. Not everyone then who sees understands, like reading the Bible with one's eyes but not understanding it with one's mind," St. Jerome, *in loco*.

viii. 26. The Angel told him to seal up the vision "to show that what had been said was obscure, not evident to many who would hear it, nor possible to understand until fulfilled in word and deed," St. Jerome, *in loco*.

viii. 27. Yet had not the Angel already explained it to him? Yes, but "he had heard of those kings, he knew not their names; he had been told of things future, but was still in doubt as to the time of their fulfilment," St. Jerome, *in loco*.

ix. 1. Darius the Mede is here said to be the son of Astyages. If Darius and Cyrus stormed Babylon, B.C. 536, then there would yet

remain years of the captivity to run, or from B.C. 606 when Nabuchodonosor took away the first captives, to B.C. 536.

ix. 2. "By books," *cf.* Jer. xxv. 11, xxix. 10, lii. 29. In accordance with this reference to Jeremias note how the subsequent prayer, 2-20, recalls his language.

ix. 11, 15. References to Deut. xxvii and Exod. xiv. 22. If the book was actually written by Daniel before the close of the sixth century B.C. we have here an allusion to *Deuteronomy* as the work of Moses, just one hundred years after it had, on critical presuppositions, been written. Critical writers also hold that *Exodus* was written in the main during or after the Captivity; but they must either give up their views on the Pentateuch or deny the authenticity and historicity of *Daniel*, as indeed they do.

ix. 23. On these mysterious "weeks of years" St. Jerome's words are practical: "I know that on this point learned men have held very different opinions and that each has set forth what, according to his own individual genius, seemed to him most likely. Since then it is a dangerous thing to pass judgement on the opinions held by the Church's teachers and show a preference for one rather than another, I will simply set down what each has said and leave it to the reader to make his choice." St. Jerome then gives us at great length the opinions of Julius Africanus, Eusebius, Apollinarius, Hippolytus, Clement of Alexandria, Origen and Tertullian; Hesychius, to whom Augustine had sent this Commentary, complains that its sole effect is that "lectorem suspendit"—which is perfectly true (Aug., *Ep.* cxcviii. 7).

xii. Porphyry interpreted all this explicitly of Antiochus Epiphanes and the times of the Maccabees, and only metaphorically of the Resurrection, St. Jerome, *in loco*. For the resurrection *cp.* 2 Macc. vii. and xii. 43 *ff.*

xii. 13. The Hebrew text ceases here; St. Jerome takes the remainder from Theodotion, *P.L.* xxv. 580.

VI. The Precise Character of the Book.

Modern critics are divided regarding the real nature of the Book of Daniel; is it prophecy, or apocalypse, or history?

Apocalyptic literature as such is commonly understood to comprise works which undertake to unveil the remote future. The great example in the Bible is, of course, the "Apocalypse" of St. John, and his work gave rise to a host of imitations. "Apocalypse" seems essentially to mean the manifestation of the future by means of symbols; the Seer never speaks in the person of God as do the Prophets; he is not concerned with the near future but rather with that which is remote; it is his imagination rather than his intel-

lect which is at work.[1] In this latter sense the Prophets sometimes encroach on the rôle of the apocalyptic Seers, but the converse is not the case. Thus we never find Daniel saying: "thus saith the Lord"; he is, of course, divinely illumined[2] for the interpretation of dreams, and the future is unveiled to his gaze; but we do not find in his prophecies those lessons of faith, hope, trust, and repentance for sin, which are so characteristic of Isaias, Jeremias, and Ezechiel; he is rather the "wonder-worker" than the inspired preacher of God's word. This may explain why the Hebrews do not assign his book a place among the Prophets, in their canon it is placed in the third division, among the "Hagiographa" or "Sacred Writings."

But a further question is raised by modern critics. They ask whether *Daniel* is really an apocalypse at all, whether it may not rather be a history of events already past? [3]

(*a*) **Adverse Criticism.**—The first to suggest this was the Neo-Platonist Porphyry, *d.* A.D. 304. He said *Daniel* "was not composed by the person whose name figures in its title but by someone living in Judæa in the days of Antiochus Epiphanes, briefly, that Daniel did not so much foretell the future as narrate the past, and that whereas all that precedes Antiochus is genuine history, what he says of the future must, since he could not know the future, be a lie."[4] St.

[1] See Welch, *Visions of the End*, 1922, the *Introduction*, where a good account of "apocalypse" is given.

[2] The formal Prophets, says St. Thomas, "spoke in the person of the Lord and said to the people 'Thus saith the Lord,' but those who wrote the *Hagiographa* did not do this; in fact many of them generally spoke of things which could be known by human reason, they spoke not in the person of God but in their own persons, yet always with the help of a Divine illumination," *Summa Theol.* 2da-2dæ clxxiv. 2 *ad* 3m.

[3] St. Jerome calls Daniel an "historian" though not thereby implying that his prophecies are "post eventum": "Quartus vero qui et extremus inter quatuor Prophetas, temporum conscius, et totius mundi φιλίστορ," *Ep.* liii. 8.

[4] *Prologue* to *Commentary* on Daniel, *P.L.* xxv. 491. Thus when Porphyry explained vii. 13-14 of Antiochus, St. Jerome naturally asks how he can be understood "as coming in the clouds of heaven," *ib.* 533. So, too, Porphyry explained xi. 21-36 of Antiochus, but "our commentators understand this better and correctly of Antichrist coming at the end of the world," *ib.* 566-570. Similarly on xi. 44 *ff.* where St. Jerome acutely remarks that "even though we could agree that these things were not said of Antichrist but of Antiochus, what does that matter to us who do not

Jerome mentions various writers who had confuted Porphyry, *viz.* Eusebius of Cæsarea, Apollinarius and Methodius, and he himself proceeds to do the same in his commentary. Porphyry repudiated Daniel's authorship of the book on the ground that prophecy was impossible. And the moderns who follow him in repudiating the sixth century date of *Daniel* on various additional grounds are really governed by the same prepossession against Prophecy. Thus

"Although predictions of this sort are nowhere found in the writings of the Prophets of the Old Testament, orthodoxy was long accustomed to take special delight in contemplating predictions which had been so wonderfully fulfilled (*cp.* the case of the name of Cyrus in Isa. xliv. 28). In the present century, however, as the historical sense became quickened, difficulties began to present themselves against assumptions which were contrary to the analogy of the prophetic writings and found their support merely in the dogma of a magical inspiration."[1]

The naiveté of this is delightful: Isa. xl-lxvi and portions of *Daniel* claim to predict the future; but such predictions are impossible; therefore these are not predictions but "prophecy after the event," in other words history. Or: *Daniel* cannot be prophetic because it is a mistake to suppose that there is such a thing in the Bible; nor should you allege the seemingly parallel case of Isa. xl-lxvi because only "orthodoxy" ever held that that was prophetic.

But St. Jerome: "I must insist that no other Prophet has spoken so plainly of Christ. For he not only writes—in common with the other Prophets—that He is to come, but he teaches us at what time He is to come; he gives us the monarchs in their order, he counts up the years

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undertake to prove the coming of Christ and the lies of Antichrist from every passage of Scripture? Grant that these things were said of Antichrist, what has that to do with our religion?" Porphyry, he adds, "says that the man who wrote the book under the name of Daniel lied in order to stir up the souls of his fellow countrymen; as though he could not have known all future history but was merely recounting what had already come to pass," *ib.* 574. "I have set this down at some length," St. Jerome continues, "in order to show up Porphyry's calumnies and how ignorant he was of these things, or rather how he pretended that he did not know them; also in order to show how difficult is the Bible and how prone the most unskilled people are to claim understanding of it without the aid of God's grace and the teaching of those who have gone before them," *ib.* 575.

[1] *Encyclopædia Biblica, s.v. Daniel*, 1006.

and declares beforehand wondrous signs. And since Porphyry saw that all these had been fulfilled, and could not evade the fact that they had been done, he—overwhelmed by the truth of this history—went so far as to invent the calumny that the things which refer to the end of the world under Antichrist were really fulfilled under Antiochus Epiphanes—simply because he detected a certain similarity in some of the events. But Porphyry's onslaught is but proof of the truth. For such is the accuracy of the Prophet's account that unbelievers might well think he was narrating what had already happened rather than foretelling the future."

But modern criticism is quite content to follow Porphyry. Or rather the critics say the same things as Porphyry did because they are "rationalists," that is, their sole guide in studying the Word of God is their unaided human reason which they prefer to faith and tradition. Thus many urge that an impartial examination of the book itself shows that it is to be referred to a very much later period than that of the reigns of Nabuchodonosor, Nabonidus and Cyrus. The arguments alleged are briefly these:

1. The position of the book in the Hebrew canon.

2. The silence of the author of *Ecclesiasticus* regarding the book; had it been known to that writer he would surely have mentioned Daniel in the catalogue of great Seers in chap. xlix.

3. Nor does this most illustrious of all the captives find any place in the history of the Restoration.

4. Certain *historical* details in *Daniel* seem to be irreconcilable with *Kings* and with the history revealed to us in the discoveries made in Babylonia and Assyria of late years; *e.g.*:

(*a*) *A siege of Jerusalem* in the third year of Joachim, i. 1, is not borne out by 4 Kings xxiv-xxv, *cf.* Jer. xxv. 1, 9; xxxvi. 1, 29.

(*b*) The *Chaldeans* are spoken of in *Daniel* as though synonymous with astrologers and "wise men," *cf.* ii. 2, 4, 10, iv. 7, v. 7, 11; the term is never used to designate a nation, iii. 8, v. 30, ix. 1, much less the conquering nation whose king was Nabuchodonosor; they occupy an inferior position and are treated as menials.[1]

(*c*) *Balthazzar* is always spoken of as the king; yet the cuneiform accounts show that he never was king, he was

[1] See Josephus, *Ant.* X. x. 2-3.

the crown-prince—nothing more; moreover, he is always termed "son" of Nabuchodonosor, and this with emphasis, v. 1, 2, 11, 13, 18, 21; moreover, a considerable interval separated him from Nabuchodonosor, he was in fact the son of Nabonidus, a king never mentioned by Daniel though of supreme importance in the story of the fall of the city; probably he was no relation whatever to Nabuchodonosor.

(*d*) Again, Daniel intercalates between the capture of the city and Cyrus' reign a certain *Darius the Mede* of whom we know nothing either from profane history or from the monuments. Thus Kamphausen says:

"We can safely hold it to have been established, as one of the ascertained results of science, that in chap. 7 we are to understand by the fourth beast, the Grecian Empire, by the eleventh horn Antiochus Epiphanes, and by what is related regarding this horn the religious persecution under that king; as also that the author of the book wrote in his reign. . . . To interpret the four kingdoms as denoting those of Babylonia, Medo-Persia, Greece and Rome, seems indeed, by grouping the Medes and Persians under one empire, to offer a series which from an historical point of view, can be more easily accepted than that of Babylonia, Media, Persia and Greece; but this last series alone gives the true sense of the book, which represents the Median kingdom of Darius as being the second of the four world monarchies, and places this as being an intermediate independent link between the Chaldean and the Persian monarchies (*cp.* vi. 1, v. 31, viii. 3, 20, ix. 1) distinguishing it quite plainly from the Persian, which it makes out to be the third. With our perfectly certain knowledge, derived from the cuneiform inscriptions, that there never was any such Median Empire between those of Babylonia and Persia, the authenticity of the Book of Daniel falls to the ground."[1]

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[1] In *E.B. s.v. Daniel*, 1007. The question is disposed of in summary fashion in the *New Commentary*, 1928, pp. 544-545: "The reasons for placing *Daniel* in the middle of the second century B.C. are many, and, as they have independent force, quite convincing." These reasons may be summarized as follows: (*a*) Daniel is not in the prophetic canon of the Hebrews, "this was closed early in the second century, at which time Daniel was presumably not written"; (*b*) it is not mentioned in Jewish literature, not even in Ecclus. xliv-xlix; (*c*) the fact that Josephus mentions Alexander's inspection of the book is to be met by the calm assertion that "as the whole account of the visit is probably an invention his testimony is not of much value"; (*d*) the Aramaic is of a very late type; (*e*) the writer's historical errors, "mistakes and inaccuracies," are many: (i) the reported capture of Jerusalem in the third year of Joakim, i. 2, is not mentioned elsewhere and is exceedingly unlikely; (ii) Balthassar is of course all wrong, so too Darius the Mede "who has no existence in real

Similarly Bevan, *Jerusalem under the High Priests*, pp. 28, 30, 76, 84, etc., takes it for granted that *Daniel* was written as the result of the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes. So too, Welch, *Visions of the End*, 1922, holds that the book, if not actually written under Antiochus, was at least brought into its present shape under him, pp. 40, 64, etc.

It is maintained that an impartial view of these "facts" points to the conclusion that the book was not actually compiled by Daniel but by one who lived at a much later period, a period when the "Chaldeans" had degenerated into a class of soothsayers, when the very name of Nabonidus had been forgotten, when the order of the successive sovereigns was also lost in oblivion. It is further insisted that this view is borne out by an examination of the *language* of the book itself. (*a*) Much of it is Aramaic, and that not of an eastern but of a western and Palestinian type such as we find, for instance, in the Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan and in the inscriptions of Palmyra and of the Nabateans from the third to the second century B.C. (*b*) The Hebrew of *Daniel* is not that of Jeremias, nor even that of Ezechiel who lived in Babylonia at the same time as Daniel; it is rather that of *Esther*, *Ecclesiastes*, and especially *Chronicles*. (*c*) Once more, the vocabulary is largely made up of Persian and Greek words, there are so many of the former that we seem to be living in an age when the Persians and their language were so well known that their vocabulary had passed into the common speech of the surrounding nations. Could a man, it is asked, write thus at the court of the Chaldean king of Babylon in the sixth century? It is claimed too that in the Babylonian contract tablets of the time of Nabuchodonosor there appear to be no traces of Persian words."[1]

history" though the critic allows that "it is difficult to account for the writer's invention of these monarchs"; (iii) the intimate knowledge he betrays of Antiochus Epiphanes must be due to history, not to prophecy.

[1] Thus there are said to be at least a dozen Persian words, *E.B.* 1009, or perhaps fifteen, Driver, *L.O.T.* 4th *ed.* 1892; while it is claimed that the names of the musical instruments in iii. 5-15, *viz.* כתרים, פסנתרין and סמפניה, are simply transliterations respectively of the Greek κίθαρις, ψαλτήριον and συμφωνία, and that "whatever may be the case with κίθαρις, it is impossible that ψαλτήριον and συμφωνία can have reached

(*b*) **In Defence of the Book.**—We have given these arguments in full because, if true, we must take them into account when reading *Daniel*; if false, we must show their falsehood. To begin with, on the supposition that each point was proved, what would follow? In the first place, it has never been a point of Catholic doctrine that *Daniel* was actually written by him, nor even that it was written in the sixth century B.C. It has, however, always been a point of doctrine that it was predictive of the future, Matt. xxiv. 15. Further, the date of Antiochus Epiphanes is 175-164 B.C., in other words, one hundred and fifty years after the overthrow of the Persian Empire by Alexander the Great. Consequently, unless we are to bring down the date of *Daniel* to a period later than this, there is no reason why a book tinged with Persian language and Persian thought should not have been written long before the period of Antiochus and thus contain veritable predictions of the future of that king. Indeed we might fairly argue that the very fact that it is so tinged is proof that it was not written later than the middle of the third century B.C. The only argument which could be brought forward to invalidate this conclusion is the silence of the author of *Ecclesiasticus* noted above. But the catalogue of the Son of Sirach is far from complete, and it is not easy to decide upon what principles he mentions certain names and omits others, why, for example, he mentions Nehemias and omits Esdras.

From one point of view we may at once answer in the negative the question whether *Daniel* is not rather a history of the past than a prophecy of the future, for it is clear that the prophecies in chap. ix regarding the time of Christ's coming would have to be referred to the Christian era even if they are history and not prophecy. But while allowing the force of this some still maintain that it is not so clear that the apocalyptic descriptions of the wars of the Seleucidæ and of the terrible reign of Antiochus Epiphanes are not

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Babylon, *c.* 550 B.C." a statement which is qualified a little further on: "still, if the instruments named were of a primitive kind, such as *κίθαρις* (in Homer), it is just possible that it might be an exception to the rule," Driver, *L.O.T.* pp. 470-471. Kamphausen, too, *E.B.* 1009, maintains that פסנתרין is clearly a Macedonian and therefore late form; see Josephus, *Ant.* VII. xii. 3 on the musical instruments of the Jews.

founded on reminiscences of the past, and are thus not really visions of the future.

No one denies the existence of the historical Daniel.[1] Ezechiel mentions him three times in chap. xiv, a fact which would compel us to allow that, even as early as the beginning of the sixth century B.C., he was already famous as a man illumined by God, *cf.* Ezech. xxviii. 3. Yet it will not therefore follow that the book bearing Daniel's name existed at that early period, indeed it cannot well have done so, since it contains historical details referred to the third year of Cyrus, 536 B.C., vi. 28, x. 1.

Further, is it true that the author of *Daniel* really meant that wedged in between the Babylonian and the Persian Empires there was an independent Median kingdom so that the three formed a series, each succeeding to the other? Josephus certainly did not so understand it, neither does the Bible say it. St. Jerome quotes with approval Josephus' words:

> "When Babylon was taken by Darius, and when he with his kinsman Cyrus, had put an end to the dominion of the Babylonians, he was sixty-two years old. He was the son of Astyages and had another name among the Greeks. Moreover he took Daniel and carried him into Media."[2]

Thus the kingdom of Media was quite apart from the Persian Empire and co-existent with it.

So far, then, even if all the arguments for the late date of *Daniel* were sound they do not compel us to see history in what we have always held to be prophecy; neither do they compel us to qualify assertions which have emanated from the authority of the Church.

Josephus, while following in the main the Biblical narrative as given in *Daniel*, yet had access to other sources of

[1] Though use is made of the fact that Ezechiel spells the name דָּנִאֵל instead of דָּנִיֵּאל as in the Book of Daniel, to suggest that Ezechiel is not referring to the Daniel who lived at the Babylonian court and who was Ezechiel's junior, so Curtiss, *H.D.B. s.v. Daniel*, and Kamphausen, *E.B. s.v. Daniel*, also Binns in the *New Commentary*, 1928, p. 544.

[2] *Ant.* X. xi. 4, *cf.* St. Jerome *on* Dan. vi. 1, *P.L.* xxiv. 523, also *on* ix. 1, *ib.* 539.

information and has given many details which we do not find in the canonical book. Thus he says:

"Now that he is dead Daniel retains a remembrance that will never fail, for the several books that he wrote and left behind him are still read by us till this time; and from them we believe that Daniel conversed with God; for he did not only prophesy of future events as did the other Prophets, but he also determined the time of their accomplishment." After summarizing the visions in chap. viii Josephus adds: "And so it came to pass that our nation suffered these things under Antiochus Epiphanes, according to Daniel's vision and what he wrote many years before they came to pass. . . . All these things did this man leave in writing that such as read his prophecies and see how they have been fulfilled might wonder at the honour wherewith God honoured Daniel."[1]

In all this Josephus sees a wonderful proof of the doctrine of Divine Providence. He also has a glowing account of the visit of Alexander the Great to Jerusalem. He says that he "adored that Name" of God and that when the Book of Daniel was shown him, wherein Daniel declared that one of the Greeks should destroy the empire of the Persians, he supposed that he himself was the person intended."[2]

As regards the language of the book, as also its want of conformity with history as known to us, we must remember that that history is still only partially known to us and that until *Daniel* is *proved* to be "apocalypse" rather than "history" it is our duty to hold by its historical statements, for it itself is as much an historical document as any discovery in the East.

VII. The Greek Additions to the Book of Daniel.

(*a*) The Greek text of chap. iii adds after verse 23, "in the midst of the furnace of burning fire," sixty-eight verses known as the *Benedicite* or the Song of the Three Children.

(*b*) The present Hebrew text closes with chap. xii. 13; but in the Greek and Latin Bibles, chaps. xiii-xiv give the story of Susanna and that of Bel and the Dragon.

(*c*) The Greek text gives also a number of minor

[1] *Ant.* X. xi. 7.

[2] *Ant.* XI. viii. 4-5; the passages shown to Alexander may have been such as Dan. vii. 6, viii. 3-8, 20-24, xi. 3.

additional clauses. Are these portions part of the original book or are they to be classed as "apocryphal" as is done in all Bibles translated solely from the Hebrew or Aramaic text? The Septuagint text—replaced in the Church by that of Theodotion[1]—has all three sets of additions; Theodotion has (*a*) and (*b*),[2] and that he preserved them would seem to prove that he found them in Hebrew or Aramaic, or at least that while correcting the Septuagint and eliminating (*c*) he saw no reason for excising (*a*) and (*b*). Origen warmly defended these additions.

Africanus had written to ask Origen if he really did uphold the genuineness of *Susanna* since he had referred to it in a disputation; Africanus himself regards the story as "a modern forgery"; his reasons are interesting: (*a*) Everywhere else Daniel prophecies by visions and dreams, never — save in this portion — by prophetic ecstasy; (*b*) the play upon words, xiii. 54-55 "a mastich tree" and "cut thee asunder"—not "cut thee in two" as in the Douay—and 58-59 "holm tree" and "saw thee in two," is purely Greek and as meaningless in Hebrew as indeed it is in English. Consequently, Africanus implies, the story was not written originally in Hebrew but in Greek, and is therefore (?) no part of the Bible. Again (*c*) how could the captive Jews pass sentence of death? and especially on their queen if, as Africanus supposes possible, Joachim was the king of that name; (*d*) the section is not in the Hebrew canon; (*e*) the Prophets do not quote one another, yet here we have a quotation "the innocent and just man thou shalt not slay," taken from Ps. xciii. 21 or Jer. xxii. 3 (?).

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[1] "By the decision of the Church's teachers their edition of this volume is rejected and the version by Theodotion is commonly read; it is nearer to the Hebrew and the other (Greek) versions," St. Jerome *on* Dan. iv. 6, *P.L.* xxv. 514. The Septuagint version was so completely suppressed that it only survives in one MS., the *Codex Chisiensis* belonging to Card. Chigi; it is later than the ninth century, and was first published in 1772, again by Cozza in 1877.

[2] Swete, *Introduction to the Bible in Greek*, pp. 261-262, 316. According to Swete, p. 421, Clement of Alexandria uses Thedotion, *Pæd.* ii. 8, iii. 3, *Strom.* I. iv. 21, so too St. Irenæus *Adv. Hær.* V. xxv. 4, St. Cyprian, *De Operibus et Eleemosynis*, 5, whereas St. Justin, *Dial.* 31, uses the Septuagint, see Burkitt, *The Legacy of Israel*, p. 88. In Heb. xi. 33 we have a quotation of Dan. vi. 23 in Theodotion's recension; see *R.B.* January, 1902, p. 142, October, 1904, p. 597, *H.D.B. s.v. Old Latin Versions*, p. 52; also Daubney, *The Three Additions to Daniel*, 1906, where a spirited defence of their historical value is to be found. Josephus paraphrases much of *Daniel*, *Ant.* X. x. 1-4, xi. 7, XII. vii. 6, but makes no mention of these Greek additions.

Africanus seems to have referred also to the *Benedicite* and *Bel and the Dragon*. Origen's answer should be read in full, but we may put it briefly thus:

All three incriminated passages are "found in every Church of Christ in that Greek copy which the Greeks use" though neither the Jews nor Aquila have them.[1] We are not to be surprised at "our copies being much fuller than the Hebrew," and Origen instances cases from *Esther*, *Job*, *Jeremias* and *Exodus*.[2] "Are we therefore," he asks, "to reject as spurious the copies in use in our churches, bid our brethren put away the sacred books current among them, and cajole the Jews into giving us copies that have not been tampered with and are free from errors? Can we imagine that the Providence which has ministered in Sacred Scripture to the upbuilding of all the Churches of Christ has had no thought for those 'bought with a price'?"[3] Origen then protests that nothing would induce him to give credence to any forgery, if only for the reason that it would be suicidal for one engaged, as he was, in controversy with the Jews, if he were to quote unreliable Scriptures.[4] As for Africanus' statement that the plays on words mentioned have no parallel in Hebrew, Origen can only suppose that he has some ground for saying it, for himself he can get no satisfactory explanation from Hebrews he has consulted[5] though they seem acquainted with the story of Susanna.[6] He can only suppose that the Jews eliminated from their Bibles all that could tend to discredit their rulers. But for Christians the rule is the guidance of the Church and we ought not to speak scoffingly, as Origen feels that Africanus has done, of "Scriptures in use in the Church";[7] the same applies to such books as *Judith* and *Tobias*. Finally Africanus had urged that the style of *Susanna* was different; this, says Origen, "I cannot see."[8]

Gaster published in 1894[9] what he acclaimed as the original Aramaic text of the *Benedicite* and the story of *Bel and the Dragon*, though the *Chronicle of Jerahmeel* in which he discovered it only dates from about the tenth century A.D.

The extent to which the Fathers made use of these Deuterocanonical portions is really very remarkable. They were as well aware of the difficulties as any modern critic, as the letter of Africanus and Origen's answer to it shows. Yet St. Irenæus quotes *Susanna*, 52, 56, also *Bel and the Dragon*;[10] Tertullian does the same,[11] while Hippolytus had a treatise, *De Susannæ Historia*; similarly St. Cyprian who uses the *Benedicite* as well as *Bel*.[12]

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[1] *Ad Africanum* 2, *P.G.* xi. 43.
[2] *Ib.* 3-4. [3] *Ib.* 4. [4] *Ib.* 5.
[5] *Ib.* 6 and 12, and *cf.* St. Jerome *on* xiii. 58-59, *P.L.* xxv. 582, 584.
[6] *Ib.* 7-8. [7] *Ib.* 11, *cp. Preface* to the *De Principiis*.
[8] *Ad Africanum* 15.
[9] *P.S.B.A.* November-December, 1894, February, 1895.
[10] *Adv. Hær.* IV. xxvi. 3 and v. 2.
[11] *De Idololatria*, 18, *De Corona* 4. [12] *Ep.* lv. 5-6.

St. Jerome is, as usual, when Books outside the Hebrew Canon are in question, somewhat uncertain: thus he speaks of "Susannæ fabula" and "Belis fabula"[1] though he may be using the word "fabula" in no derogatory sense. And while he comments cursorily on the *Benedicite* he seems to resent it, for he says: "We can make use of these verses at periods when the Church, through the sins of her people, suffers a lack of holy men and teachers well learned in the law of God," but he adds "yet the Church does not receive these."[2] And he concludes with the warning note "So far we have made some slight use of Theodotion's edition in thus dealing with the song and praises of the Three Children, which however are not in the Hebrew; henceforward we shall adhere to the Hebrew truth."[3] When Rufinus assailed him for this Jerome replied that he had rejected the Septuagint version (of *Daniel*) and that he had the authority of the Church for taking instead the edition of Theodotion, also that he had but stated the Jewish objections to the incriminated portions of *Daniel*: "I did not say what I myself thought but what they were wont to say against us."[4]

VIII. The Theological Teaching.

God is termed the "Creator of heaven and earth." xiv. 4; the "God of gods," xi. 26; the "God of heaven," ii, iv, and v; the "Great God," ii. 45-47; the "Living (and Eternal) God," vi. 20, 26; xiii. 3, 42; xiv. 4, 24; He is the "Ancient of Days," vii. 9-22; the "Most High," iv and v; He is the Ruler of all nations, ii. 44, *cf.* iii. 98, and through-

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[1] *Prol.* in Comment. on Daniel, *P.L.* xxv. 492; *cf. Prol.* to his *Comment.* on Habacuc, of Dan. xiv. It is worth noting that St. Augustine quotes Dan. iii. 99-100 as forming part of the liturgy in use both among the Catholics and the Donatists "in sancta solemnitate" or (?) Holy Saturday, *Ep.* cv. 7. Since the Donatists would not have depended on the Council of Hippo, 393, for their canon of the Bible, this part of *Daniel* must have been an accepted portion of the canon before the end of the third century, for the schism dates from A.D. 311.

[2] On Dan. iii. 37, *P.L.* xxv. 510.

[3] *Ib.* 511; yet on Ezech. vi. 9, *P.L.* xxv. 60, he quotes "Susanna" just as though it was a recognized portion of Holy Scripture.

[4] *Adv. Rufin.* ii. 33, *P.L.* xxiii. 455. Commentaries on *Susanna* and the *Benedicite* will be found in Origen, *P.G.* xi. 41-86, in St. Chrysostom, *P.G.* lvi. 589-600; on the *Benedicite* in St. Cyril, *P.G.* lxxvii. 117-118.

out chap. iv. The *Resurrection* is taught in express terms, xii. 2 ; we read of the "Book of Life," xii. 1 ; and the position of the teachers in the Church is emphasized, xii. 3. Sin is to be overcome by almsdeeds, iv. 24 ; abstinence from certain foods is praiseworthy, i. 8.

The *Angelology* of the book is full of interest ; we read of "a watcher[1] and a holy one," iv. 10, 14, 20 ; of "the Angel of the Lord," iii. 49, vi. 22, xiii. 55, 59, xiv. 33 and 38. In the account of Daniel's visions his doctrine concerning the ministry of Angels is most remarkable : Gabriel comes to him to explain the vision, thus preluding his work in the Incarnation ; he is spoken of as "the man Gabriel," x. 16, 18 ; a "Prince of the kingdom of the Persians"—apparently an Angel —is introduced, x. 13, also a "Prince of the Greeks," x. 20, while Michael is termed "your Prince"; hence the view that not only individual men but even whole nations have their appointed guardian Angels.

The most interesting theological point, however, occurs in chap. vii where Daniel sees "*One like the Son of man*" who came in the clouds and was presented to the "Ancient of Days," and received from Him an unending kingdom ; we have here the roots of our Lord's self-chosen title, "the Son of man."

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[1] See the שֹׁמְרִים or "watchers," *Jubilees*, iv. 15, 22, viii. 3, x. 5, *cp.* xv. 27-32, *ed.* Charles and Box, *S.P.C.K.*, 1897, and generally referred to *c.* B.C. 250. See, too, the Angel Raphael in *Tobias*, *Expos.*, January, 1911.

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THE TWELVE MINOR PROPHETS

Introduction.

THE collection of the writings of "The Twelve" always seems to have formed a section apart, thus St. Jerome quotes *Osee* simply as "in duodecim Prophetis.[1] The reason for this is not easy to discover though it may have had some connection with the brevity of these writers. Our modern minds naturally wish these writings had been preserved in their chronological order and not detached from their contemporaries among the Major Prophets. But we forget that at the time the collections were made the dates at which these Prophets wrote would already have been a matter of dispute and we should simply be depending on Rabbinical traditions. It is difficult too for us to avoid the feeling that because the "Twelve" are called "the Minor" Prophets they are therefore of minor importance compared to Isaias, Jeremias and Ezechiel; the notion is absurd yet it persists and all unconsciously affects our judgement at times. Study of the "Twelve" however speedily dissipates any notion that brevity implies simplicity. "Packed within a single volume," says St. Jerome, "they signify something far other than the sound of their words would imply."[2] In fact the number of more or less explicit references to the Messias and His kingdom to be found in their brief pages is out of all proportion to the bulk of the Minor Prophets as compared with their greater brethren.

When we read Isaias and Jeremias we feel that we are walking along historic paths even though the actual history is but hinted at. For these men were in the highest sense diplomats and politicians; their influence on the destinies of their countrymen was immense and they took a prominent

[1] *Adv. Luciferianos*, 5, *P.L.* xxiii. 159.
[2] *Ep.* liii. 8, the whole section should be read.

part in the affairs of the day. Not so the Minor Prophets. With the exception of Aggeus and Zacharias who came forward publicly at a national crisis the rest seem to come out of the desert like the Baptist, deliver their message and disappear. As far as we can see they did not affect the course of Hebrew history. Yet the history is there in the background. It is touched upon, presupposed, never elaborated. It is perhaps this feature more than any other that makes these Prophets so difficult. How many allusions escape us because we cannot place them in their historical surroundings? This is more peculiarly the case with Osee and—in a lesser degree—with Amos.

It is not surprising then that modern critics, having so scanty a material to work upon, have taken liberties with the text, and that, depending solely upon modern critical principles, they assign dates to these writings which are at variance with all traditional views on the subject. We would endorse warmly the words of Van Hoonacker one of the latest as well as one of the most painstaking writers on the Minor Prophets:

"*Nous nous sommes montré très réservé touchant l'attribution que de nombreux critiques croient devoir faire de certaines parties du texte à des auteurs distincts de ceux dont nos livres portent les noms. Non pas qu'en principe on doive tenir le caractère composite de tel ou tel livre de l'Ancien Testament comme un fait littéraire spécialement difficile à admettre. Au contraire, des exemples bien connus seraient plutôt de nature à faire naître, en des esprits enclins à généraliser, une présomption favorable aux vues des critiques dont nous venons de parler. Mais nous craignons fort qu'en bien des cas il ne se commette à cet égard des abus. Il ne faut pas oublier que la constitution même de notre livre des Douze Petits Prophètes suggère de son côté une présomption contre la supposition que des écrits originairement indépendants y auraient été de propos délibéré réunis sous un seul nom d'auteur. Cette présomption résulte du fait que descompositions minuscules, comme p. ex. le livre d'Abdias, ont été insérées et conservées dans le recueil avec leur attribution propre, et cela malgré que le nom de l'auteur ne se trouve mentionné que dans l'inscription. Nous admettons d'ailleurs volontiers que cette considération ne saurait être alléguée contre l'hypothèse d'un développement de second main que tel ou tel livre aurait subi, et qu'il ne faut pas non plus en exagérer la portée*

dans les termes mêmes où nous venons de formuler. Dans tous les cas, en l'absence d'arguments précis, nous préférons nous exposer à nous tromper avec la tradition littéraire, si sujette à caution fut-elle, que nous exposer à nous tromper contre elle."[1]

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For the Messianic Prophecies in Joel, Malachi, Aggeus and Zacharias see *R.B.* January, 1906 ; for the Vulgate text of some Messianic Prophecies, *R.B.* 1895, pp. 648 *ff.* ; and for St. Jerome's treatment of the text, *R.B.* April, 1917. On the nature of Prophecy, *R.B.* October, 1920, pp. 580 *ff.* ; for the Monotheism of the Prophets, *R.B.* January, 1908, pp. 143 *ff.*, and for very different views on the subject see *Expos. Times*, May, 1914, and Gunkel in the *Expositor*, May-July, 1924.

[1] *Les Douze Petits Prophètes*, pp. x-xi, 1908.

THE PROPHECY OF OSEE

I. Introductory.
II. Divisions of the Prophecy.
III. The Theme of the Prophet.
IV. The Date at which it was Written.
V. The State of the Times.
VI. The Style and Characteristics of Osee.
VII. The Theological Teaching.
VIII. References to the Past History.
IX. Modern Critical Views.
X. The Greek Text.
XI. Bibliography.

I. Introductory.

On the concluding words of the prophecy: "Who is wise and shall understand these things?" St. Jerome remarks:

"If he who penned it acknowledges that it is difficult or impossible, what can we do who—with eyes dimmed and bleared with sin—cannot gaze on the brilliance and glory of the sun, save exclaim: 'O the depth of the riches and wisdom of God!'? For who can without Christ's guidance understand what is meant by Jezrael, i. 4, 5, 11, ii. 22, or by his sister 'without mercy,' or by the third brother 'not My people,' or by the adulteress who is 'to sit many days without the law of God,' iii. 3? . . . Again, who is the David to whom the people is to return, whose resurrection is to be on the third day, whose going forth is compared to the dawn? . . . We know indeed that the ways of the Lord are the reading of the Old and the New Testament and the understanding of the Scriptures. But he who would walk along these 'ways' without being converted to the Lord and with the veil still on his heart, the veil that was before the eyes of Moses, he will never find the right path."[1]

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[1] *On* Osee xiv. 10, *P.L.* xxv. 946.

Osee is difficult, says St. Augustine;[1] when disputing with Faustus the Manichee he maintained that the whole prophecy had to be understood in a mystic sense, indeed that it was an insult to the Apostles and Prophets to take them otherwise.[2]

Hosheah, הוֹשֵׁעַ, "salvation," the first name of Josue, Num. xiii. 8, Deut. xxxii. 44. He was apparently from the northern kingdom for he never mentions Jerusalem nor the Temple.

II. Divisions.

i-iii. Introductory; the marriages of Osee.

iv-ix. 9. Israel's sins are reproved and the coming punishment is oretold.

ix. 10-xiv. The penalty is insisted on, yet it shall lead to their ultimate salvation.

This division may stand since it serves to break up the subject-matter. But it is hard to justify it chronologically; in i. 4, the House of Jehu is still standing; in viii. 10, we have a probable reference to the tribute which Menahem paid to Assyria, 4 Kings xv. 19-20. Hence we might distinguish the introductory portion, i-iii, from the body of the prophecy; the former belonging to an earlier period than the latter.

The prophecy is directed throughout against Israel, yet, though Jerusalem is nowhere mentioned, Juda is by no means excluded, her sin and its judgements are dwelt on, iv. 15, v. 5, 10-14, viii. 14, x. 11; but the ultimate redemption is also promised, i. 11, vi. 4, 11; while a glorious tribute is paid to Juda—if the reading can be trusted, in xi. 12.[3]

III. The Theme.

Osee regards Israel as an apostate kingdom; the schism is their bane, iii. 5, v. 4, viii. 4, xiii. 15, xiv. 2, they will

[1] *De Civ. Dei*, XVIII xxviii.

[2] *Contra Faustum*, xxii. 89.

[3] St. Jerome seems to understand "Israel" as referring to the whole nation, on viii. 2, for he explains it of the coming of Nabuchodonosor, *P.L.* xxv. 883, so too on x. 9; but the whole prophecy is applied by him "tropologice" to heretics and schismatics.

not return to God, v. 4, 6, 15, vi. 1, vii. 7, 10, viii. 2, x. 12, xiv. 2-4 ; they have given themselves up to the worship of the calves, iii. 1, iv. 14, viii. 5, x. 5, xi. 2, xii. 11, xiii. 2 ; this is Baal-worship, ii, xi. 2, xiii. 1. But God yearns as a father over His erring children, so that the whole prophecy is a constant reminder of former mercies, ii. 8, ix. 10, xii. 13, which should surely have prevented them from apostatizing, yet, in spite of their rejection of them, these mercies shall be offered to them once more. Herein lies the peculiarly pathetic character of the prophecies of Osee. This note is struck in the opening chapters which tell us of the Prophet's unhappy marriage first with an abandoned woman, then with an adulteress; so has Israel been unfaithful to God, yet will He espouse her to Himself; but though He thus espouses her He will yet shut her up for awhile to purify her, chap. iii.

IV. The Date of the Prophecies of Osee.

In the opening verse Osee is said to have prophesied in the days of Ozias, Joatham, Achaz, Ezechias, kings of Juda, and in the "days of Jeroboam the son of Joas king of Israel." According to the chronology now generally received on the evidence derived from Assyrian monuments these kings reigned as follows :

Juda.	*Israel.*
Ozias, 791-740 (808-757).[1]	Jeroboam II, 787-746 (823-782).
	Zacharias, 746-745 (782-781).
	Sellum, 745 (781).
	Menahem, 745-735 (781-771).
Joatham, 740-735 (757-742).	
Achaz, 735-727 (742-726).	Phaceia, 735-734.
	Phacee, 734-732.
Ezechias, 727-698.	Osee, 732-722

Hence the prophetic activity of Osee must at the very least have covered the period, B.C. 746-727 ; even if we extend this and call it 750-720 we shall only be demanding a period of thirty years. This however is important for it will mean that Osee would have witnessed the incursion of Tiglath-Pileser III in B.C. 745 and also the destruction

[1] The Ussherian years are in brackets.

of Samaria by Shalmaneser V and Sargon in 722, 4 Kings xv. 19. But the tendency nowadays is to see in the prophecies of Osee nothing later than the days of Tiglath-Pileser III, 745-727, indeed nothing later than the reign of Menahem in Samaria, 745-735. Hence it is maintained that the names of Achaz and Ezechias have wrongly crept into the title. St. Jerome however, while regarding Osee as "the first of the Prophets,"[1] also maintains that he prophesied before and after the fall of Samaria in B.C. 722.[2] Against this it is urged that whereas Tiglath-Pileser subdued Galaad and Galilee in his expedition against Phacee in B.C. 734, these districts are represented by Osee as still forming an integral part of the kingdom, v. 1, vi. 8-9, xii. 11. Further, the references to the "passing" of Israel's king, x. 3, 7, xi. 1, xiii. 9-11, are, it is supposed, not to the final destruction of Israel in 722 by Sargon but to the events under Zacharias and Sellum, B.C. 746-745, for with Zacharias the House of Jehu came to an end, *cf.* vii. 3-7, and i. 4 "the blood of Jezrahel," 4 Kings ix. 15-37; nor, so it is maintained, is there any reference in *Osee* to the alliance of Phacee and Syria against Achaz as depicted in 4 Kings xvi. 5, Isa. vii. 1-9. Similarly the allusions to tribute being paid to Assyria, viii. 9, x. 6, are to be understood of the days of Menahem, 4 Kings xv. 19-20.

V. The State of the Times as depicted in Osee.

The prosperous and successful reign of Jeroboam II had begotten luxury with its accompanying vices, with the result that the moral state of the country as depicted by Osee is sad in the extreme: priests and people alike have gone astray;[3] the Prophets are in disrepute;[4] there is a most unhealthy prosperity;[5] and with the decay of morals[6] a deplorable decadence has set in.[7]

Men looked for the good things of this world and forgot their Giver, ii. 5, 8, 9, vii. 14, ix. 2, xiv. 8. The calf-worship, with the schism of which it was the symbol, had

[1] *On* Osee i. 1, *P.L.* xxv. 822.
[2] *Ib.* 821.
[3] iv. 4-9, v. 1-2.
[4] iv. 4 *ff.*, v. 1, 11, ix. 7-8, xii. 15 *ff.*
[5] ii. 10 *ff.*, x. 1, 11, xii. 9.
[6] iv. 11, x. 1.
[7] iv. 1-4, vi. 8, vii. 1.

alienated men from "the Lord their God and from David their king," iii. 5; priests and Prophets had alike gone astray, iv. 6, v. 1-2, vi. 9, ix. 7, altars were set up everywhere, iv. 4, viii. 11, 14, x. 1-2, xii. 11; while the moral tone of the people had suffered in proportion, iv. 1-2. And if the moral atmosphere was bad the political one was worse. King after king had been deposed; there was no stability of government; men were divided as to the advisability of throwing in their lot with Assyria or with Egypt, v. 13, vii. 11, viii. 9, ix. 3, x. 6, xi. 5, etc. The result was hopeless confusion; in the end, says the Prophet, their calf "shall be carried into Assyria, a present to the avenging king," x. 6, xi. 5.

VI. Style and Characteristics of the Prophecy.

As St. Jerome remarked long ago, Osee's style is abrupt, *commaticus*. His sentences are short and pithy, and the thought is often so condensed that it becomes difficult to follow the drift of the author. He is the lyric poet of the Bible, chap. xiv. We have already referred to the pathos of his style, xi. 3, 4, 8-12, xiii. 4-5. His similes are abundant and striking, *cf.* v. 12, 14, vi. 3-5, vii. 6, 8, 11, 12, 16, ix. 11, x. 4, xiii. 3, 7, xiv. 6-9; many of his expressions have become proverbial, ii. 14, iv. 9, 11, vi. 6, viii. 7, xi. 4, xiii. 9; and others are familiar to us from the New Testament quotations of them, vi. 8, xiii. 11. He is fond, too, of playing upon words and names, i. 5, 6, 9, ii. 16, etc.; see, too, his use of the term "Bethaven," or "House of Evil," for Bethel, "House of God." The tenderness which prevails throughout is shown by his frequent use of the word *chesed*, signifying "mercy," iv. 1, vi. 6, x. 12, xii. 7, ii. 21.

Osee betrays his intimate knowledge and love of his country at every turn. Gilead and Tabor,[1] Gabba[2] and Galgal,[3] Jezreel,[4] Rama,[5] Sichem[6] and Bethel,[7] he seems to know them all. How often he mentions the

[1] v. 1, vi. 8, xii. 4. [2] v. 8, ix. 9, x. 9. [3] iv. 15, ix. 15, x. 9.
[4] i. 4, 5, 11, ii. 22. [5] v. 8. [6] vi. 9.
[7] iv. 15, v. 8, x. 5, 8, 15, xii. 2.

animals,[1] the birds,[2] the hunter's snares,[3] the cattle,[4] their yokes[5] and their toil at the plough?[6] It is the same with the fruits of the earth:[7] the corn, the figs,[8] the furrows in the soil,[9] the poppies,[10] the seasons of the year.[11]

VII. The Theological Teaching.

God is love, ii. 18, vii. 15, ix. 10, xi. 1, 3-4, 8, xiv. 4. He is also the Redeemer, i. 10-11, xi. 8-11. He is also "the Holy One," xi. 9; "the Lord God of Hosts," xii. 5; the very land is His, ix. 3-4. But, though the term is not used, God, for Osee, is always "the Father," we see this particularly in the many passages which set forth the sweet compulsions of the Divine mercy, *e.g.* ii. 6-24. He is also the Redeemer, i. 10-11, xi. 8-11, etc. In the moral order, Osee's teaching is the same as that of Amos, he condemns false material ideas of the value of sacrifice, viii. 13, ix. 4; note the awful reprobation in ix. 13-17.

Osee knows of a hereditary priesthood;[12] he supposes the existence of a covenant between Jehovah and Israel;[13] Israel has a written law[14] and their priests fail in their duty to explain it to the people;[15] he is familiar with the "holocausts" and "sacrifices";[16] but here again the worship of God is neglected;[17] his attitude towards sacrifices to Jehovah in the northern kingdom is hard to determine, for while he supposes their legality in Palestine it is not clear whether he is referring to the south or the north;[18] but he is emphatic on the true nature of sacrifice and its acceptability to Jehovah.[19]

The Marriages of Osee.—"In explaining any of the Prophets we need the approach of the Holy Spirit . . . how much more in trying

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[1] v. 14, vi. 1, xi. 10, xiii. 7-8.
[2] vii. 11, x. 11, xi. 11.
[3] v. 1-2, vii. 12, ix. 9.
[4] iv. 15, ix. 15.
[5] xi. 4.
[6] x. 11.
[7] ix. 1, xiii. 3.
[8] ix. 10, x. 1.
[9] x. 4, xii. 12.
[10] ix. 6, x. 8, xiii. 15.
[11] vi. 3, x. 12.
[12] iv. 6.
[13] iv. 12, v. 7, vi. 7, 10, viii. 1, ix. 1.
[14] viii. 12.
[15] iv. 6.
[16] vi. 6.
[17] v. 6, viii. 11, xii. 12.
[18] ix. 3, note "the Lord's land"; but *cf.* viii. 11, x. 1.
[19] v. 6, vi. 4, 6, viii. 13, ix. 4, xiv. 2-3.

to explain Osee? Who is not scandalized at the very outset? Who does not exclaim: What? Osee, the first of all the Prophets is bidden to take a harlot for a wife and he does not say nay! He does not pretend unwillingness so as at least to seem unwilling to do a base thing; but he gladly fulfils the command as though he had always wanted it, as though he had long groaned under the yoke of chastity!" St. Jerome, *Prol.* to Commentary on Osee, *P.L.* xxv. 916.

These mysterious doings constitute one of the gravest exegetical problems in the Bible. Did God really command Osee to break His own law? St. Jerome speaks of him as taking a harlot to wife "gladly." Yet at other times he seems to regard the two women as purely figurative and compares them to Oolla and Ooliba in Ezech. xxiii, or to the two women seen by Zacharias in his mysterious vision, Zach. v. 9;[1] he says again: "Ergo et meretrix ista mulier, et alia adultera mulier, quæ aut prophetæ jungebantur, aut servabantur a propheta, non turpem stupri conjunctionem, sed sacramenta indicant futurorum,"[2] and he instances the command to Ezechiel to sleep on one side for so many days, also Jeremias' visit to the Euphrates with the loin-cloth. Once more, Jasub and Emmanuel are no more the actual sons of Isaias than Osee's wives were harlots—a notion which he derides as "impossible."[3] Yet we also find him saying of Osee "Non solum meretrici sed etiam adulteræ copulatur."[4]

St. Thomas seems to regard the whole as literally true: "Osee committed neither fornication nor adultery for he went to one who was his by the Divine command of Him who is the Author of the institution of matrimony."[5] Yet he also speaks of it as an act "quod tamen ad litteram plures exponunt."[6]

Modern writers are divided. Some regard it as a genuine piece of history, other as pure allegory, others again as a

[1] *On* i. 3, *P.L.* xxv. 824.

[2] *On* i. 8, *ib.* 827-828; so too perhaps St. Augustine when speaking of Samson: "Intravit ad meretricem, Propheta fecit, sacramentum est," *Sermo* ccclxiv. 4.

[3] *On* Isa. viii. 18, *P.L.* xxiv. 122.

[4] *Ep.* cxxiii. 13, *cf.* lxx. 2.

[5] *Summa Theol.* I-II xciv. 5 *ad* 2; c. 3 *ad* 3; II-III x. 4 *ad* 2; cliv. 2 *ad* 2.

[6] *On* Isa. viii.

story based on a substratum of fact. These latter would explain chaps. i and iii as the story of an unhappy marriage and the Prophet's meditations upon it; for the tendency now is to see in these two chapters only one single woman, a real wife who began well but went astray.[1] But this seems opposed to the plain narrative and robs it of its Divine significance.

VIII. References to the Past History of Israel.

Osee is peculiarly rich in such references. Some of them are obscure to us, *e.g.* v. 1, vi. 7-8, vii. 5, ix. 9, 15, xii. 11, for after so many centuries the key has been lost, but it is well to notice this since it affords proof, if such were needed, that the whole story of the Hebrews is not to be found between the covers of the Bible. It is often possible to remove some of the difficulties by a study of the original text. The parallels between the prophecies of Osee and the Mosaic law are numerous; thus *cp.* vi. 9 and 3 Kings xii. 26-33; i. 9 and Exod. iii. 14, xi. 8 and Gen. x. 19, xiv. 2, 8, xix, Deut. xxix. 25, the reference to Adama; ix. 9, x. 9, and Judg. xix-xx; ix. 10, Beelphegor and Num. xxv; ii. 17, Achor and Judg. vii. 24-26; x. 14, Salmana and the story of Gideon, Judg. viii. 5 *ff.*; xii. 2-5, Jacob and the Angel, Gen. xxxiii; xii. 13-14 and Gen. xxviii; xiii. 10 and 1 Sam. viii, etc.

The modern theory is that *Osee* is the parent of *Deuteronomy*, but compare v. 10 and Deut. xix. 14; viii. 7-8 and Deut. xxviii. 33; ix. 11-12 and Deut. xxviii. 41; viii. 1 and Deut. xxviii. 41, etc.

It is possible, as we have seen, that the Prophet wrote subsequent to the fall of Samaria in 722; he may show a certain dependence upon Amos, *cp.* xi. 10 and Amos i. 2, v. 5 and Amos iv. 15, vii. 10 and Amos iv. 11. It is also possible that Isa. i. 23 (Hebrew text) shows an acquaintance with Osee ix. 15, for both have a similar play upon words, though this might be accidental.

[1] See *E.B.* and *H.D.B. s.v. Hosea*, also Peake in *The People and the Book*, pp. 268-270; especially Buzy, *Les Symboles de l'Ancien Testament*, pp. 33-93, also in *R.B.*, July-October, 1916 and 1917.

IX. Modern Criticism.

Modern criticism has not spared *Osee.* Harper, for example, in the *International Critical Commentary* regards much as due to later interpolation arising from a desire to mitigate the Prophet's doctrine of despair; he excises such passages as i. 10-11, ii. 1, 6-7, 14-16, 18-23, while he would sacrifice the whole of chap. xiv on the ground that it belongs to a later period and resembles Amos ix. 8-15. Robertson Smith and Karl Marti go even further, for they would remove from *Osee* as excrescences passages "which bring the prophecies into relation to the southern kingdom, and so supply a painfully felt omission, *e.g.* i. 7, iv. 15, v. 5, 12-14, vi. 4, 11, viii. 14, x. 4, 11, xii. 1-2"; also "those which interrupt, or round off, Hosea's predictions of the coming judgement, with promises of a time of final blessedness (of which, in the view of a later age, every Prophet must of course have known), *e.g.* i. 10-ii. 1, ii. 16-23, v. 15-vi. 3, vi. 11, vii. 1, viii. 5, x. 11, xi. 10, xii. 2, xiv. 1-9."[1]

X. The Greek Text.

The Septuagint text differs from the Hebrew very much in places, *e.g.* xi. 3-4, and the Hebrew text itself is often corrupt, *e.g.* ii. 8, 17, iv. 4, 14, 18-19, v. 2, 6, 7, 11, vi. 7, etc. Osee repeatedly plays on names and words and these are of course unrecognizable in a version, ii. 16-17, 25, viii. 9, xii. 12, xiii. 15.[2]

XI. Bibliography.

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[1] *E.B.*, p. 2122. In many of these incriminated passages it is taken for granted that Juda has been substituted for Israel, *ib.*

[2] See Condamin, S.J., in *R.B.*, July, 1902, pp. 386 *ff.*, *Expositor* January-April, 1924.

THE PROPHECY OF JOEL

I. Divisions and Contents.
II. The Date of the Prophecy.
III. The Theological Teaching.
IV. Bibliography.

יוֹאֵל, *Yoel*, meaning perhaps "Jah (Jehovah) is El (God)." He was probably an inhabitant of the southern kingdom for he makes no mention of the northern tribes, but addresses himself to Juda only, showing a great familiarity with the priests and the sacrifices.

I. Divisions and Contents.

i-ii. 17. A description of an invasion of locusts ; the people must repent since this is a divinely sent plague.

ii. 18-iii. 21. Immediate and remote effects of this repentance :

ii. 18-27. God answers the repentant people ; He will at once make up to them their losses from the locusts.

ii. 28-32. Moreover in Messianic days He will pour out His Spirit upon them and will especially protect those who call upon His Name.

iii. 1-21. Why this calling upon His Name will be necessary, and when.

It has long been disputed whether we are to understand the locusts figuratively or as an historical fact. But since the Prophet declares the Divine answer to the repentant people, ii. 18-19, and, ver. 25, says that God has promised to make good their losses at the hands of the locusts, it seems to follow that the locusts were an historical and real plague. Had they merely prefigured the wrath of God, the answer to the prayers of the people would rather have been a promise that the plague thus predicted should not

be sent. But if the locusts are historical they also prefigure the enemies whom God will assuredly send if penance is not done; and, as is so often the case with the Prophets, there is constant transition from the sign to the thing signified. This may explain such passages as ii. 20, 25, etc., which have led some to see in the locusts only a figure and not a reality.

A striking parallel to this simile from a cloud of locusts is furnished by Sennacherib who describes the Elamite as having

> "Assembled his army in his camp. His chariots and wagons
> He collected. Horses and mares he harnessed to their yokes.
> A vast host of allies he led along with him.
> Then as a mighty swarm of locusts covers the face of the earth,
> In destroying multitudes they rushed against me.
> The dust of their feet like a mighty cloud
> As they drew near to me, the face of heaven darkened before me." [1]

Thus St. Jerome says that the Jews of his day thought that in the time of Joel there actually was a plague of locusts,

> "but, whether this be so or not, under the figure of locusts is depicted the approach of enemies, either the Assyrians and Babylonians who were then actually threatening, or the Medes and Persians who were to come later, or the Macedonians to come still later, or finally the Romans. . . . But the wickedness of the foe is described under the figure of the locusts, then he turns again to the locusts and speaks of them as though they were the enemy; so that as you read of the locusts you reflect on the foe, and as you think of the foe so you return to the locusts"; further on he says "understand the whole τυπικῶς" that is "figuratively." It is noteworthy, apropos of the "senses" of Scripture, that St. Jerome adds "all this has been said, we must realize, under the metaphor of locusts . . . so far we have dealt with the history; let us now pass to its spiritual significance. . . "[2] Metaphor, then, comes under the literal and historical sense.

II. The Date of the Prophecy.

Amos i. 2, begins, and abruptly, with Joel iii. 16; further, he closes with words, ix. 15, taken from Joel iii. 18; in iv. 9, Amos may possibly refer to the failure of the plague of

[1] *Taylor Cylinder*, v. 43 *ff.*, *R.P.* i, pp. 47-48.
[2] *On* i. 5, *P.L.* xxv. 954-955; *cf.* on ii. 1, *ib.* 963.

locusts to bring about a permanent repentance, note that the word for "locust" there used only occurs in Joel i. 4, ii. 25. Similarly Jer. xxv. 30, may be a quotation of either Joel iii. 16, or Amos i. 2. Finally, "The day of the Lord" in Soph. i. 14-15 and Isa. xiii. 6, 10, may perhaps be a reminiscence of Joel i. 15, ii. 10-11.

Since, then, Amos lived in the days of Ozias and Jeroboam II, or *c.* 800 B.C., it would seem to follow that the prophecy of Joel was written before that time.[1] There are, however, certain difficulties in the way of accepting this date, and modern critics have assigned every century from the ninth to the fifth as the date of the prophecy; it is usual nowadays, however, to refer the prophecy to the post-exilic period. For it is argued that in iii. 1-2 there seems to be an allusion to a recent captivity.

Moreover Joel is silent regarding the Ten Tribes; there is no allusion to any king, we seem to be in the presence of a hierarchy only; nor is there any reference to idolatry or to the high places. We must note too the significant reference to "the Greeks" in iii. 6.

But while these arguments are weighty, especially the reference to the captivity, it is questionable whether they can be allowed to outweigh those in favour of an earlier date. For Abdias, Sophonias and Habacuc are equally silent regarding the Ten Tribes. Similarly Jonas, Nahum and Habacuc are silent with regard to a king, though the two former are generally supposed to have lived under the monarchy.

So also with regard to idolatry: Sophonias never mentions it; the high places, too, are only referred to by Osee, Amos and Micheas among the Minor Prophets. The reference to the Greeks is startling, but there is nothing to compel us to see in these Ionians (Javan) the people of classical Athens; Ionians are mentioned in Gen. x. 2, possibly the oldest chapter in the Bible. And the allusion to the Sabeans in the same passage of Joel must be taken into account; they are only elsewhere mentioned in Job i. 15, and Isa. xlv. 29.

[1] "Either very early or post-exilic" says Cameron in *H.D.B.*, *s.v Joel*; and St. Jerome would regard ii. 18-20 as finding its fulfilment in the destruction of Sennacherib, *P.L.* xxv. 1018.

Finally, the prophecy of Joel is exceedingly brief; it is concerned with one solitary occasion, namely a plague of locusts. The only real parallel would be an isolated "burden" of Isaias or Jeremias.

In addition to affinities already indicated between Joel and Amos, Jeremias and Sophonias, there is a remarkable similarity to Ezechiel, see i. 8, 18, ii. 27, iii. 17; according to the early date which we should feel inclined to assign to Joel, Ezechiel would be the borrower.

III. The Theological Teaching.

The main feature in the prophecies of Joel is the insistence on the Final Judgement; to him, iii. 2 and 12, we owe the idea that it will take place in the Valley of Josaphat. His great Messianic prophecy is quoted by St. Peter in his sermon on the Day of Pentecost.

The Theocratic language in ii. 1, 18, 26-27, iii. 2, 16, 17, 21, should be noted; also the frequent references to Sion as a Holy Place. That Joel was, like Amos, a husbandman, has been argued from such passages as i. 17-18, ii. 19-20, 22.

IV. Bibliography.

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THE PROPHECY OF AMOS

"Amos, imperatus sermone, sed non scientia," St. Jerome, *Prol.* to Comment. on Amos.

I. Introductory.
II. The State of Israel in the Time of Amos.
III. Divisions of the Prophecy.
IV. Notes on the Text.
V. Character of the Prophecies and Visions.
VI. Amos and Other Books of the Old Testament.
VII. The Theological Teaching.
VIII. Bibliography.

I. Introductory.

AMOS the Prophet, אמוס, must not be confounded with Amos, more correctly Amots, אמוץ, father of Isaias. He prophesied in the days of Ozias (Azarias), B.C. 808-757 (791-740), and of Jeroboam II in Israel, B.C. 823-782 (790-749), and he dates his call to the prophetic office "two years before the earthquake."[1] He was herdsman of Thecua which lay some six miles south of Bethlehem in the wilderness;[2] he speaks of himself as a "dresser of figs," vii. 14. Though an inhabitant of Juda he was called to prophesy against Israel and more especially against the

[1] St. Jerome says that according to Hebrew tradition an earthquake marked the crime of Azarias when he attempted to offer incense, 2 Paral. xxvi. 16-21, *Prol.* to Comment. on Amos.
[2] *Ibid.*

calf-worship at Bethel. To Juda he only refers in ii. 4-5, vi. 1, ix. 11.

His threats against Gaza, i. 6-7, may well have been fulfilled in Jer. xlvii. 1; the threatened destruction for Israel, vi. 15, may have been later than the expansion of Israel described under Jeroboam II, 4 Kings xiv. 25; while the omission of Gath, i. 6-8, from the list of Philistian towns accords with the apparent reference to its destruction, vi. 2, *cf.* Jer. xlvii which also omits Gath; the city was actually destroyed by Azarias, 2 Paral. xxvi. 6. There was an eclipse February 9, 784 B.C., and another on June 15, 763; possibly we ought to see in viii. 9 an allusion to these as recent events.

II. The State of Israel in the Time of Amos.

The reign of Jeroboam II is passed over in a few verses in 4 Kings xiv. 23-29, but enough is told to enable us to see that his reign marked the height of prosperity for the northern kingdom. This is fully reflected in the prophecies of Amos; the people were rich, and violence and drunkenness were rife, ii. 6-8, iii. 15, iv. 1, v. 11-21, vi. 1, 4, 6, viii. 6; while the natural accompaniment of this luxury was a great oppression of the poor, ii. 6, iii. 10, iv. 1, v. 10-12, vi. 12, viii. 4-6; the poor are "sold for a pair of shoes," ii. 6, viii. 6. According to the opening verse Amos prophesied only under Azarias, B.C. 791-740, and Jeroboam II in Israel, 787-746, and this is borne out by vii. 10-11 where Amasias denounces him to Jeroboam. Thus Amos may have died before the ravages of Tiglath-Pileser III, *c.* 745 B.C., though this would not preclude him from foretelling a captivity in Assyria, v. 27, vi. 7, 15; Assyria had long been known to Israel, for Jehu had paid tribute to Shalmaneser as the Black Obelisk informs us, see notes on 4 Kings x.

III. Divisions.

(*a*) i-ii. Introduction, in which the just punishment of Syria, Philistia, Phœnicia, Idumea, Moab, and Ammon is indicated; the Prophet thus leads up to the punishment of Juda and Israel. He is not concerned with the former and only touches on it slightly; but the sin of Israel

is the climax and the Prophet dwells on God's past mercies and Israel's ingratitude.

(*b*) iii-vi. Three sermons, each beginning with the words "Hear this word"; their burden is respectively the certainty, the necessity, and the severity of the punishment.

(*c*) vii-ix. Five visions. After the first three visions of the locusts, the fire, and the Lord holding a mason's trowel, the Prophet pays his visit of denunciation to the temple at Bethel, vii. 10-17; he is rejected by Amasias the priest, but foretells God's wrath upon him. The three plagues are not really averted, they are merely withheld from complete fulfilment. The two remaining visions are (*a*) of the hook to draw down fruit, signifying the coming destruction of the calf-worship at Dan and Bethel; (*b*) of the Lord standing on the altar, He threatens destruction yet promises ultimate redemption.

IV. Notes.

i. 1. "The earthquake." We are ignorant of the date of this save that it must have taken place in the days of Azarias; Zacharias, xiv. 5, refers to it as a famous historical event.

i. 3. It is only from this passage that we learn of any assault by Syria on the land of Galaad, though of course such things must have been frequent, indeed it is possible to see a reference here to 3 Kings xxii. 3.

i. 5. Cyrene. That the people of Aram (Syria) should go into captivity in the Cyrene of N. Africa is out of the question. The Hebrew has Qir which occurs again in Isa. xxii. 6, Vulgate "paries" "wall," where it is associated with Elam. "The plain of the idol" should be "the valley of Aven or On," in Hebrew "Biqa'ath Aven" where we can recognize the modern Beqa'a or Cœlesyria, and On or Heliopolis, the modern Baalbec.

i. 6. The Philistines of Gaza had presumably sold the Israelites to the people of Edom, and the Phœnicians of Tyre had done the same, ver. 9. The absence of Gath in the list of Philistine towns should be noted, *cp*. vi. 2 and Jer. xlvii.

ii. 1. Perhaps an allusion to the doings described in 4 Kings iii. 6-9, 26.

iii. 2. A most significant statement of the position of all Israel, whether in the kingdom of Juda or in that of Israel, as "the Chosen People."

iii. 6. Note the similar statement about evil, Isa. xlv. 7. St. Thomas is content to remark "auctoritates illæ loquuntur de malo pœnæ, non autem de malo culpæ," *Summa Theol.* I. xlix. ii *ad* 1m. God, that is, is the author of the evil which is punishment not of the evil which is sin, save of course as permitting it to come to pass.

iii. 9. "Azotus," the Septuagint has "Assyria" which constitutes a better parallel with "Egypt."

iii. 12. Perhaps a reference to the league of Syria and Israel, Isa. vii.

iii. 15. For the "houses of ivory" *cf.* Ps. xliv. 9 and 3 Kings xxii. 39.

iv. 1. This is addressed to women, as the Hebrew text shows. Drunkenness seems to have been the besetting sin of the northern kingdom, *cf.* vi. 6, Osee vii. 5, ix. 2, 4, 7, etc.

iv. 3. Armon, the LXX has "the Mount of Rimmon," possibly we should read "Mount Hermon."

iv. 9. This reference to the locusts as a plague already historical may possibly help us to date the prophecy of Joel; but of course plagues of locusts were frequent, *cf.* vii. 1-2.

iv. 10. The implication is that Israel had gone to Egypt for assistance, presumably against Assyria, but we know nothing of this from the narrative in *Kings*.

v. 8. "Arcturus" and "Orion." These are but the guesses, as St. Jerome tells us, of his Hebrew teachers, *P.L.* xxv. 1042.

v. 21-24. God is not repudiating the idea of sacrifices which He Himself had instituted; He is condemning rather the spirit in which they were offered, *cf.* Ps. xlviii.

v. 25-26. Even in the desert of the wanderings Israel had yielded to idolatry, Exod. xxxii, Num. xxv. The details here given are new to us and St. Stephen adds additional ones, Acts vii. 42; he of course was not inspired in his exceedingly condensed and oratorical account of the various apostasies of Israel in the past, but St. Luke was inspired to set down accurately what Stephen had said.

v. 6, 15. "Joseph" as the father of Ephraim and Manasses the chief representatives of the northern kingdom.

vi. 2. "Chalane," Hebrew Calne, *cp.* Gen. x. 10. It may be the Calano of Isa. x. 9, where its destruction by Tiglath-Pileser III is described. In the list of Philistine cities in Amos i the familiar Geth is not named; vi. 2 would seem to show that it was destroyed.

vi. 5. The irony is evident; one would think they fancied they rivalled David in his musical tastes, *cf.* 3 Kings x. 12.

vii. 1. "The king's mowing," apparently alluding to some royal right to the best of the harvest, *cf.* 1 Sam. viii. 15.

vii. 11. Amasias gives the gist of the prophecies of Amos who himself has hardly told us what precisely he had said.

viii. 4-6. Oppression of the poor was a marked feature of life in Israel, *cf.* iii. 9-10, iv. 1, v. 12.

ix. 7. "The Philistines from Cappadocia," Hebrew "from Caphtor" generally understood to be Crete, see Vol. III, *s.v. Philistines*.

ix. 11. Only here, vi. 1 and ii. 4-6, does Amos make direct reference to Juda. As a matter of fact Juda was in a flourishing state at that time under Azarias so that we seem to have here a parallel to Isa. xl-lxvi where he foretells release from a captivity which was as yet in the distant future, in fact one hundred and fifty years removed. Modern criticism maintains that such prophecies are unthinkable since they would be unintelligible to contemporary hearers or readers. But this is to neglect the whole prophetic history of this "Chosen People" which had for centuries been threatened with condign punishment by captivity, *cf.* Deut. xxviii. 35-68; but modern criticism persists in dislocating the history of Israel by misplacing *Deuteronomy*, hence the reigning confusion.

V. Character of the Prophecies and Visions.

Amos was a shepherd and he uses a shepherd's imagery; thus note his agricultural similes, ii. 5, 13, iv. 6, vii. 8, 13, viii. 2, 3, ix. 9, 13, etc.; also his constant references to lions, i. 2, iii. 4, 8, 12, and to the bear, v. 19. But it would be a mistake to regard him as an uneducated man, many of his expressions have passed into household words, *e.g.* ii. 7, iv. 11, 12, viii. 11, etc. The oratorical refrains, too, of chaps. i-ii, iv-v, should be noted. His wide knowledge of Palestine, its peoples and its customs, is most remarkable; the wool trade of Palestine may have taken Amos into contact with many men and made him acquainted with many manners, note his frequent references to Egypt, iii. 9, vi. 5, viii. 8, ix. 5.

VI. Amos and Other Books of the Old Testament.

The prophecy of Amos opens and closes with words taken apparently from Joel, *cp.* i. 2 and Joel iii. 16, ix. 13 and Joel iii. 13. Possibly, then, in iv. 9 we may have a direct allusion to the plague of locusts mentioned by Joel, *cf.* also vii. 1-3.

It is hard to resist the impression that Amos had the Pentateuch before him, *cp.* i. 9 and Num. xxi. 24, Deut. ii. 24; i. 10 and Exod. xiv. 22, Deut. viii. 14; i. 12, the Nazarites and Num. vi. There are striking affinities too with Job and Isaias, *cp.* Amos iv. 13, v. 8, ix. 5 and Job xxxviii. 4, 25, 31, 34-38, also with Isa. xl. 21, xlv. 12, 18, xlviii. 12; *cp.* too ix. 2-3 and Ps. cxxxviii. 8.

In ii. 4, note the "law" and the "statutes"; iv. 4-5, v. 22, the technical terms for sacrifices; viii. 5, the holy days whereon it was forbidden to labour; ii. 8, the garments in pledge, Exod. xxii. 26; also references to the history of the Exodus, ii. 10, ix. 7, Exod. xiv. 22, Deut. viii. 14; to the Nazarites, ii. 11-12, Num. vi. 5.

VII. Theological Teaching of Amos.

He has certain anthropomorphic expressions, *e.g.* i. 2; but for Amos God is always "the Lord the God of Hosts,"

iii. 13, iv. 13, v. 14-15, vi. 8, ix. 5; He is "Almighty," iv. 13, v. 8, 9, ix. 5-6; and He reveals Himself to His Prophets, iii. 7-8. Like Isaias, Amos' doctrine is that the "remnant" shall be saved, v. 15, ix. 8-15. But the most trenchant condemnation is reserved for lip-service and false ideas of the value of ceremonial, v. 21-27; the whole moral teaching of the book is summed up in the terrible words of iii. 2.

Perhaps the transcendent character of God is the most striking feature in the Prophet's theological teaching. For God punishes the Philistines, Phœnicians, Moabites and Ammonites not simply because they have harmed His chosen people but because they have broken His law, that of nature, i. 13, ii. 1. This transcendence of God, a picture of a Deity far removed from any mere local Baal, is especially shown in such passages as iv. 13, v. 8-9 "He that with a smile bringeth destruction upon the strong," ix. 5-6, where we seem to be reading *Isaias*.

Amos regards the people of the northern kingdom as apostates from God; their calf-worship is not merely schismatical, it is idolatrous, iv. 4, v. 4-6, and their duty is to return to Jehovah, iv. 6, 8-11, where note the refrain; and this return is synonymous with a return to the House of David, ix. 11.

VIII. Bibliography.

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THE PROPHECY OF ABDIAS

I. Introductory.
II. Divisions of the Prophecy.
III. Its Date and Occasion.
IV. Bibliography.

I. Introductory.

"The Prophet is but brief if you count up his verses, but not if in his meaning. Rather is he like the *Canticle of Canticles* among Solomon's three books; it is as difficult as it is brief," St. Jerome *on* Abdias i. 1.

"ABDIAS," according to the Septuagint, in Hebrew עֹבַדְיָה, Obadyah, or "servant of the Lord." According to a tradition current among the Hebrews he is identified with the servant of Achab who was sent to discover the whereabouts of Elias, and his tomb was, in harmony with this, shown at Samaria.[1]

St. Jerome tells us how in his impetuous youth he perpetrated an allegorical commentary on Abdias and only realized what an impertinence he had been guilty of when he received a letter of congratulation from a youth no older than himself: "I was familiar with the classics," he says, "and therefore thought I could read a book that was 'sealed.'"[2]

Abdias' prophecy is the shortest in the Bible. Its theme is the destruction of Edom (Esau, Seir, Idumea), a destruction which shall come upon them with appalling completeness as a punishment for their rejoicings over the destruction of Jacob.

[1] *Prol.* to his Commentary, *P.L.* xxv. 1100. [2] *Ibid.*

II. Divisions.

1-9 Edom shall be destroyed in spite of the lofty and apparently impregnable position of their city Petra; a graphic description of the eyrie whence the Edomites looked down in fancied security. In verse 9 "the south" should be "Theman," a district of Arabia, thus completing the parallelism; *cf.* Jer. xxv. 13, xlix. 20, Isa. xxi. 14, Job vi. 19.

10-16. The Edomites rejoiced in the destruction of Jacob in "the day of thy brother": so also shall it be done to Edom, "for the day of the Lord is at hand upon all nations"

17-21. When the captivity is over, Jacob shall consume Esau, and "the kingdom shall be the Lord's." The startling reference in verse 20 to "Bosphorus" is due to a misreading of the Hebrew "in Sepharad," the Hebrew preposition *be* being taken as part of the name Sepharad.[1]

III. Date and Occasion.

It is usual to refer the destruction of Jerusalem mentioned in verses 10-16 to the destruction of the city by Nabuchodonosor in 586, and this might seem to be confirmed by the reference to the captivity in verse 20. But it seems clear that in verses 10-16 two distinct destructions of the Holy City are mentioned: verses 10-12 refer to one that is already past; verses 12-16 to a future one. It will then be necessary to find traces in Biblical history of a previous destruction of Jerusalem when Edom can be described as taking part in it, and rejoicing over it. It is possible that in 2 Paral. xxi. 16-17, we have a reference to some such act on the part of the Edomites; there the Philistines and the Arabians (? Edomites) are said to have "carried away all the substance that was in the king's house, his sons also, and his wives; so that there was no son left him (Joram) but Joachaz who was the youngest." Joram reigned 893-885 (849-844) B.C., but since Abdias has in view a "day of Jacob," which can only mean the overthrow of the Jews by Nabuchodonosor, we cannot well attribute the prophecy to an earlier period than the time when the Chaldeans were an imminent peril to Palestine, *i.e.* the latter part of the seventh century B.C. The allusion in verse 20 to the "captivity of Jerusalem in Sepharad,"

[1] Not so St. Jerome who renders it simply "Bosphorus" on the authority of his Hebrew teacher; the Septuagint reads "Ephrata" probably owing to a certain similarity in the name.

would then seem to refer to the captivity of Joachin son of Joachim *c.* 597 B.C.

Yet there are certain difficulties incident to this date for the prophecy. It seems certain that Jer. xlix. 7, 9, 10, 14-17, 22, embodies Abdias 1-9; for it is hardly conceivable that Abdias gathered together these verses from Jeremias and formed them into a consecutive whole. And that Jeremias is not merely quoting a contemporary prophecy may be argued from the apparent quotation of Abdias 17 by Joel, ii. 32. The place assigned to *Abdias* in the Massoretic text seems to point to an early date such as this would involve, for in that text *Abdias* follows upon *Amos* in accordance with a chronological tradition. But we are still baffled by the reference to the captivity in verse 20. Perhaps in Ps. cxxxvi. 7, "Remember, O Lord, the children of Edom in the day of Jerusalem, who say: Raze it, raze it, even to the foundations thereof," we have a proof that the rejoicing of Edom referred to by Abdias actually took place at the time of Nabuchodonosor's destruction of the city, but it is hard to explain the apparent reference to a previous "day of Jacob" which gave occasion to these rejoicings, rejoicings which were not to be repeated at the actual capture of the city by Nabuchodonosor.

If we accept the view that *Abdias* was known to Jeremias and Joel, and that Amos quotes Joel, see *s.v. Amos*, then we shall have to refer *Abdias* to the eighth century B.C.; if, on the other hand, we prefer to be governed by the quotation from Ps. cxxxvi and by the allusion to the "captivity of Jerusalem in Sepharad," in verse 20, we shall have to refer the prophecy to a much later period, namely the seventh or the opening of the sixth century B.C.

IV. Bibliography.

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For the structure of *Abdias* see *J.T.S.* July, 1916.

THE BOOK OF JONAS

I. Introductory.
II. The Historical Character of the Book.
III. The Text.
IV. Bibliography.

I. Introductory.

Jonas, יוֹנָה, Yona, or "dove." He was of Gath-Opher, 4 Kings xiv. 25, and prophesied in the days of Jeroboam II, B.C. 823-782 (787-746). According to Hebrew traditions Jonas was the son of the widow of Sarephta and his tomb was pointed out in St. Jerome's time at Geth or Diocæsarea about two miles from Tiberias though others showed a tomb at Lydda as that of Jonas.[1]

The prophecy before us has no introduction and no hint of date. It is rather the history of a prophecy than a prophecy. It falls into two parts: chaps. i-ii, Jonas' first mission from which he flees; instead of going east to Niniveh, he goes to the west, sailing from Joppe the port of Palestine, *cf.* Jos. xix. 46, and 2 Paral. ii. 16. The Lord raises a storm to show His displeasure at Jonas' action, and the Prophet implores the frightened sailors to cast him into the sea which is at once calmed on their doing so. A huge fish swallows Jonas, who breaks into a canticle composed of verses from the Psalms; the fish then ejects Jonas. In chaps. iii-iv he is again told to go to Niniveh, and this time he at once obeys. His preaching is successful, but the missioner is displeased; he had expected, indeed hoped, to

[1] St. Jerome, *Prol.* to Comment. on *Jonas.*

see the city suddenly destroyed, iv. 5.[1] God, however, shows him how unworthy such sentiments are by raising up a plant which shelters Jonas from the heat; but whilst the Prophet is rejoicing in the shade thus provided, a canker-worm eats into it from within and it withers away. God then tells him that he has only grieved for a plant which he had not toiled to make, much more then will God grieve for the destruction of souls for whom He has toiled. This is the moral of the story which foreshadows the universality of the Gospel; it teaches, too, the value of real penitence, and it foreshadows our Lord's rejection of all mere *legalism*. Jonas himself is a type of Christ, *cf.* Matt. xii. 40-41, xvi. 4.[2]

II. The Historical Character of the Book.

The Assyrian empire was, in the reign of Jeroboam II of Israel, in a state of decay, for the reign of Adad-Nirari III, 810-782, practically covers the same period as the reign of Jeroboam. Modern writers deny to the book all historical character because they maintain that it shows evident signs of having been composed long after the time to which the events are assigned; some even refer it to the age of the Maccabees.

It is roundly asserted by some that the whole is a myth, a tale told by the desert fire in the night; others maintain that it is a piece of genuine history and they are prepared to defend every detail of it. Now while it is true of course that "with God all things are possible" and that Jonas could have been swallowed—and returned—by a fish, that the whole of the populace of Nineveh could have suddenly repented, and—perhaps the greatest marvel of all—that Jonas could have felt so very peevish about the success of

[1] St. Jerome always explains the dismay of Jonas as due to his conviction that if Ninive repented it could only mean that the Chosen People would themselves be rejected, *on* i. 1 and iv. 1, *P.L.* xxv. 1121 and 1145-1146.

[2] "To sum up the whole meaning of the Prophet in a sentence: there can be found no better interpreter of His type than He who inspired the Prophets, and in His servants put His stamp beforehand on the outlines of the truth that was to come," St. Jerome, *Prol.* to *Comment.* on Jonas, *P L.* xxv. 1120.

his mission and could actually have gone up on to the hill-top to await terrible happenings with a somewhat ghoulish expectancy, yet we cannot marvel that critics should question whether these were real happenings and whether we may not after all be in the presence of some species of parable. The problem is to discover solid principles of interpretation which would allow us so to understand the book.

It must be conceded that there are in *Jonas* a series—not of impossibilities but certainly of improbabilities. The whole scene on board ship reads like a story from the *Arabian Nights*; Jonas' prayer in the fish's belly is made up of phrases from the *Psalter* and they seem like a prayer of thanksgiving for deliverance from his straits than a petition; the scene in Nineveh itself is dramatic, while Jonas' disgust at the turn events have taken seems to remove him from the category of the Prophets. Can we accept the position that it is not historically true? Or—perhaps better: have we any reason to suppose it is history?[1] *Jonas* is certainly not assigned a place among the historical books. But then neither is the book prophetical. There is not a vestige of prophecy in it. But if *Jonas* is neither history nor prophecy, then what is it? Are we to class it with *Judith*, *Tobias* and *Esther* where some critics would suggest that the authors are not writing history so much as using it? Can we regard it as a parable? The literal sense of the Bible is that conveyed by the words; but this is twofold: the strictly literal, the plain, straightforward sense of the words, *e.g.* "the man smiles," and the less strictly literal sense, either metaphor, *e.g.* "the meadow smiles," which may be extended into allegory as in Ezech. xvi, xvii, xix, xxiii, and in Christ's description of Himself as the Vine, the Door, the Good Shepherd, etc., or proverb, *e.g.* "Physician, heal thyself" which may be developed into parable, as Christ so constantly does. Now none of these various "figures of speech" are historically true for the simple reason that they are not strictly literal; a good instance of this is furnished in the Parable of Dives and Lazarus wherein Dives asks Abraham to let Lazarus—previous to the resurrection—dip his finger—which he could not have—

[1] How far it may be said that our Lord treated it as historical, *e.g.* Mt. xii. 40, is a moot point.

in water and place it on the tongue of Dives who similarly had not yet got a tongue.

Is there any reason why we should not read *Jonas* as a divinely inspired parable giving us through the medium of fanciful happenings a wonderful statement on the mercy of God so that the whole becomes a commentary on the words addressed to God by Moses and here put into the mouth of Jonas "I know that Thou art a gracious and merciful God, patient and of much compassion, and easy to forgive evil"? iv. 2.[1]

Against the foregoing it should not be forgotten that Jonas has a place amongst "the Twelve" Minor Prophets, whence it would seem to follow that its prophetical character was acknowledged by the Jews. But if this is the case then it must have been regarded as composed previous to the fall of Niniveh in 612. The author of Ecclus. xlix. 12 evidently regarded "Jonas" as holding a place among the "Twelve." It is doubtful, too, whether a later writer would have presented the Prophet in such a very unamiable light. At the same time the term "Prophet" does not necessarily signify one who foresees events, but rather one who has entered into God's counsels and who is thus enabled to manifest to us God's ways, whether in the past, the present, or the future. In this sense the Book of Jonas has as much claim to a place among the "Prophets" as the Books of Kings which, for the Hebrews, ranked among the "Prophets." Yet *Jonas* differs from the other prophetical books in that it is written wholly in the third person. Various Aramaic expressions, too, are pointed out by critics as proofs that the book belongs to a late date, though the argument from "Aramaisms" is always precarious, for we really know very little about the various phases through which the Hebrew language went; at any rate, the Zenjirli inscriptions have shown us that as early as the eighth century B.C., Aramaic forms, hitherto considered an indisputable sign of late date, existed. At the same time, account must be taken of the fact, already pointed out that the hymn of Jonas ii is a cento of fragments of Psalms, some of which may be of late date.

[1] Exod. xxxiv. 6-7, Ps. lxxxv. 5, Joel ii. 13; and see Höpfl, O.S.B., *Introductio*, ii. 311.

There are supposed to be no whales in the Mediterranean where Jonas met his fate; hence it is always well to speak of Jonas' host as "a big fish."[1]

III. The Text.

In iii. 4, where the Septuagint reads "three days" instead of "forty days." This variant was known to St. Justin,[2] as his text now stands we read: "three (in other versions, forty) days"; the words in brackets are probably due to some later copyist. St. Augustine also knew the variant reading and comments on it at length.[3] The rendering "ivy" in iv. 6, for the "colocynth" of the Old-Latin version, was the occasion of a remarkable scene which St. Augustine describes in a letter to St. Jerome;[4] St. Jerome defends his translation "ivy."

IV. Bibliography.

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[1] But St. Jerome: "haud dubium quin cetum significat," on ii. 1. He compares the prodigy to the case of the Three Children in the furnace and pithily remarks that such marvels are nothing to the monstrosities contained in the pagan mythologies.

[2] *Dialogue*, cvii.

[3] *De Civitate Dei*, xviii. 44.

[4] Commentary on Jonas, and in *Ep.* lxxiv to St. Augustine, or *Ep.* lxxx among the Letters of St. Jerome.

THE PROPHECY OF MICHEAS

I. Introductory.

MICHAH, מִיכָה, from a root signifying, according to St. Jerome, "to be lowly"; in Jer. xxvi. 18, the name is written *Mi-che-Yah*, *i.e.* "who is like to God," *cf.* Mich. vii. 18. He prophesied under Joatham, 757-742 (740-735), Achaz 742-726 (735-727), and Ezechias 727-698. He was an inhabitant of Morasthi which may be identified with Moreshith-Gath,[1] i. 14, in which case it would signify "the suburbs of Gath.' Micheas prophesied against Juda and Israel, i. 1, but while threatening them with dire punishment for their sins of oppression he at the same time, like Isaias, dwells at length on the doctrine of the ultimate salvation of a "remnant."

II. Divisions and Contents.

(*a*) i. Judgement shall come. ii-iii. And it is necessary. iv-v. Promise of ultimate restoration.

[1] Near Eleutheropolis, says St. Jerome, *Prol.* to Comment. on Micheas, *P.L.* xxv. 1151.

(*b*) vi-vii. A threefold judicial discussion between God and His people.

vi. 1-8. Complaint of their ingratitude.

vi. 9-vii. 10. Therefore He must punish them.

vii. 11-20. The people celebrate the Divine mercy shown in their redemption.

Throughout the prophecy justice and mercy are intermingled.

III. Notes on the Text.

i. 1. No king of Israel or the northern kingdom is named though the prophecy as a whole is directed against both Juda and Israel, i. 9. From the references to Lachis, i. 13-16, it might be gathered that the Prophet is speaking of the coming of Sennacherib, 4 Kings xviii, Isa. xxxvi, etc., so St. Jerome, *P.L.* xxv. 1161.

i. 3-4. See Isa. xxvi. 21, Ps. xcvi. 5, Amos iv. 13, ix. 5.

i. 9. This may refer to the contamination of Juda by Israel through intermarriages, for Jezebel was daughter of Ithbaal king of Sidon, 3 Kings xvi. 31, and Athalia of Juda was her daughter, 4 Kings viii. 26-29, *cp.* Mich. vi. 16.

i. 10-15. St. Jerome remarks on this passage: "The Hebrew text differs very much from the translation by the Septuagint, and both my translation and theirs are so replete with difficulties that if ever we needed the Spirit of God—as indeed we always do in interpreting Holy Scripture—it is especially at this point," *P.L.* xxv. 1159. St. Jerome has not made things easier for us by translating the proper names of the places in the vicinity. The Revised Version has: "Tell it not in Gath, weep not at all; at Beth-le-Aphrah have I rolled myself in the dust. Pass ye away O inhabitant of Shaphir in nakedness and shame; the inhabitant of Zanaan is not come forth; the wailing of Beth-ezel shall take from you the stay thereof. For the inhabitant of Maroth . . ." Yet St. Jerome, as his commentary shows, was fully aware that these were proper names of places.

i. 13-16. See note on i. 1.

i. 14. The play on words is wholly lost in the Vulgate and Douay: it should read "the houses of Achzib (meaning 'lying') lie to . . ."

ii. 1-2. Oppression of the poor was one of the crying sins of the northern kingdom, *cf.* vers. 8-9, iii. 2-3.

ii. 11. Note this for the psychology of prophecy, *cf.* iii. 8, iv. 12.

ii. 12-13. A truly Messianic passage.

iii. 5-7, 11. Note for the false prophets.

iii. 12. This passage is quoted in full in Jer. xxvi. 18.

iv. 1-2. The same occurs in Isa. ii. 2. A prophecy of Christ and His Church. "Christ," says St. Jerome, "shall be made manifest, He who before was hidden but prepared not merely on the mountains but on the tops of the mountains, that is in Moses and the Prophets who foretold His coming. For though all that they wrote was holy, yet in comparison with those prophecies wherein they foretold the coming of

the Saviour all else was but 'valley' and in no sense reached to the mountain-tops," *P.L.* xxv. 1186.

iv. 2-8. The Redemption that is to come, *cf.* vii. 12.

iv. 8. Better: "tower of the flock, the hill of the . . .," *cf.* Gen. xxxv. 21. The word rendered "cloudy" is אֹפֶל or Ophel, the southern hill on which the original city of David was built, see notes on 3 Kings ix. 15.

iv. 10. Very noteworthy as foretelling the Babylonian captivity and the redemption from it long before it came to pass; the parallel to Isa. xl-lxvi should be noted.

v. 2-6. A famous prophecy of the coming of Christ, *cf.* Matt. ii. 6, John vii. 42. Yet it is combined in the Prophet's mind with the coming of some temporal ruler, see the note on "The Servant of the Lord" on Isa. xl-lxvi.

v. 5-6. The coming of Sennacherib in A.D. 701.

v. 8. The doctrine of the Remnant, *cf.* vii. 12.

vi. 4-7. Reminiscences of Numbers, especially chaps. xii, xxiv and xxviii.

vi. 16. See notes on ii. 9.

vi. 6-8. The true spirit which should dominate their sacrifices, *cf* Ps. xlix. 8-15, etc.

vii. 7 *ff.* A great prayer of personal faith, *cf.* Hab. iii. 18-19.

IV. The State of the Times and the Date of the Prophecy.

A great deal of idolatry, v. 10-14, vi. 16, prevailed; also much oppression of the poor by the princes, the false prophets, and the priests, iii. 1, 5, 11. Since Ezechias instituted such great reforms it might seem improbable that the prophecy of Micheas can actually date from this time, yet on the other hand, in Jer. xxvi. 18-19, the prophecy contained in Mich. iii. 12 is expressly referred to the days of Ezechias, thus furnishing us with a good example of the danger attaching to purely intrinsic evidence. The reigns of Joatham, Achaz and Ezechias cover a period of some sixty years, and the question is, to what precise part of that period *Micheas* is to be assigned. Clearly iii. 12, is intimately connected with iv. 1-2, and both passages are to be assigned to the time of Ezechias (Jer. xxvi. 18); but whereas in Isa. ii. 2-4, the first part of this Messianic promise occurs, *viz.* vers. 1-3. Yet instead of continuing as Micheas does in v. 4, Isaias breaks off with an address to Jacob. This would suggest that this prophecy in Isaias is borrowed from Micheas and is consequently later in the reign of Ezechias than the

prophecy of Micheas. The parallels between these two Prophets are numerous; *cp*. Mich. i. 9-16, the catalogue of cities in the Shephelah, and Isa. x. 28-32, a similar catalogue of the cities in the hill-country; also ii. 1-2, and Isa. v. 8; ii. 11, and Isa. xxviii. 7; iii. 5-7, and Isa. xxix. 9-12; iv. 4, and Isa. i. 20; vi. 6-8, and Isa. i. 11-17.

V. The Style of Micheas.

We miss the striking imagery of Amos and Osee, and Micheas has not given to the world so many "household words" as Amos; but his prophecy is not lacking in fire, i. 16, ii. 11, iv. 13, etc. He has not the inimitable pathos of Osee, but we cannot deny the beauty of the lamentation in chap. vi, chosen by the Church for the *Responsories* at *Tenebræ*. In comparison with Amos, too, Micheas is wanting in striking similes, v. 7 and 8 are practically the only examples. But just as Amos is fond of mentioning the lions so familiar to the shepherd, so Micheas is fond of the mountains, ii. 6, vi. 1, 2, vii. 12.

VI. His Theological Teaching.

Throughout we are reminded of the latter portion of Isaias, the days of the Messias are depicted in the same terms, ii. 13, iv. 1, v. 2-6; He is of the stock of Juda and to spring from Bethlehem, v. 2; He is to be "the Ruler," and "our Peace," v. 5; and "I will look towards the Lord, I will wait for God my Saviour," *cf*. Isa. xxv. 9, xxvi. 8, Hab. iii. 18. The spiritual Sion, the heavenly Jerusalem, is spoken of in the same terms as in Isaias, *cf*. iii. 12; it is to be destroyed, but a glorious future is foretold for it, iv. 7, 8, 10, 11, 13. So also Micheas' idea of God, iv. 4, is that with which we are familiar from Isaias, note the purely Isaianic phrase "for the mouth of the Lord God of Hosts has spoken it." The moral teaching of Micheas is that of all the Prophets, he insists, v. 6-8, on the real nature of sacrifice, *cp*. Amos v. 21-27, Ps. xlix, etc. Note ii. 11 for the inspiration of the Prophets, *cf*. iii. 8, Amos vii. 14-15, 2 Sam. xxiii. 1-3.

VII. Modern Critical Views.

Advanced criticism has played havoc with the prophecies of Micheas, and we are told that "in no part of chaps. iv-vii can we venture to detect the hand of Micah. What the real Micah was must be learned from chaps. i-iii, which are mostly genuine";[1] reasons alleged are that iv-v are plainly no part of Micah because whereas iii. 12 contained threats, iv. 1 *ff.* suggests hopes; while it is maintained that in iv-v we have a series of incompatible statements, *e.g.* iv. 6-8 is in conflict with ver. 9, iv. 11-13 with ver. 14, v. 1-3 with ver. 4, etc.;[2] also ii. 12 and iv. 6 have been added in mitigation of the teaching in i and iii respectively;[3] in fine that of iv-v only iv. 9, 14 and v. 9-13 can possibly belong to him.[4] Apropos of iv. 8-10 and v. 9-14 Cheyne says that: "On an improved textual basis we can affirm with much probability that some post-exilic writer, looking back on the Babylonian invasion, described in the style of prediction, how the north Arabian peoples . . . came against Jerusalem. . . . From what context this passage was taken we know not. The editor who placed it in the Book of Micah appears to have sought to correct the severity of its tone."[5] Similarly iv. 10 is a later gloss and the Messianic prophecy in v. 1-4 is destroyed by the calm assertion that "another writer, devoted to the Messianic hope, inserted v. 1-4, a prediction of the Messiah who was to come from Bethlehem; v. 2 is evidently a later gloss, affirming that the depression of Israel will last only till the birth of the Messiah."[6] Again, vi. 1-vii. 6 may possibly be the work of Micah "but not only the tenderness of feeling exhibited in vi. 1 *ff.*, but also the dramatic and exceedingly animated descriptions, make the composition of this section by Micah very improbable."[7] Lastly, vii. 1 *ff.* cannot possibly be by Micah they represent vi. 1-vii. 6 as having come to pass.[8]

Ruthless textual criticism based on purely subjective impressions and an utter failure to appreciate what is meant by "prophecy" sufficiently explain these aberrations.

VIII. Bibliography.

See Bibliography for the Minor Prophets in general.

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[1] *Encyclop. Biblica*, 3074.
[2] Nowack in *H.D.B.*, *s.v. Micah*, 359.
[3] *E.B.* 3073.
[4] *H.D.B. ib.* 359.
[5] *E.B.* 3072.
[6] *Ib.* 3073.
[7] *H.D.B. ib.* 359.
[8] *Ibid.*

THE PROPHECY OF NAHUM

I. Introductory.
II. Divisions and Contents.
III. The Date of the Prophecy.
IV. Its Interpretation.
V. Bibliography.

I. Introductory.

NAHUM, in Hebrew, נָחוּם or "the Consoler," the same root as in Noe, also in Nehemiah, נְחֶמְיָה. From his birthplace Nahum was called "the Elcesite"; St. Jerome was shown a place called Elkosh in Galilee as the site of the Prophet's birth.[1] Another Elkosh is pointed out near Mossoul as the site; in fact both Jonas and Nahum, who directed their prophecies against Ninive, have graves assigned them there. In the *Vitæ Prophetarum* of Pseudo-Epiphanius, Elkosh is assigned to the east of the Jordan, but perhaps a truer reading of the passage would place it on the west near Eleutheropolis;[2] a Judean birthplace would perhaps better harmonize with the prophecy. Still the Galilean site has abundance of tradition in its favour, and Capharnaum, "Village of Nahum," כְּפַר נָחוּם, is quite a probable place for the Prophet's birth.[3]

Nahum foretells the fall of Niniveh, 612 B.C., and refers the

[1] "Elcesi usque hodie in Galilæa viculus, parvus quidem et vix ruinis veterum ædificiorum indicans vestigia, sed tamen notus Judæis et mihi quoque a circumducente monstratus," *Prol.* in Comment., *P.L.* xxv. 1232.

[2] *P.G.* xliii. 410; *cp.* *H.D.B.* iii. 474.

[3] Yet *cp.* John vii. 52 which would seem to negative the supposition of a Prophet being born in Galilee.

Assyrians to their own destruction of Thebes in Egypt as an example of what will befall them, iii. 8. Since Assurbanipal took Thebes in 666 B.C. the prophecy will fall between 666 and 612 B.C.

II. Divisions.

The Prophet is solely concerned with the fall of Niniveh:

A. i. 2-6. God is terrible in His justice.

i. 7-10. He is also great in His mercy.

i. 11-15. Niniveh is plotting against Jerusalem but: "no more of thy name shall be sown."[1]

ii. 1-13. A vivid description of the siege and the sack of the city.

B. iii. 1-19. The destruction of Niniveh; 1-7, because of her crimes; 8-13, let her take example from Thebes; 14-19, it is idle to strive against her fate.[2]

It is generally conceded now that i. 2-ii. 2 is really an acrostic poem of which the vestiges can be discovered at least from א to ל.[3] This would mean that the "oracle" properly so-called only begins with ii. 2. But this is insufficient ground for saying that chap. i is not by Nahum, who may well have prefixed the poem as a species of introduction to his prophecy.

III. The Date of the Prophecy.

Modern writers seem instinctively to try and reduce the prophetical element as far as possible and bring the predictions into line with such conjectural knowledge as the Prophet could derive from a shrewd sense of coming events. Thus we are told that the prophecy is to be assigned to the period between the incursion of the Chaldeans into Assyria and their actual assault on the city.[4] But if it is "pro-

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[1] In ii. 8, St. Jerome translates by "soldier" a word, הֻצַּב, which is unique though he makes no comment on it. The Targum has "queen," see *R.B.*, July, 1910, p. 398, *P.S.B.A.* xx (1898), pp. 174 *ff.*, *Expos. Times*, 1896, p. 508, 1897, p. 47; Van Hoonacker, *Douze Petits Prophètes*, pp. 439-440.

[2] The translation "Alexandria," iii. 8, is manifestly an anachronism; No is mentioned, Jer. xlvi. 25 (Hebrew text), also Ezech. xxx. 14-16, where the Vulgate has Alexandria, but the LXX has Diospolis or Thebes.

[3] This was first pointed out by Bickell, *Carmina Vet. Testamenti*, pp. 212 *ff.*, and further developed by him as well as others in 1894.

[4] Welch, *H.D.B. s.v. Malachi*, p. 476; *Expos. Times*, June and August, 1925.

phecy" at all this seems unnecessary; Nahum "foresaw" by a divinely bestowed light; time and the near proximity of events have nothing to do with his predictions. It would be more in accord with the whole tone of the prophecy to date it rather by the fall of Thebes as a definite historical event still fresh in the minds of his hearers: "What you Assyrians have just done to Thebes the Lord shall do to you." Schrader cannot be far wrong when he says: "Hence the year 660 might be regarded as the approximate date when Nahum delivered his prophetic discourse against Niniveh."[1] Assurbanipal twice took Thebes as he tells us in his *Annals*:[2]

> Tirhakah king of Egypt and Ethiopia . . . trusted to his own might.
> To slay, to plunder and to capture Egypt he entered . . .
> I gathered my powerful forces . . .
> To Egypt and Ethiopia I directed the march
> Tirhakah gathered the men of his army
> On the wide field of battle I accomplished the overthrow of his army.
> Memphis he abandoned, and to save his life he fled into Thebes.
> That city I took, my army I caused to enter and rest in the midst of it.

But on the departure of the Assyrian Tirhakah fomented a rebellion and Assurbanipal returned:

> In my second expedition, to Egypt and Ethiopia I directed the march.
> That city (Thebes) . . . my hands took.
> Silver, gold, precious stones, the furniture of his palace, all there was,
> Garments costly and beautiful, great horses.
> Two obelisks covered with beautiful carving,
> (?) talents their weight, set up before the gate of a temple.
> With them I removed and brought to Assyria.
> Spoils unnumbered I carried off from the midst of Thebes. . . .
> Peacefully I returned to Niniveh the city of my dominion.[3]

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[1] *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, Engl. tr. ii, p. 150.

[2] The famous Cylinder A of Assurbanipal found by Loftus in Kouyunjik, col. i, *Records of the Past*, i. 59-61, *cf.* Pinches, *The Old Testament in the Light of the Historical Records of Babylonia and Assyria*, 3rd ed., 1908, pp. 389, 393. No more vivid commentary on Nahum can be found than an hour spent in the Assyrian galleries of the British Museum where the daily life, the wealth, the sport, and above all the horrible cruelties of those awful times are portrayed in detail.

[3] *Ibid.* col. ii.

Whatever Rabbinic traditions St. Jerome relied on they must presumably have been very different from some of those known to Josephus, for the latter assigns Nahum to the time of Joatham, King of Judah, 740-735 B.C., and after quoting—a rare thing with Josephus—Nah. ii. 8-13, he adds that this prophecy was fulfilled against "Niniveh one hundred and fifteen years later,"[1] or 727 B.C. Thus Nahum would have prophesied before the fall of Samaria, and it is hard to imagine what siege at that date could have been referred to in iii. 8.

In Tob. xiv. 4, the *Vaticanus* Codex, B, refers to the prophecy of Jonas against Niniveh; in *Sinaiticus*, ℵ, it is referred to Nahum, *cf. Introduction to Tobias.*

In the Septuagint version *Nahum* follows on *Jonas*, presumably because both Prophets spoke of the destruction that was to follow Nineveh. The Greek version is often confused and at times very different from the Hebrew.[2]

IV. Its Interpretation.

The interpretation of the prophecy is simple so far as its immediate purpose: the impending destruction of Israel's greatest foe and the consequent lesson of confidence in God.

"But his 'burden,'" says St. Jerome, "is the Prophet's 'vision'; he did not speak in ecstasy but what he foretells is a book of the vision of one who understands everything he says and who makes the enemies' 'burden' his people's 'vision.' Hence anagogically his prophecy is meant for the consolation of the Saints and is concerned with the end of the world, so that all that the Saints see in this world they may despise as passing and fleeting things and so prepare themselves for the Day of Judgement."[3]

In accordance with this St. Jerome in his Commentary keeps referring us to the Last Judgement while insisting at the same time on the historical sense "where indeed many things are expressed in enigmatic fashion,[4] though our failure to understand them must never allow us to say that it is Scripture which is mistaken."[5] As for the history itself St. Jerome repeatedly declares that he is but following the ex-

[1] *Ant.* IX. xi. 3. [2] See St. Jerome *on* i. 15, iii. 18, etc.
[3] *Prologue* to his Commentary, *P.L.* xxv. 1232.
[4] *On* iii. 12. [5] *On* i. 9.

planations current among the Hebrew interpreters whom he consulted: "God is my witness that I am expounding all according to the Hebrew text, not out of my own fancies, as do the false prophets, but in accordance with the interpretations given me by Hebrews who taught me during no brief space of time."[1] To these teachers he owed the statement that No-Ammon, iii. 8, stood for Alexandria, which was certainly not true.[2] Presumably it was in accordance with similar Rabbinical traditions that he explained i. 11 of the Rabsaces and i. 15 of the bearers of the good tidings of the destruction of Sennacherib,[3] while in ii. 1 a sudden transition from Sennacherib to Nabuchodonosor is made.

V. Bibliography.

See Bibliography for the Minor Prophets in general.

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[1] *On* ii. 1.

[2] *On* iii. 8, *cp. on* i. 11, ii. 1, 6, etc.

[3] The introductory note to *Nahum* in the Douay Bible states that Nahum prophesied after the exile of the Ten Tribes or the fall of Samaria, 722 B.C., yet the note on i. 11 says that Sennacherib, 705-681 B.C., cannot be meant. In suggesting Holofernes the framers of the note would bring down Nahum to a period considerably later than the fall of Nineveh, 612.

THE PROPHECY OF HABACUC

I. Introductory.

HABACUC, חֲבַקּוּק, whence the spelling Habakkuk in Bibles translated directly from the Hebrew. Little is known of him save from Dan. xiv. 32-38;[1] according to the Septuagint the story of Bel and the Dragon, Dan. xiv, was taken "from the prophecy of Habacuc the son of Josue, of the tribe of Levi."

The prophecy begins abruptly and without any indication of date: "The burden that Habacuc, the Prophet, saw."

II. Plan and Divisions.

A. i-ii. A dialogue between the Prophet and God.

i. 2-4. The Prophet's first question: why are sin and injustice tolerated?

i. 5-11. The Divine answer: fearful vengeance will be taken by God at the hands of His instruments, the Chaldeans.

i. 12-ii. 1. The Prophet's second question: but why at the hands of the Chaldeans, for they are worse than the Jews?

ii. 2-20. The Divine answer: A Redeemer will come; men must believe and trust; the instrument will in its turn be punished for its greed and violence.

B. iii. The Divine justice and mercy.

In imagery borrowed from the description in Deut. xxxiii. 2 *ff.*, of

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[1] See St. Jerome, *Prol.* to *Comment.* on Habacuc, *P.L.* xxv. 1274.

God coming to give the law, the Prophet depicts the Divine Majesty coming to judge the world, iii. 1-7.

8-15. The judgement of the wicked which shall bring about the salvation of God's people.

16-19. The dispositions in which to await that judgement, *i.e.* faith and trust.

III. Notes on the Text.

i. 2-13. Habacuc is peculiarly bold in his seeming arraignment of God, *cf.* Jer. xii. 1-6; but, as St. Jerome expresses it "Non quod ipse Propheta sic sentiat, sed quod impatientiam humanam in sua persona exprimat."

i. 12. "We shall not die." This is one of the "Tiqqun Sopherim" or reverential changes made by the scribes of the second Temple period, for the Hebrew text seems originally to have read "Thou diest not," *cf.* Ginsburg, *Introd. to the Hebrew Bible*, p. 358, *Aids to the Bible*, i (1926), pp. 161 *ff.*

ii. 2. How much of this was to be written "so that he who runs may read" is not clear, but probably it was only the contents of verse 4, quoted by St. Paul, Rom. i. 17, Gal. iii. 11, Heb. x. 38. For the "watchman" *cf.* Isa. xxi. 6, Ezech. iii. 17, xxxiii. 7, Os. ix. 9. "It is clear that we have here a prophecy of the coming of Christ," St. Jerome.

ii. 18-19. Probably a general reference to idolatrous practices though St. Jerome sees in it a reference to Nabuchodonosor's statue, Dan. iii.

iii. There is a general tendency among critics to question whether this canticle is really the work of Habacuc: "On the whole," says Driver,[1] "while reluctant to conclude that the ode of chap. iii is not the work of Habacuc, and while readily allowing that the reasons adduced do not *demonstrate* that it is not his, the present writer must own that it contains features which seem to him to make it difficult to affirm his authorship confidently." But there is no reason for supposing that Habacuc himself gave the ode its present musical form and title.

iii. 2. "In the midst of the years Thou shalt make it known." The Greek text has "in the midst of the two living things Thou shalt be known" and this was commonly explained as referring to the two Testaments, the two thieves, the Son and the Holy Spirit, the two Seraphim over the Ark, Moses and Elias at the Transfiguration, etc.;[2] the ox and the ass naturally find their place in representations of the birth in the stable and later Christian piety quite fittingly sees in them a fulfilment of the words of the Prophet as given in the Greek text.

iii. 13. "With Thy Christ." The "Chosen People" were "the anointed," Ps. xxvii. 8, lxxxiii. 10, lxxxviii. 39, 52, Heb. xi. 25-26; so too was the "Messianic" king as representative of the Chosen People and as a type of the Saviour, the "anointed" par excellence, 1 Sam. xxiv. 7, 11, xxvi. 9, *cf.* Lam. iv. 20.

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[1] In *H.D.B. s.v. Habbakuk.*

[2] So St. Jerome on Hab. iii. 3, *P.L.* xxv. 1309-10; St. Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, XVIII. xxxii. 1.

IV. Date of the Prophecy.

The Chaldeans, here described as the instruments of the Divine wrath, were originally a tribe dwelling in the marshy district near the mouth of the Euphrates known as Bit-Jakin, whence came Merodach-Baladan the enemy of Assyria, the would-be ally of Ezechias, and king of the Chaldeans from about 721-709 B.C. On the death of Assurbanipal in 626 B.C. Nabopolassar the Chaldean became king of the Chaldeans and founder of the Neo-Babylonian Empire; he was succeeded by Nabuchodonosor the Great, 605 B.C.

The Chaldeans, then, can hardly have been known much before the end of the eighth century B.C. And so Habacuc presents them as unknown, except vaguely, to the Jews of his time; hence they could not have been conceived of as a menace. The chief vices which he bewails among the Jews are violence and injustice, i. 2-4 (the idolatry mentioned in ii. 18-19 is of course that of the Chaldeans); hence it has been held that the period of Manasses' repentance, *circa* 650-640, will best accord with the prophecy, though perhaps the moment when Nabuchodonosor defeated Pharao Necho II, *c.* 605 B.C., when, that is, the Chaldean power seemed at its height, may best suit all the circumstances of the prophecy. The temple is still standing, ii. 20, and the Prophet is familiar with the Psalter, *cp.* ii. 18-19 and Ps. cxiii. 4-8; ii. 20 and Ps. x. 4; iii. 3 and Ps. lxxi. 19; iii. 9 and Ps. vii. 13; iii. 11 and Ps. xvii. 15; iii. 13 and Ps. lxxxviii. 36-38; iii. 14 and Ps. ix. 9; iii. 19 and Ps. xvii. 2, 24. These parallels are, of course, mostly in the canticle of chap. iii. This hymn is of particular interest because it is the only place outside the Psalter where we find the musical terms of the latter preserved to us; thus in the title, עַל שִׁגְיֹנוֹת, *Shigionoth*, Vulg. "pro ignorantiis," *cf.* Ps. vii. 1; term *Selah*, i. 9 and 13, but omitted in the Vulgate and Douay; in the last verse the words "the conqueror" and "singing Psalms" should probably be rendered "for the chief musician, on my stringed instruments," a musical direction to the singers, *cf. s.v. Psalter*.

V. Bibliography.

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On Hab. iii. *cf.* *J.T.S.*, January, 1911, October, 1914.

THE PROPHECY OF SOPHONIAS

I. Introductory.
II. Divisions of the Prophecy.
III. Notes on the Text.
IV. Date of the Prophecy.
V. The Theological Teaching.
VI. Bibliography.

I. Introductory.

Sophonias, in Hebrew צְפַנְיָה, *Zephan-Yah*, "the Lord guardeth." His genealogy is given as far back as the fourth generation; and as it seems certain that the Ezechias mentioned is the king of that name, Sophonias would be of the royal stock, a fact which gives peculiar significance to his denunciations of the princes, i. 8, iii. 3.

He prophesied in the days of Josias, 639-610 B.C.

The Prophet summons all to judgement for their idolatry, i. 4-6, and for their love of riches, i. 18, iii. 8. His cry is ever: "the day of the Lord is at hand"; from i. 15, Thomas of Celano derived the opening words of the *Dies Iræ*.

II. Divisions.

i-iii. 8. Universal judgement.

- i-ii. 3. On Israel.
- ii. 4-15. On the nation.
- iii. 1-8. On Israel and the nations.

iii. 9-20. Universal salvation.

This "universal" tone in Sophonias should be noted; the history of the nations is that of God's operations in them; and the goal of these operations is their universal salvation. In other words: God punishes only to save.

III. Notes on the Text.

i. 4. "The wardens of the temples," *cf.* Osee x. 5, 4 Kings xxiii. 5 where it is rendered "soothsayers."

i. 5. Melchom was the deity of Ammon, *cf.* ii. 9.

i. 9. "Entereth arrogantly," presumably of those who went into the Temple with no reverence, but *cf.* 1 Sam. v. 5.

i. 10. Note Sophonias' familiarity with the topography of Jerusalem; "the Second," apparently the name of a quarter of the city, *cf.* 4 Kings xxii. 14.

i. 11. "The Mortar" a translation of a proper name, the Maktesh, presumably some site in the city. Jerusalem is here spoken of as "Canaan" in the same way as in Ezech. xvi. 3, Osee xii. 7. "Wrapped up in silver," R.V. "laden with."

i. 12. "The Lord will not do good nor will He do evil," for this proverbial expression see Isa. xli. 23, Jer. x. 5.

i. 13. Apparently a quotation of Amos v. 11.

ii. 4-7. Woe on Philistia, *cf.* Amos i and note the absence of Geth as also in Amos, where see notes. In ver. 5 the Septuagint has not "nation of reprobates" but "strangers of the Cretans" while the Hebrew has "nations of the Cerethim"; this may throw light on the vexed question of the origin of the Philistines and on the Cerethites of 2 Sam. viii. 18, etc.

ii. 7. The reference here to a captivity, *cf.* iii. 20, and to a dispersion, iii. 10, is noteworthy, for Sophonias prophesied under Josias and therefore long anterior to the captivity; it is impossible to arrive at the date of a prophecy from purely intrinsic evidence.

ii. 8-11. The similarity of this to *Isaias* has led many to regard these verses as forming no part of *Sophonias*; it is noticeable that here only is God spoken of by him as "Lord of Hosts."

ii. 13. "The beautiful city." Why St. Jerome renders this "speciosa" is a mystery. The Hebrew and Greek have Nineveh, as indeed the context demands.

iii. 1. R.V. "Woe to her that is rebellious and polluted, to the oppressing city," where the word rendered "dove" in the Septuagint and Vulgate is regarded as a participle from the root meaning "to oppress," *cp.* Jer. xlvi. 16, l. 16.

iii. 14-20. This description of the return from the Exile is so vivid that many moderns refuse to regard it as part of *Sophonias* but as written after the event.

iii. 18. "The triflers that were departed from the Law," R.V. "them that sorrow for the solemn assembly"; the word rendered "triflers" is regarded as deriving from a root meaning "to sorrow."

IV. Date of the Prophecy.

Both Jeremias and Sophonias prophesied during the reign of Josias; yet it is not easy to determine which is prior to the other. For while Josias instituted a drastic

reform, Sophonias bears witness to the presence of idolatry; hence it is argued that he prophesied before Jeremias, and that we have a confirmation of this in the fact that when Josias in his twelfth year wished to consult a Prophet he went to Huldah and not to Jeremias or Sophonias; the latter, then, may have already been dead, while Jeremias was not called till the following year. There are certain parallels between the two Prophets; but here again it is not easy to decide with whom the priority lies. And while it is generally maintained that the priority lies with Sophonias with whose prophecies Jeremias is thus presumed to have been familiar, yet a comparison of Jer. vii. 28 with Soph. iii. 2, and of Jer. vii. 4 with Soph. iii. 11, would seem to indicate a literary priority for Jeremias.

The divisions given above will have shown how Sophonias, unlike the rest of the Minor Prophets, save Amos, starts, like Isaias, Jeremias and Ezechiel, from predictions against the Chosen People, then proceeds to predictions against the nations, and finally to words of comfort for both. It would be a mistake to suppose that Sophonias, or any of the Prophets, spoke of woes in the abstract, or that they had in mind only the actual judgements of God. Rather they see these latter as exercised through the intervention of natural causes, divinely stirred up indeed to act as God's instruments, yet none the less natural. Sophonias is peculiar in that he never mentions the name of the invader who, in chap. ii, is to bring destruction on Philistia, verses 4-7, on Moab and Ammon, on the Ethiopians, verses 8-12, and even on the Assyrians, verses 13-15; it is probable that he has in view the Scythians who sent out a wave of emigrants about that period and to whom we have a reference in Ezech. xxxviii-xxxix; a trace of their presence in Palestine is to be found in the name Scythopolis given to Bethshan below the Sea of Galilee.

V. The Theological Teaching.

God is "the Lord of Hosts," ii. 9-10; He is "the King of Israel," iii. 15; He is "jealous" for His people, i. 18, iii. 8; Jerusalem is His "Holy Mountain," iii. 11; He dwells "in the midst thereof," iii. 5, 15, 17; priests and

Prophets alike are described as "without faith," and as acting "unjustly against the law," iii. 4; the people are His but they are "not worthy to be loved," ii. 1; they must "seek Him," and He "will save a remnant," ii. 9, iii. 12-13.

VI. Bibliography.

St. Cyril of Alexandria, *P.G.* lxxi. Theodore of Mopsuestia, *P.G.* lxvi. Theodoret, *P.G.* lxxxi. Rupertus Tuitiensis, *Commentarius*, *P.L.* clxviii. 645. Haymo, *Enarratio in Sophoniam*, *P.L.* cxvii. 195. Walafrid Strabo, the *Glossa Ordinaria*, *P.L.* civ. 64. Davidson, A. B., *Sophonias* in the Cambridge Bible, 1896, 1921. Lippl, J., *Das Buch der Propheten Sophonias*, 1910. Smith, Ward and Bewer, *International Critical Commentary*, 1912. Zandstra, *The Witness of the Vulgate, Peshitta and Septuagint to the Text of Sophonias*, 1909. Stonehouse, G., *The Books of the Prophets Zephaniah and Nahum*, Westminster Commentaries, 1930.

THE PROPHECY OF AGGEUS

I. Introductory.
II. Contents and Divisions.
III. Notes on the Text.
IV. The Composition of the Prophecies.
V. The Theological Teaching.
VI. Bibliography.

I. Introductory.

"How shall we magnify Zorobabel? For he was a signet on the right hand. In like manner Jesus the son of Josedec? Who in their days built the house and set up a holy Temple to the Lord, prepared for everlasting glory," Ecclus. xlix. 13-14.

Aggeus, חַגַּי, Haggai or "festival," began to prophesy two months before Zacharias, in the sixth month of the second year of Darius Hystaspes or B.C. 520-519. According to the Septuagint Pss. cxlvi (cxlv)-cxlviii are entitled "Of Aggeus and Zacharias."

These two Prophets were raised up by God to arouse the people who had given way to discouragement after the rebuilding of the Temple had been interdicted in the days of Cyrus, Esdr. iii. 8-10, "This people saith: The time is not yet come for building the Temple of the Lord," Esdr. iv. 4-6, Agg. i. 2. In Esdr. v. 1-2, the work of the two Prophets is mentioned.

The prophecy is addressed to Zorobabel and Josue, the former of the stock of David, the latter of the stock of Levi. The conjunction of the two is of the greatest importance in the series of Messianic prophecies. They represented, the one the kingly, the other the priestly aspect of the Messias. These two features were to be combined in the one person

of the Messias, Ps. cix. Hence, while the whole prophecy is concerned with the rebuilding of the Temple, it also touches on the upraising of the apparently fallen and accursed House of David, for Ezechiel, xi. 23, had seen "the glory of the Lord" quitting the Temple of Solomon, and Jeremias, xxii. 30, had pronounced the curse of sterility on Jechonias the son of David. Hence Aggeus insists that the Temple will be built and that though its material splendour will not be so great yet its glory will be greater than that of Solomon's Temple, because "the Desired of all nations shall come" into it, *cf.* Mal. iii. 1-3. He also insists on the glory of Zorobabel: "My servant . . . I will make thee as a signet, for I have chosen thee," ii. 24, for of him should be born "David's Greater Son."

The state of the times can only be likened to our present post-war experiences. Cambyses, the son of Cyrus, had made Palestine a pathway for his troops in his march against Egypt which he had conquered. On his death the whole of what we should term "the near East" had broken up and Darius Hystaspes who succeeded him had to suppress a whole series of pretenders of whom he gives a detailed account in the famous Behistun Inscription.[1]

II. Contents and Divisions.

i. 1-11. The people are blamed for their neglect.

i. 12-ii. 1. They set to work to restore the Temple.

(Note that the chapter division in the Vulgate and Douay is faulty, the date given in ii. 1, refers to the last words of chap. i.)

ii. 2-10. The new Temple is small; its glory, however, shall be far greater than that of the old Temple.

ii. 11-20. The people are defiled by reason of their neglect, yet they shall now be blessed.

ii. 21-24. The glory of Zorobabel and Josue.

III. Notes on the Text.

i. 1. St. Jerome makes this "second year of Darius," or *c.* B.C. 520-519, coincide with the seventieth year from the desolation of the Temple, *cf.* Zach. i. 12, Jer. xxv. 12, xxix. 10, 2 Paral. xxxvi. 21, 1 Esdr. i. 1, Dan. ix. 2. But this is either approximate dating—which seems hardly probable in view of the precise character of the statement in Zach. i. 12, "this is now the seventieth year"—or we must

[1] Given in *Records of the Past*, i, pp. 107 *ff.*

revise our dating and regard the "seventy years" as extending from B.C. 588-518.

i. 2. Apparently only the altar had been set up, *cf.* Esdr. iii. 2-7.

i. 14. For the rebuilding of the Temple see ii. 19, Zach. iv. 9, vi. 12-15, viii. 9, Esdr. v. 1-2, vi. 14-18.

ii. 1-6. On this St. Jerome remarks: "I have here but sketched out the broad lines of interpretation so that from them the wise reader may, even though we do not indicate it, arise to a more sublime understanding of it" and he proceeds to apply the whole to the mystery of the Holy Trinity.

ii. 8. "The Desired of all nations." Though the Hebrew word is different, for the doctrine see Gen. xlix. 10, Isa. xlix. 6, lxvi. 12, Zach. xiv. 12.

IV. The Composition of the Prophecy.

In the prophecy as it now stands, we have four prophecies of Aggeus, one in the sixth month of the second year of Darius, i. 1; another in the seventh month, ii. 2; finally two in the ninth month, ii. 11 and 21. It is, of course, inconceivable that we have in these written prophecies all that Aggeus said, so that the prophecy as it now stands probably represents but the fragments of a continuous preaching.

V. The Theological Teaching.

God is always "the Lord of Hosts." The peculiar distribution of this title for God in the Old Testament should be noted: occurring first in 1 Sam. i. 13, it seems gradually to become the dominant title, for we find it fourteen times in *Aggeus*, forty-eight times in *Zacharias*, twenty-five times in *Malachias*. Note, too, the expression "for I am with you," i. 13, ii. 5, perhaps a reminiscence of Isa. vii. 14, though the Hebrew is not quite the same. The teaching of the prophecy regarding the Messias has already been touched upon.

VI. Bibliography.

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THE PROPHECIES OF ZACHARIAS

I. Introductory.
II. The Purpose of the Prophet and the Grouping of his Prophecies.
III. Notes on the Text.
IV. The Authenticity of Chapters IX-XIV.
V. The Theological Teaching.
VI. Other Points of Interest.
VII. Bibliography.

I. Introductory.

"Zachariæ obscurissimus liber," St. Jerome, *Prol.* to Commentary, *P.L.* xxv. 1486.

In Hebrew זְכַרְיָהוּ, *Zakar-Yahu*, "the Lord remembers." His prophecies are referred to the second and fourth years of Darius, 519 and 517 B.C.; he began to prophesy two months after Aggeus. In the opening verses he is termed "the son of Barachias, the son of Addo." In Neh. xii. 1 and 4, we read of an Addo who came up with Zorobabel from Babylon, and in verse 14 we find a priest Zacharias of the family of Adaia; in Esdr. v. 1, and vi. 4, Zacharias the Prophet is called "son of Iddo," the intermediate "Barachias" being omitted. Hence the Prophet was also a priest. That he was the Prophet who was "slain between the Temple and the altar," Matt. xxiii. 35, is highly improbable, the Jews would hardly have slain a Prophet in those days, *cf.* Agg. i. 12. In the Septuagint, Pss. cxlv-cxlviii are attributed to Aggeus and Zacharias, and cxxxvii-cxxxviii to Zacharias.

II. The Purpose of the Prophet and the Grouping of his Prophecies.

Aggeus had dwelt upon the rebuilding of the Temple and the resuscitation of the Davidic House; Zacharias is concerned with the same two questions, but far more with the latter, or better, with the final steps leading to the resuscitation of the Messianic kingdom.

i. 1-6. Introduction; the Prophet's commission; the people must turn to God.

i. 7-vi. Seven visions and one symbolic action.

i. 7-17. The first vision, on the twenty-first day of the eleventh month; the Prophet is shown the horsemen among the myrtle-bushes; the punishment of the heathen and the restitution of Jerusalem is promised: "it is now the seventieth year."

i. 18-21. The second vision; the four horns signifying the oppressors of Israel; the four smiths signifying those who are to remove these same oppressors.

ii. 1-13. The third vision; the measuring-rod, the future Messianic city.

These first three visions are concerned with the foundation of the Messianic kingdom.

iii. 1-10. The fourth vision; Josue's filthy garments are replaced by spotless ones, a mitre is put upon his head, and he and his friends are designated *portending men, for, behold, I will bring My Servant, the Orient.*

iv. 1-14. The fifth vision: the golden candlestick and the two olive-trees, the symbols of the royal power.

v. 1-11. The sixth vision: the roll flying, the vessel, the talent of lead, and the woman in the vessel; symbols of iniquity which is to be removed.

vi. 1-8. The seventh vision: the four chariots representing the Spirit of God which passes throughout the earth.

vi. 9-15. The symbolic action: the Prophet is told to place a golden crown on the head of Josue, for *Behold a Man, the Orient is His Name.* The union of the priestly and the kingly powers is thus symbolized.

The first three visions signify, as already said, the foundation of the Messianic kingdom; the fourth and fifth are concerned with the royal and priestly Messias; the sixth and seventh with certain features of the kingdom.

vii-viii. An address in the fourth year of Darius.

vii. To keep the commandments is of more importance than to observe the fasts.

viii. The Messianic promises are insisted on as an incentive to the observance of the commandments.

ix-xiv. Two "Burdens."

(*a*) ix. 1-7. The "Burden" upon Syria, Phœnicia, and Philistia.

ix. 8-17. But mercy shall be shown to Israel: *Behold thy King will come to thee, the Just and Saviour.*

x-xi. A reprobation of the evil "shepherds" who have neglected the flock. In spite of them abundant mercy shall be poured out upon Israel. By means of a symbolic action the Prophet shows what God will do to the rebellious ones of Israel, xi. 7-17.

(*b*) xii-xiv. The "Burden" on Israel.

xii. 1-14. An assault upon Jerusalem; it shall bring ultimate relief to the city; the punishment and relief are described in practically alternating strophes.

xiii. 1-6. A fountain shall spring up in Jerusalem; all false prophets and all idols shall be swept away, and "I will say: thou art My people, and they shall say: the Lord is my God."

xiv. 1-21. The final onslaught on Jerusalem; the Lord shall judge them; finally all nations shall come to Jerusalem to keep the Feast of Tabernacles.

III. Notes on the Text.

i. 3. "The Lord of hosts," this expression is very common both in *Zacharias* and *Aggeus*.

i. 8. His Hebrew instructors told St. Jerome that this Angel was Michael according to the traditions they had received. The expression "that spoke in me" is peculiar to *Zacharias*; it was some interior voice that spoke to him: "we cannot imagine," says St. Augustine, "that some voice from without came to his bodily ears when he says 'who spoke *in* me, not *to* me,'" *Ep.* clxii. 5; there is no justification for translating "to me" as does the Revised Version.

i. 12. For "the seventy years" see Jer. xxv. 11-12, xxix. 10.

ii. 2. According to Hebrew tradition this "other Angel" was Gabriel, so St. Jerome.

ii. 9. Similarly the Hebrews of St. Jerome's day understood these two women as signifying the Medes and Macedonians who attacked Babylon.

iii. 1, 6-7, 9. This Jesus or Josue prefigured Jesus the Christ or Messias "I *will* bring my Servant the Orient"; there is nowhere any suggestion that Josue imagined that this symbolic action would find its literal fulfilment in his own person; moreover the priestly and kingly functions are divided between Josue and Zorobabel, iii, iv, vi, whereas they were to be united in the one person of Christ. Note the term "portending" or "significant" men, verse 8.

iv. 2. The Jews naturally saw in the candelabrum the law, in the flame of the lamp Christ, in the seven lights the seven gifts, *cf.* Isa. xi. 2-3, in the two olive-trees the law and the Prophets. Christians, equally naturally, regarded the candelabrum as the Church, the flame as Christ, the lights the seven gifts, the olive-trees were variously

interpreted as Moses and Elias, the law and the Prophets, the Son and the Holy Spirit, Enoch and Elias ; while the mountain, verse 7, stood for Antichrist or the devil, see St. Jerome *in loco P.L.* xxv. 1512-1513.

vi. The red horses may be understood of Babylon, the black of the Medes and Persians, the white of the Macedonians, the parti-coloured of the Romans. But with regard to all these visions and the various interpretations of them St. Jerome gives us the practical warning : "It is not so much what is written that we have to dwell on, as why it was so written," *in loco*, *P.L.* xxv. 1524, and, as Jerome so often remarks of this prophecy, the Prophet "goes from obscurities to obscurities still more obscure."

vi. 14. The names are changed purposely ; Holdai is replaced by Chelem, and Hem is added.

vii. 2. These Babylonian names of the exiles are of interest as showing how the Jews in Babylon had adapted themselves to the situation

ix-xiv. For the critical questions concerning these chapters see below.

ix-x. The fulfilment of all these things is, according to St. Jerome, to be seen in the wars of the Maccabees, *P.L.* xxv. 1552-1563. But he complains that the whole "is wrapped in profoundest mystery" and that the commentators he has read are calculated to lead one astray.

xi. 8. The three shepherds are explained by St. Jerome of Moses, Mary and Aaron, one of the great Doctor's least happy interpretations.

xii. The whole is to be understood of Christ repeats St. Jerome, and apropos of xii. 10, quoted by St. John, xix. 37, he says : "that Hebrew of the Hebrew whom the Saviour loved exceedingly did not trouble overmuch about what the Greek text had but he translated word for word as he found it in the Hebrew," *P.L.* xxv. 1514. St. Augustine has an interesting commentary on this passage, *Civ. Dei*, XX. xxx. 3, where he shows a knowledge of St. Jerome's Vulgate translation and, with his somewhat uncritical mind where textual questions are concerned, proposes a very naïve conflated reading of the Vulgate and Septuagint !

xii. 12. These families seem to be mentioned for their peculiar significance: David as representing the kingly office, Nathan the prophetic, Levi the priestly and Semei the teachers—as St. Jerome suggests, *P.L.* xxv. 1516.

IV. The Authenticity of Chapters IX-XIV.

The tone of these chapters is quite different from that of the preceding ones, and it is well known that St. Matthew, xxvii. 9, quotes xi. 12-13, as "Jeremias."

Against the authenticity of chaps. ix-xiv it is urged that the style changes ; the interpreting Angel disappears, while in i-viii every allusion is to the time of Zacharias, it is hard to see how ix-xiv agrees with his period. In i-viii *e.g.* i. 16, iv. 9, viii. 9, occur frequent allusions to the

half-built Temple, the growing city, etc., whereas in ix-xiv the nations mentioned are, with the sole exception of Greece, ix. 13, those familiar to us at the time of the Assyrian invasion at the close of the eighth century.

Further, Egypt and Assyria were only simultaneously enemies of Israel—as they are presented in chap. x—in the time of Osee, vii. 11, xii. 1, and of Isaias, vii. 18. Moreover the mourning for Josias, to whom xii. 11 is probably to be referred—*cf.* 2 Paral. xxxv. 24-25—is mentioned as apparently something recent and therefore not later than 600 B.C. Again idolatry is mentioned in xiii. 2, therefore the date cannot be subsequent to the Restoration in 538 B.C.

Similarly the earthquake, xiv. 5, "in the days of Ozias," 809-757, is spoken of as something recent. Lastly, Damascus, Emath, and the towns of the Philistines, are spoken of as though in their full strength, as in the days of the kings.

Against this it might feasibly be argued that the style changes because the "visions" are over, thus chaps. vii-viii mark a transition; that the "burdens" begin now because Zacharias is but following the ordinary procedure of the Prophets when speaking of the relations between the nations and Israel. Moreover, if we are to take into account the names of the nations, then Greece forms an exception which we cannot overlook. So too Phœnicia and Philistia may not have been what they once were but they still existed and were still powerful.

Again, the whole scene of invasion described was perfectly fulfilled by Alexander the Great who did destroy Tyre and ravage Philistia, but not Jerusalem. And though it is true that there are not frequent allusions to the time of Zacharias, yet in ix. 8 we have a reference to the "house" of God. As for the "idolatry," Nehemias strove against mixed marriages precisely on the ground that they led to idolatry. Finally there is a remarkable similarity between much that we find in Zacharias throughout, and Ezechiel, Daniel, and the Apocalypse. It is doubtful whether this kind of Apocalyptic literature existed earlier than the time of Ezechiel. It is conceivable, too, that Zacharias here used the terminology of the earlier Prophets because it was familiar, because it appealed more forcibly

to the ears of his hearers, and because he is now prophesying, and not speaking in the same way as in chaps. i-viii.

But having once agreed to separate chaps. i-viii and ix-xiv, modern critics proceed to break up chaps. ix-xiv in various ways and assign them to various authors so that chaps. ix-x are said to be by one author, xi. 4-17, xiii. 1-9 by another,[1] while it is maintained that xii. 1-xiii. 6 cannot be by the same pen as xiv.[2] Then comes the question of assigning dates to these latter sections. Nowack, for instance, would argue that xii. 1-xiii. 6 is based on Ezech. xxxviii and therefore must be post-Exilic, meaning thereby long posterior to the time of Zacharias himself. For with modern critics the Bible never seems to mean what it says but always something else. So that when Zacharias declares that he is speaking in the second year of Darius the modern dissectionist seems to take a frenzied delight in showing either that Zacharias was mistaken or that the prophecies attributed to him are not really his. This may seem a harsh judgement. Yet when Nowack, who may stand for modern critics in general, serenely argues that xiii. 2 is opposed to prophecy and must therefore be late, or that the reference to the "shepherds" in xi. 4-17, xiii. 7-9 must be based on Ezech. xxxiv and therefore must be late, or that the reference to the Greeks, ix. 13 shows that the author lived after the days of Alexander the Great and consequently two hundred years later than the date claimed by Zacharias, the above judgement is none too severe.[3]

The real solution, however, of the arguments against

[1] Nowack in *H.D.B. s.v. Zechariah*, p. 968. [2] *Ibid.*

[3] In *H.D.B. s.v. Zechariah.* Truth to tell, much of modern criticism is vitiated partly by an inability to grasp what is meant by the gift of Prophecy—Nowack, for example, states that the eight visions are "a compendium of the eschatological hopes that animated him," *ib.* 967, also by an obsession regarding the repeated editorship to which it is supposed that the prophecies were subjected—the Redactor, says the same critic, "has sought to substitute the high priest Joshua for Zorobabel," *ib.* In fact everything in the Bible is desupernaturalized ; for instance the wonderful scene in chap. vi where the mystic crown is placed on the head of Josue is paraphrased by saying that the silver and gold brought by deputies of Babylonian Jews go to make crowns for Zorobabel the "Orient" and these are put in the Temple for a memorial, *ib.* 967.

unity of authorship for all the prophecies in *Zacharias* may lie in the true character of the series of visions in chaps. i-viii. Their precise significance has always exercised the commentators. For it is not easy to grasp the standpoint from which the Prophet speaks. The return from the Captivity had taken place some twenty years previously, yet in i. 12, 16, 21, ii. 4, 6-7, God promises mercy to the Jews, Jerusalem shall be rebuilt, the Captivity shall be over; the same feature appears in vii. 9-14 where the hearers are said to harden their hearts, whence the punishment; also in viii. 8 *ff.* the Captivity is spoken of as though not yet over. It would seem as though the Prophet had projected himself into a time long past and discerned in it the seeds of events which at the time he spoke had already come to pass. This perhaps was done in order to depict more forcibly the contrast between the ancestors of the returning Jews and themselves before whom there lay a glorious future.[1]

Returning now to the latter part of the prophecy, chaps. ix-xiv contain two distinct portions, ix. 1—xi and xii-xiv each opening with the formula so common with Isaias, "The burden of the word of the Lord." The former portion is thought to fall into parts: ix. 1—x. 1 with ix. 17, which last section seems to have been displaced, and ix. 16—x. 2-3 and xi, xiii. 7-9, x. 3-11. Van Hoonacker would attribute the former section to the Prophet's own time, that is after the return, the latter seems to him to be similar in design to chaps. i-ii, vii-viii, that is the seer has projected himself into the period preceding the return. Thus he would see in the "three shepherds cut off in one month" the three worthless kings, Joachaz, Joachim and Joachin, xi. 4 *ff.*; while the "foolish shepherd" would be Sedecias, xi. 15, xiii. 7.

The procedure, then, on the Prophet's part would be the

[1] This interpretation was first put forth by Van Hoonacker, *Nouvelles études sur la Restauration juive*, pp. 80 *ff.*; see too his Commentary, *Les Douze Petits Prophètes*, p. 579; he would thus explain chaps. i. 7—vi, also vii-viii where he points out that the Prophet goes even further back in the past than in chaps. i-vi. But while agreeing with his contention so far as chaps. i-ii, vii-viii are concerned we find it hard to justify it for chaps. iii-vi.

same in these last chapters, ix-xiv, as in chaps. i-viii—a projection of his mind into the past in order, as it were, to pick up the threads of God's providential dealings with Israel and show how they have been fulfilled. If Van Hoonacker's view is sound—and it is hard to dispute it—we have in this similarity of procedure in the two parts into which Zacharias' prophecies fall, i-viii and ix-xiv, a remarkable proof of the unity of the whole book, a unity which it has been the fashion to deny ever since the days of J. Mede in 1655.

V. The Theological Teaching.

The Lord is "the Lord of Hosts"; it is noteworthy that though this title occurs with extraordinary frequency in i-viii, it only appears seven times in ix-xiv. The land is His, ix. 16; He is "King of all the earth," xiv. 9; His glory is "in the midst of Jerusalem," ii. 5, 8, 10, 11. The Messianic prophecies are numerous; a "remnant" shall be saved, viii. 6, 11-12; the people are "My people," viii. 7-8, xiii. 9; the Messias is "Emmanuel," viii. 23; He is introduced as speaking, ii. 8-11, just as in Isaias; the priestly and kingly offices are united in His Person, vi. 13. The three principal Messianic prophecies are in iii. 8, vi. 12, ix. 9, *cf.* i. 16, xi 12-13, xii. 10, xiii. 6. The picture of Satan, iii. 1-2, should be compared with that in Job. i-ii: The Angel who "spoke within me" is quite a new feature in prophecy, reminding us of the *Apocalypse*. The following is typical of the attitude of modern writers: "In Zechariah, as in Haggai, we note the disappearance of immediate prophetic inspiration . . . his visions are no longer the outcome of intuition but rather of deliberate reflection," Nowack in *H.D.B.* 968.

VI. Other Points of Interest.

The parallels between iii. 2 and Amos iv. 11; viii. 16-17 and Ps. xiv; viii. 23 and Acts ii; xiv. 5 and Amos i. 1; xiii. 5 and Amos vii. 14, should be noted. In ii. 8 (12, Hebrew), we have a famous instance of a change made by the Scribes from a false motive of reverence; the Hebrew text reads: "he that toucheth you toucheth the apple of *his* eye," the Vulgate, against the Hebrew and the Septuagint, has preserved the correct reading.

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THE PROPHECY OF MALACHI

I. Introductory.
II. The State of Affairs in his Time.
III. The Theological Teaching.
IV. Bibliography.

I. Introductory.

It is more correct to write "Malachi" מַלְאָכִי, meaning "My angel"; "Malachias," the Greek equivalent for מַלְאָכְיָהוּ, would mean the "Angel of the Lord." The Septuagint renders "by the hand of His angel," thus evidently not regarding "Malachi" as a proper name; and, in agreement with this, neither Esdras—with whom the Prophet is supposed to have been contemporary—nor Josephus, nor the author of Ecclesiasticus, xlix. 15, mention Malachi. The Chaldaic paraphrase has "My angel whose name is Esdras the Scribe," and this identification is accepted by St. Jerome.[1]

[1] St. Jerome does not merely say that this was a Hebrew tradition, *cf.* St. Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, XX. xxv; he makes it his own view repeatedly, *e.g.* *Prol.* to his Commentary: "Malachi, then, is to be reckoned the same as Esdras," so too on ii. 7 and iii. 7, and *Præf.* in XII Prophetas, *P.L.* xxviii. 1015. Origen had regarded Malachi as actually an Angel, so too Melchisedec, *Tom.* v *on* John i. 6, *cp.* St. Jerome, *Ep.* lxxiii. 6; but as St. Jerome remarks in his *Prologue* to his Commentary, Origen's three books on the Prophet had treated the whole in allegorical fashion without any regard to history; *cp.* 2 Esdr. i. 40; Pseudo-Epiphanius, *de Vitis Prophetarum*, *P.G.* xliii. 411; St. Chrysostom, *Hom.* ii. 2 on 2 Tim. i, *P.G.* lxii. 610.

Divisions.

i. 2-5. The prooemium; the happy lot of Israel as compared with Esau.

i. 6-ii. 9. The priests are blamed for their neglect of the Divine worship.

ii. 10-17. The populace is blamed for various shortcomings: contempt of one another; divorces; complaints, saying: "Where is the God of judgement?" ii. 17.

iii. 1-5. The Messias shall come to purify them, and God will judge them.

iii. 6-12. It is not God who is changeable but they who are fickle.[1]

iii. 13-iv. 3. Their cowardliness; yet God's mercy, He will send the Messias, the "Sun of Justice."

iv. 4-6.[2] The epilogue: "remember the law of Moses"; Elias shall come before the Messias.[3]

II. The State of the Times.

There was much violence, iii. 5; the altar was despised, i. 12; the tithes not paid, iii. 8-12, *cf.* Neh. xiii. 10; divorce was frequent, ii. 10-16, *cf.* Esdr. x. 2, 10-44, Neh. xiii. 23-29; a spirit of cowardliness prevailed, and men openly said it was of no profit to them to adhere to the service of God, iii. 14-15. And though the priests are more especially blamed, the populace are guilty as well, iii. 9, and their apostasy from God is of long standing, iii. 7. From all this it would appear that there was at the time much discontent among the people; the key to this may be found in Neh. ix. 36, "we ourselves this day are bondmen, and the land which Thou gavest our fathers . . . we ourselves are servants in it." Hence came murmurings that God had

[1] In iii. 8 the Douay version has what is presumably a misreading, "afflict," of the Vulgate "affiget," which latter St. Jerome says in his Commentary is applicable to the Crucifixion, R.V. "rob."

[2] The Greek, Syriac, Latin and English versions have four chapters, but the present Hebrew text has only three.

[3] The Greek text presents no remarkable divergences though it has a certain number of additions, *e.g.* i. 4, 7, ii. 2, etc., also some slight differences, *e.g.* i. 9. In his Commentary St. Jerome gives according to his rule first a rendering of the Hebrew then of the Septuagint text. St. Augustine, as always, regards the Greek text as sacrosanct, for while quoting the Vulgate Latin of iv. 6 he goes on to give the Septuagint version of "the seventy interpreters who interpreted 'prophetically,'" *De Civ. Dei*, XX. xxix.

not fulfilled His promises, and that it was not necessary to serve Him in order to be well off, iii. 12-18; they accused Him of changeableness; but God says: "I am the Lord and I change not," it is they who are to blame since they have not fulfilled their share of the covenant.

Malachi is throughout pre-occupied with the failure of the people and their priests in observing the prescribed Temple service. The second Temple was apparently completed, iii. 10, but early enthusiasms had died down, as was perhaps only natural. They had returned from the captivity, the future had seemed full of promise, men thought the prophecies of Isaias, Jeremias and Ezechiel were to be speedily fulfilled, yet nothing had happened. The Persians were still their masters and it might be truly said that even now Israel held the Promised Land merely on sufferance. Did it not seem to follow that God had deserted His people?

In combating their neglect Malachi insists on the broad principles with which Israel is familiar, and his prophecy is exceedingly brief. Hence it is uncritical to press his apparent omissions, as for instance when he fails to distinguish between the position of the Levites and the Aaronites to whom the actual priesthood was committed, ii. 4, 8, iii. 3, or when he dwells insistently on the position of the priesthood and says nothing of the prophetical body. Yet we are told that

> "The priests are regarded as the sons of Levi, not of Aaron. This would seem to imply that the book was written from the standpoint of Deuteronomy, and therefore before the priestly code had degraded the Levites into a subordinate position to the sons of Aaron. . . . It is no longer the Prophets but the priests who are the messengers of Jehovah, ii. 7. . . . The prophetic period is so far behind this teacher, and its fresh creative life so dead that, when he thinks of the possibility of a new revelation of Jehovah, the medium of that revelation is no longer a man whose lips God should touch with pure fire."[1]

The abuses detailed in Malachi are precisely those which figured so prominently in the days of Esdras and Nehemias. Thus for the withholding of tithes, etc., iii. 8-15, see Neh. xiii. 10-31; for the intermarriages with the heathen, ii. 14-17, see Esdr. ix. 1-15, x. 10-44. So that Malachi was—if not identifiable with Esdras—certainly contemporary with him and Nehemias and therefore prophesied in the latter

[1] A. C. Welch, *H.D.B.*, *s.v. Malachi*, p. 220.

half of the fifth century B.C., *cp.* Esdr. viii. 7, Neh. i. 1, xiii. 9.[1]

III. The Theological Teaching.

God is "the Lord of hosts," *passim*; "the Father," i. 6, ii. 10; "the Great King," i. 14; He changes not, iii. 6; He is still the God of Israel, "they shall be My peculiar possession," iii. 17, *cf.* Exod. xix. 5. He will send His Messias, iii. 2-4, *cf.* Zach. xiii. 9, who is "the Sun of Justice," iv. 2, at His coming they "shall leap," *cf.* Isa. xxxv. 6. Their sacrifices have been offered in an unworthy and grudging spirit, i. 8, 13-14, etc.; but the sacrifices of the law shall be replaced by "the pure oblation," *viz.* the Mass, i. 11. The universality of the Gospel is foreshadowed, "My Name is great among the Gentiles," i. 11, 14. The coming of John the Baptist is foretold, iv. 5-6, *cf.* Lk. i. 17, Mk. ix. 9-12.

In i. 10-11 occurs the famous passage foretelling the Sacrifice of the Mass according to Patristic and Catholic interpretation. Thus St. Augustine, after quoting in full Mal. i. 10-11, says "They cannot deny that the Jewish sacrifices of which He had said 'I have no pleasure in you and I will not receive a gift at your hands' have ceased. Neither can they deny that this sacrifice (of ver. 11) is that offered by the priesthood of Christ according to the order of Melchisedec, for we now see it offered to God in every place from the rising to the setting of the sun."[2] St. Jerome is less explicit, he simply takes the doctrine for granted: "as we see," he says, "in the Christian ceremonies."[3] How far removed are non-Catholic commentators from such interpretations may be seen from the following: Malachi is said to show "his high appreciation of the services offered to Jehovah beyond the limits of Palestine. . . . He not only finds a sacramental system in existence among his people; he also recognizes its power as a factor in the religious life of any people";[4] or again: "the most interesting passage

[1] For the various dates proposed see W. E. Barnes, *The People and the Book*, p. 297.

[2] *De Civ. Dei*, XVIII. xxxv. 3.

[3] *In loco*; *cp.* on i. 7, of unworthy reception.

[4] A. C. Welch, *H.D.B.*, *s.v. Malachi*, p. 220.

in the book from the theological point of view is i. 11, with its assertion that all sincere worship of the one God, even among the heathen, is accepted by Yahve whose name is truly honoured. This interpretation, which is now adopted by most Old Testament scholars, is the one required by both the language and the context of the verse."[1]

With Malachi the list of Prophets closes and for four hundred years no one came saying, "thus saith the Lord." But the captivity had done its work, and the land was cleansed from idolatry, note the silence of the three post-Exilic Prophets, Zacharias, Aggeus, and Malachi on this point. John the Baptist, "in the spirit and power of Elias," Lk. i. 17, was the first to break the long silence, and all Judæa flocked to hear him.

IV. Bibliography.

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For the Messianic prophecies in Malachi see *R.B.* January, 1906.

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[1] Robertson Smith and Torrey, *Encyclop. Biblica*, *s.v.* *Malachi*.

THE MACCABÆAN WARS AND THE BOOKS OF MACCABEES

I. Introductory.

(*a*) **Alexander the Great to Antiochus Epiphanes.** The period between the Restoration of the Jews by Cyrus and the death of Alexander the Great in B.C. 330 is described somewhat summarily by Josephus. He tells us how the building of the Temple was stopped by Cambyses,[1] was

[1] *Ant.* XI. ii. 1-2.

carried out by Zorobabel despite the opposition of the Cutheans or Samaritans;[1] also of the favour shown to the Jews by Xerxes and of the work accomplished by Esdras and Nehemias.[2] Apropos of Artaxerxes I he tells us the story of Esther.[3]

The external difficulties of the Jews were great but the real cause of their troubles was the constant intrigue over the High Priesthood. When Eliasib died he was succeeded by Judas and he by John who murdered his own brother Josue in the Temple.[4] John himself had two sons, Jaddua who succeeded him and Manasses who actually married the daughter of the notorious Sanballat but despite this, was in some way associated with his brother in the priestly office.[5] When Alexander, after defeating Darius at the battle of Issus, began his triumphal progress through Palestine, storming Tyre, Sidon, Damascus and Gaza, Sanballat procured from him leave to erect a schismatical temple on Mount Gerizim wherein he installed his son-in-law Manasses as High Priest.[6] But after his visit to Jerusalem and his reception there by Jaddua Alexander seems to have modified his views about Sanballat and Manasses.[7] The harm had been done however and the Samaritans and their temple were to prove a thorn in the side of the Jewish people until the end.

On Alexander's death his five generals seized on his kingdom: Antigonus secured Asia, Seleucus Babylons Lysimachus the Hellespont, Cassander Macedonia, and Ptolemy Lagi Egypt.[8] The last-named—also known as Soter—was very favourable to the Jews. He reigned forty years and was succeeded by Ptolemy Philadelphus who reigned for thirty-nine years and under him the Septuagint translation was produced.[9] The same favour was extended to the Jews in Asia by Seleucus Nicator.[10] But when

[1] *Ib.* iii; Josephus' main authority here is the Third Book of *Esdras*.

[2] *Ib.* v.

[3] *Ib.* vi.

[4] *Ib.* vii. 1-2.

[5] *Ib.* vii. 2, viii. 2. Josephus' chronology here is hopeless, apparently he has taken Darius Nothus to be Codomannus, the last Darius, thus he has omitted a hundred years.

[6] *Ib.* viii. 4, 6, 7.

[7] *Ib.* viii. 5.

[8] *Ib.* XII. i. 1, ii. 3, *cf.* 1 Macc. i. 1-8.

[9] *Ib.* ii. 2-15.

[10] *Ib.* iii. 1-2.

Antiochus the Great came into conflict with Philadelphus and his son the latter sent his general Scopas who established an Egyptian garrison in Jerusalem. He was defeated at Paneas however by Antiochus who came up to Jerusalem where he was warmly received by the Jews and proceeded to expel the Egyptian garrison.[1] Later on however Antiochus gave his daughter Cleopatra to Ptolemy Epiphanes and at the same time handed over to him Cœlesyria, Samaria, Phœnicia and Judæa.[2]

(*b*) **Intrigues for the High Priesthood.** To understand the intestinal troubles of the Jews we must go back a little way. Simon the Just, 310-291, and Eleazar, 291-276, were brothers and succeeded one another in the High Priesthood. When Eleazar died his uncle, Manasses, succeeded and was in turn followed by Onias II, 251-219. This Onias was a a weak and avaricious man who foolishly refused to pay the comparatively insignificant tribute demanded by Ptolemy Euergetes.[3] This afforded opportunity to a thoroughly unscrupulous man, Joseph, a grandson of Simon the Just.[4] In addition to seven legitimate sons he had an illegitimate son Hyrcanus,[5] a man of peculiarly forceful character. Joseph succeeded in getting him sent as ambassador to Ptolemy Euergetes whom he fascinated.[6] On his return he transferred himself to Transjordania where he ruled over the Arabs for seven years until, finding that Antiochus Epiphanes was coming against him with a great host, he committed suicide.[7] The only interest of details such as these is the light they throw on the state of the Jews and especially of the priesthood at the time.

Indeed with the priesthood things went from bad to worse. The Onias who had refused to pay tribute to Ptolemy Euergetes was succeeded by Simon whose three sons all became High Priest in turn. When the elder, Onias III, died, 175, there followed Jesus or Josue, 175-172, who in accordance with the Hellenizing tendencies of the age changed his name to Jason. Though supported by the populace he was deposed by Antiochus Epiphanes who set

[1] *Ant.* XII. iii. 3. Josephus gives as his authority Polybius of Megalopolis.

[2] *Ib.* iv. 1. [3] *Ibid.* [4] *Ib.* iv. 2.

[5] *Ant.* XII. iv. 6. [6] *Ib.* iv. 7-9. [7] *Ib.* iv. 11.

up in his stead his brother Menelaus, 172-163, whose real name was Onias and who was a thoroughgoing Hellenist.[1] These two may not unjustly be termed the curse of the Jewish people at that period. The compiler of 2 *Maccabees* dwells pathetically on the miserable intrigues in the days of the great Onias III, 198-175. Simon, a Benjaminite, and therefore not of the priestly stock, but "appointed an overseer of the Temple,"[2] moved by avarice told the Governor of Cœlesyria of the wealth of the Temple, with the result that Heliodorus was sent to secure it for the Seleucidan king and suffered in consequence.[3] Despite these portents the same Simon denounced Onias, and on the death of Seleucus IV, B.C. 175, Josue or Jason, brother of Onias, aimed at the High Priesthood and with this end in view energetically pushed forward the Hellenization of the Jews.[4] Moreover when Antiochus Epiphanes was compelled by the Romans to quit Egypt[5] which he had ravaged[6] he was received into Jerusalem in state by the same Jason[7] who made the mistake however of trusting a fellow renegade, Menelaus brother of the Simon mentioned above, with money for Antiochus Epiphanes. Menelaus of course betrayed him, secured the High Priesthood, 172-163, and compelled Jason to flee,[8] only to be in turn dispossessed by his own brother Lysimachus who was shortly slain in a temple riot.[9] Menelaus continued his intrigues against Onias and though "guilty of all the evil"[10] by dint of bribes triumphed over him when brought to judgement, "and so, through the covetousness of them that were in power, Menelaus continued in authority, increasing in malice to the betraying of the citizens."[11] When a rumour circulated that Epiphanes was dead the ever-watchful Jason returned from his exile in the land of Ammon, stormed Jerusalem, drove out Menelaus but was himself expelled and died miserably in Egypt.[12]

The same intrigues continued even to the end of the headship of Judas Maccabæus. For when Demetrius I

[1] *Ant.* XII. v. 2. [2] 2 Macc. iii. 4. [3] *Ib.* iii. 7-40.
[4] *Ib.* iv. 9-17, 1 Macc i. 14-16. [5] 2 Macc. iv. 21.
[6] *Ib.* and 1 Macc. i. 17-21. [7] 2 Macc. iv. 22.
[8] *Ib.* iv. 26. [9] *Ib.* iv. 29, 42.
[10] *Ib.* iv. 47. [11] *Ib.* iv. 50. [12] *Ib.* v. 5-10.

laid claim to the throne of the Seleucidans a certain Alcimus "who had been High Priest but had wilfully defiled himself in the time of the mingling (with the heathen), seeing that there was no safety for him nor access to the altar"[1] went to Demetrius and claimed to be restored to his High Priesthood. The king supported him, with the result that Bacchides and Nicanor were sent against Judas Maccabæus.[2]

(*c*) Antiochus Epiphanes and his "Act of Uniformity." Antiochus Epiphanes we have just mentioned. It only needed a man of his aggressive stamp to bring matters to a head; the factions among the Jews gave him his opportunity. He began by invading Egypt but the Romans told him to withdraw.[3] On his way back he seized Jerusalem which intestinal jealousies made an easy prey.[4] Two years later, the 143rd year of the Seleucidan era, the 153rd Olympiad, he stripped the Temple of its treasures, forbade the sacrifices, established a Syrian garrison which "overlooked the Temple,"[5] set up an idol on the altar, destroyed the sacred books of the Jews and compelled them to eat swine's flesh.[6] According to Josephus the Samaritans took occasion of this formally to apostatize from Judaism. They appealed to Antiochus for help from Apollonius the Governor and Nicanor the Procurator and at the same time they converted their temple on Mount Gerizim into a temple of Zeus.[7]

From this point onwards Josephus practically follows the story as given in 1 *Maccabees* though he has some interesting details of his own. He tells with a pardonable pride the story of the long-drawn-out fight for independence which his fellow-countrymen now began to wage. It is no exaggeration to describe this as an epic worthy of the greatest days of Judaism. In reading it one has always to bear in mind that the real patriots were, if not in a minority, at any rate heavily handicapped by a large body of recreant Jews, especially in the priestly body.

[1] *Ib.* xiv. 3. Some Greek texts have "no mingling" and so R.V.
[2] 1 Macc. vii. 5-21, 26, ix. 1; 2 Macc. xiv. 3-12, 26.
[3] *Ant.* XII. v. 2.
[4] *Ib.* v. 3.
[5] *Ib.* v. 3 and ix. 3.
[6] *Ib.* v. 4.
[7] *Ib.* v. 5.

II. The Purpose and Scope of the Two Books of Maccabees.

This story is set out in detail, especially from the military point of view, in 1 *Maccabees*; the details of political and ecclesiastical intrigue which nearly succeeded in wrecking the aspirations of the Jews are told in 2 *Maccabees* which takes us back much further in the history of the events which brought about the final success. The two books stand to one another much in the same way as do the formal narratives in 3-4 *Kings* to the purely ecclesiastical account in *Chronicles*. The first book covers the years 176-133 B.C., the second, which begins at an earlier date, covers the period from 177-162 B.C.; the former starts from the first year of Antiochus IV, Epiphanes, the latter from the last year of his father Seleucus IV. The first is simple history, the second has in view the glorification of the Jerusalem Temple as opposed to that erected at Onion in Egypt by the refugee priest Onias.[1] The first book was originally written in Hebrew, as St. Jerome expressly states: "The first book of Maccabees I found in Hebrew; the second in Greek, as can be proved from its very style."[2]

How different is the outlook of the two authors will be at once apparent to the reader. Whereas the author of 1 *Maccabees*, after a few lines regarding Alexander the Great, passes at once to Antiochus Epiphanes, i. 11, and deals with the rising under Judas Maccabæus in chap. iii, the compiler of 2 *Maccabees* does not reach this point till his eighth chapter, the previous chapters being wholly introductory. These chapters open with a letter from the Jews in Jerusalem to those in Egypt written in the year 188 or B.C. 124; in it they refer to an earlier letter written in the year 169 or B.C. 143 "after Jason fled," *cp.* iv. 26. The object of the letter is to urge on the Jews in Egypt the solemnization of the Feast of Tabernacles, i. 9, 18, ii. 16, coinciding with the Feast of the Purification of the Temple by Judas Maccabæus, 1 Macc. iv. 52-59, 2 Macc. x. 1-8. The

[1] *Ant.* XIII. vi. 7.

[2] *Prol. Galeatus*, *P.L.* xxviii. 556-557.

interest lies in the curious details furnished concerning the history of the sacred fire hidden away by the priests at the capture of Jerusalem by Nabuchodonosor in B.C. 586, and rediscovered by Nehemias at the return, i. 18-36. We are also told how Jeremias had at the same time hidden the Tabernacle and the Ark at Sinai, ii. 1-12. It is said that these things are "found in the descriptions of Jeremias the Prophet,"[1] also "in the memoirs and commentaries of Nehemias"; of Nehemias it is stated that "he made a library and gathered together out of the countries the books both of the Prophets, and of David, and the epistles of the kings, and concerning the holy gifts."[2]

The author then states his purpose: the story of Judas, of the purification of the Temple, the dedication of the altar, the wars waged by Judas, finally of the manifestations of Divine power whereby they were assisted in their struggle, ii. 20-22. His work, he tells us, is an abbreviation of a work in five volumes by a certain Jason, and he tells us what the task has cost him and, after a fairly lengthy prologue, naïvely concludes: "It is a foolish thing to make a long prologue and to be brief in the story itself," ii. 33.

The compiler of 2 *Maccabees* shows at every turn this same dry sense of humour; see, for example, the answer he puts in the mouth of Heliodorus when asked if there was anyone else to attack Jerusalem, iii. 38, his remark

[1] 2 Macc. i. 13, ii. 1. The Greek is peculiar: *Εὑρίσκεται δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἀπογραφαῖς Ἰερεμίας ὁ προφήτης ὅτι ἐκέλευσεν* . . . and it is hard to justify the translation in R.V., "It is also found in the records, that Jeremiah the prophet commanded . . ." The Old-Latin, which was never corrected by St. Jerome nor retranslated, is followed by the Douay version as given above. What these "records" of Jeremias were we do not know.

[2] ii. 13. The Greek text has *Ἐξηγοῦντο δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἀναγραφαῖς καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνηματισμοῖς τοῖς κατὰ τὸν Νεεμίαν τὰ αὐτά*, where *κατὰ τὸν Νεεμίαν* presumably means authorship as in the titles to the Gospels and would seem to be faithfully rendered in the Latin version. The Revised Version has "And the same things were related in the public archives and in the records that concern Nehemiah" though the margin has "Or, Nehemiah's records." The statement about Nehemias having taken pains to collect "the books about the kings and prophets, and the (books) of David, and letters of kings about sacred gifts"—so translated in R.V., is most important for the formation of the Canon of the Old Testament.

about the money for the sacrifice to Hercules which was finally spent on ships, iv. 20, also about the design of the enemy to sell the Jews they supposed they were going to capture, viii. 11, 25, 34, 36, especially his description of the pride of Epiphanes who thought that "he might now make the land navigable and the sea passable on foot," v. 21, or his description of Tyrannus as "a man both far gone in age and madness," iv. 40. His condemnations of the unworthy are forceful, *e.g.* of Menelaus, iv. 25, xiii. 3-7, of Jason, v. 8-10. The same tone appears in his numerous moral reflections: on the folly of Antiochus Epiphanes, v. 17-20, where note his pithy remark that "God did not choose the people for the place's sake, but the place for the people's sake," *cf.* Mark ii. 27; on the real meaning of sufferings inflicted on the elect, vi. 12-17; on the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, ix. 28.

He frankly loves the marvellous; indeed part of his purpose is to perpetuate the memory of such happenings, ii. 22; he positively revels in the story of Heliodorus, iii. 7-40, iv. 1, v. 18; he tells us of the appearance of fiery horsemen in the sky and of how men "prayed that these portents might turn to good," v. 1-4, also of the five heavenly horsemen who kept Judas unharmed in the battle, x. 29-30, and of the white horseman in golden armour, xi. 8; finally he narrates the beautiful story of the appearance in vision of the saintly Onias and of Jeremias "the lover of his brethren . . . that prayeth much for the people" who came to strengthen Judas before the battle, xv. 12-16. To the truly Christian mind such happenings are as "natural" as the daily phenomena of nature.

But there is a harder side to the compiler's character. Judas made "an unspeakable slaughter," xii. 16; the slain at Carnion were 25,000, xii. 25, at Ephron, again 25,000, xii. 28; on other occasions there fell 4,000, 35,000, 9,000, 20,000, 20,000, 31,000, 12,600.[1] Modern sensibilities may be shocked but it was but natural for him to rejoice in the slaughter of men who were the sworn enemies of his race. Perhaps we did much the same in the Great War. Side by side with this is the vivid picture of the faith and spirit

[1] xiii. 14, xv. 27, viii. 24, 30, x. 23, 31, xi. 11.

of prayer which animated them all, and which anticipated and permeated every battle.[1] And while heroic deeds were done by these men it is always God who wins their battles.[2]

III. The Principal Personages who Figure in these Wars.

To return to the War of Independence. The successful outcome of the struggle was—humanly speaking—due to the devotion of the aged Mathathias and his heroic sons, Judas, Jonathan and Simon whose story is told in full in 1 *Maccabees*, the author of 2 *Maccabees* being concerned solely with the war waged by Judas. The latter was essentially a "man of God," a man of prayer and unbounded faith. Despite his unparalleled successes he remained, even in his last campaigns, as simple-minded and unaffected in his piety as when he first challenged the overwhelming forces arrayed against his nation. The same in its degree must be said of Jonathan though naturally he was overshadowed by his brother. But Simon, though unquestionably a warrior, was also a diplomat and politician.

The family was a priestly one, 1 Macc. ii. 1, hence the not unnatural outcome of the independence they secured for their people was their elevation to the High Priesthood. As they had by force of circumstances established themselves as princes of the nation they thus combined in their own person the two offices of priest and king, and so foreshadowed the final accomplishment in the Person of Christ of the prophecies on this point.[3]

[1] viii. 2-4, 17-20, 29, x. 16, 25-27, xii. 5, 15, 28, 37, 42, xiii. 14-15, 17, xiv. 34-36.
[2] viii. 24, 35, ix. 5, x. 28, xi. 13, xv. 4, 7, 21-24, 27.
[3] Ps. cix, Zach. vi.

GENEALOGICAL TREE OF THE MACCABEES, OR HASMONEANS.

- HASMON
  - Simon
    - Johanan
      - Mathathias
        - Simon 143-136
          - John Hyrcanus 136-106
            - Aristobulus I † 106
            - Alexander Jannæus 105-78
              - Hyrcanus II † 30
                - Alexandra
              - Aristobulus II † 49
                - Alexander † 49
                  - Mariamne † 29 (*m.* Herod the Great)
                    - Alexander † B.C. 7
                    - Aristobulus † B.C. 7
                      - Herod Agrippa I (Acts xii)
                        - Herod Agrippa II (Acts xxv. 13)
                      - Herodias (Matt. xiv. 3, Mark vi. 17)
                - Antigonus † 37
        - Judas Maccabæus 166-161
        - Jonathan 161-143

THE SELEUCID KINGS WHO FIGURE IN 1-2 MACCABEES.

- **Seleucus IV,** 187-175
  - **Antiochus IV** (Epiphanes), 175-164
    - **Antiochus V** (Eupator), 164-162
    - **Alexander Balas,** 152-145
      - **Antiochus VI,** 144-143 (Trypho, his general, usurped the throne)
  - **Demetrius I** (Soter), 162-150
    - **Demetrius II** (Nicator), 147-142, 130-126
    - **Antiochus VII** (Sidetes), 143-131

The origin of the name "Maccabee" is disputed; some regard it as derived from the Hebrew "Who is like to Thee among the gods ('strong' in Douay version)?" Exod. xv. 11. Others maintain that it is derived from the Hebrew word for a "hammer," *cf.* Judg. iv. 21.[1] The two books do not follow one another as two consecutive volumes. They are independent, 1 *Maccabees* covering the history of the wars waged by the three sons of Mathathias, Judas, Jonathan, and Simon, while 2 *Maccabees* only treats of Judas' wars.

The value of these two books for the history of the period is indisputable. Indeed there is no other source of information, and Josephus, in his history of this period, has practically taken over bodily the first book.[2] But the story makes difficult reading for us, mainly because of the number of actors in the drama. For the succession to the throne of the Seleucidans was always in dispute, the

[1] The epithet "Maccabean" is generally understood of the whole family. But this is a mistake. Judas alone is called "Maccabæus," I. ii. 4, 66, iii. 1, just as each of the brothers had their own significative surname, I. ii. 2-5. The family name was "Hasmonean" from their ancestor, Josephus, *Ant.* XI. iv. 8, XII. vi. 1.

[2] See A. A. Bevan in *J.T.S.*, January, 1929, p. 191; Curtiss, *The Name "Machabee,"* 1876.

Egyptian Ptolemies were constantly intervening, and the generals are many, and the priests are divided into factions. The tables on pp. 460 and 461 may facilitate matters.

IV. The Various Campaigns during the War.

There are four phases in this War of Independence: (*a*) The early victories which resulted in the purification of the Temple after its defilement by the heathen, iv. 59; (*b*) the subsequent attainment of religious liberty, vi. 59; (*c*) the conclusion of peace between the Jews and the Syrians, ix. 73; (*d*) the final attainment of political independence, xiii. 42, with the establishment of the Hasmonean dynasty which later merged into that of the Herods.

(*a*) **The Struggle under Judas Maccabæus.**—After his account of the revolt under Mathathias owing to the excesses of Antiochus Epiphanes[1] the author of 1 *Maccabees* opens with an encomium on Judas.[2] He then recounts his victories in 166 B.C. over Apollonius and Seron and of his speech on that occasion to his troops.[3] Meanwhile Antiochus Epiphanes had gone to Persia with a view to securing funds for his further campaigns against the Jews.[4] He left Lysias as regent and he with Ptolemæus, Nicanor and Gorgias proceeded in 165 B.C. to the assault on the Jews. So confident were they of success that they had actually arranged with the slave merchants for the sale of their intended captures.[5] Both Gorgias and Lysias were summarily defeated[6] and Judas had the glory of purifying the Temple on the anniversary of its defilement by Antiochus Epiphanes a few years previously.[7] This marked the first step towards political independence which however was yet to be delayed some years.

Meanwhile the various surrounding nations had risen

[1] I. i-ii. [2] I. iii. 1-9, *cf.* II. v. 27.

[3] I. iii. 13-24; it is interesting to compare the speech here given, 18-22, with Josephus' version of it, *Ant.* XII. vi. 3.

[4] I. iii. 27-32.

[5] I. iii. 38-iv. 6; II. viii. 10-11.

[6] I. iv. 27-35; the whole of this episode is assigned to Nicanor in II. viii.

[7] I. iv. 36-61; II. x. 1-8.

TABLE OF THE SELEUCID KINGS, OF THE PTOLEMIES, AND OF THE HIGH PRIESTS.

The Jews (*under High Priests*).	*Egypt* (*under the Ptolemies*).[1]	*Syria* (*under the Seleucid Kings*).[2]
Onias I, 321-310.	Ptolemy I (*Lagi*), 323-284.	Seleucis I (*Nicator*), 312-281.
Simon I (*the Just*), 310-291.		
Eleazar, 291-276. (*The Pentateuch translated into Greek in Egypt.*)	Ptolemy II (*Philadelphus*), 286-245.[3]	
		Antiochus I (*Soter*), 281-262.
Manasses, 276-251.		Antiochus II (*Theos*), 262-247.
Onias II, 251-219.	Ptolemy III (*Euergetes I*), 247-221.	Seleucus II (*Callisthenes*), 247-227.
		Seleucus III (*Ceraunos*), 227-223.
Simon II, 219-199. (*The Book of Wisdom probably written about this time, in Egypt.*)	Ptolemy IV (*Philopator*), 221-203.	Antiochus III (*the Great*), 223-187.
Onias III, 199-175. (*Ecclesiasticus written, in Palestine.*)	Ptolemy V (*Epiphanes*), 203-181.	
	Ptolemy VI (*Philometor*), 181-145.	Seleucus IV (*Philopator*), 187-175. (2 *Macc. opens in the last year of his reign.*)

[1] We give the dates as furnished by Bevan, in Petrie, *History of Egypt*, vol. iv. See Bouche-Leclercq, *Histoire des Lagides*, 1913; Mahaffy, P. J., *The Empire of the Ptolemies*, 1895; St. Jerome *on* Dan. vii. 8, xi. 5.

[2] On the Seleucid dynasty see E. Bevan, *The House of Seleucus*, 1902; *Jerusalem under the High Priests, Lectures on the Period between Nehemias and the New Testament*, 1904; Bouche-Leclercq, *Histoire des Séleucides*, 1913; Jean, *Le Milieu Biblique av. Jésus-Christ*, 1922; Streane, *The Age of the Maccabees*, 1898; also St. Jerome *on* Dan. viii. 5, xi. 5, etc.

[3] See *J.E.A.*, November, 1928.

Table of the Seleucid Kings, of the Ptolemies, and of the High Priests (*Continued*).

The Jews (*under High Priests*).	*Egypt* (*under the Ptolemies*).	*Syria* (*under the Seleucid Kings*).
Jason, 175-172.		Antiochus IV (*Epiphanes*), 175-164. (1 *Macc. opens in first year of his reign.*)
Menelaus, 172-163. (*Mathathias, father of the Maccabees.*)	Ptolemy VII (*Euergetes II, or Physcon*), 170 (*he began to reign alone in* 145) *to* 116.	
Judas Maccabæus, 166-161.		Antiochus V (*Eupator*), 164-162.
Jonathan, 161-143. (*Jewish Temple at On in Egypt is founded by the refugee Onias IV.*)		Demetrius I (*Soter, son of Seleucus IV*), 162-152.
		Alexander Balas (*son of Antiochus IV*), 152-145.
Simon, 143-136.		Demetrius II (*Nicator*), 147-142.
		Antiochus VI (*son of Alex. Balas*), 144-143.
		Trypho, his general, usurps the throne, 144-143.
John Hyrcanus, 135-106. (*Ecclesiasticus is translated into Greek in Egypt.*)		Antiochus VII (*Sidetes, son of Demetrius I*), 143-131.
Aristobulus the King.	Soter II, Ptolemy IX (*Lathyrus*), Alexander I,[1] 116-80.	Demetrius II (*for the second time*), 130-126.

[1] The remaining members of the dynasty are of little or no importance: Berenice III, Ptolemy X, Alexander II, Ptolemy XI, from B.C. 80-51; Cleopatra VI, Ptolemy XII, Ptolemy XIII, and Ptolemy XIV, from 51-30.

against the victorious Jews but Judas defeated the Edomites, Ammonites, the inhabitants of Galilee, Galaad, Philistia and Phœnicia, twice meeting and routing their leader Timotheus,[1] in 164 B.C. Nor had things prospered better with Antiochus Epiphanes in Persia for he met with a set-back at the hands of the priesthood there[2] and at the same time received news of the defeats suffered by his generals at the hands of Judas.[3] He fell sick, repented and died B.C. 164, after appointing his friend Philip as regent during the minority of his son Antiochus Eupator.[4] The latter came with Lysias to assist the occupants of the citadel in Jerusalem which was hotly besieged by Judas.[5] The Jews had to take refuge in the Holy City despite an heroic act performed by Eleazar.[6] Lysias besieged the city but on hearing of the arrival of Philip in Antioch a truce was patched up.[7]

A rival to Antiochus Eupator now appeared on the scene in the person of Demetrius son of Seleucus I who promptly vanquished Antiochus and Lysias[8] whereupon Alcimus, the renegade priest of whom so far we have heard nothing in 1 *Maccabees*, pays court to him and is made High Priest.[9] Demetrius sends him, B.C. 162, with his general Bacchides to Jerusalem where the Assideans counsel his reception on the score that he is a priest and will therefore deal generously with them, but Alcimus soon undeceives them.[10] Judas proves too much for Alcimus, so Demetrius sends

[1] I. v. 1-68. 2 *Maccabees* inserts here a reference to a hostile party in Jerusalem which Judas suppressed, II. x. 1-8; while in the account of these battles he tells us of the miraculous protection afforded to Judas, x. 29-30; he also tells us that Timotheus was slain, x. 33-38. From I. v. 6 and 37 it is clear that Timotheus had conducted two campaigns which are widely separated in II. x and xii.

[2] I. vi. 1-4, *cf.* II. ix. 1-2.

[3] I. vi. 5-7; II. ix. 3-4.

[4] I. vi. 8-16; a very different account of his end is given in II. ix 4-28. See p. 467, note. Josephus, *Ant.* XII. ix. 1, follows rather the account in I. vi and appears to attribute the statements in II. ix. 1-2 to Polybius whose explanation of the fate with which Antiochus met he repudiates.

[5] I. vi. 18. [6] I. vi. 43-46. [7] I. vi. 55-63.

[8] I. vii. 1-4; II. xiv. 1-3; *Ant.* XII. x. 1.

[9] I. vii. 5-9; II. xiv. 13; *Ant.* XII. ix. 7.

[10] I. vii. 12-20.

Nicanor to seize Judas with whom he pretends friendship.[1] When he removes the mask a battle is fought at Bethoron and Nicanor is slain:[2] "So the sword ceased from Israel," says the chronicler. This marked the second step in the campaign for independence.

The Jews felt however that they needed allies, so they sent ambassadors to the Spartans and the Romans who entered into a covenant with the nation.[3] This did not however prevent Demetrius from sending Bacchides and Alcimus once more and in the ensuing battle Judas was slain, B.C. 161.[4] The chronicler sums up his account of this disaster by saying: "But the rest of the words of the wars of Judas and of the noble acts that he did and of his greatness are not wrtten: for they were very many."[5]

(*b*) The Wars of Jonathan, B.C. 161-143.—ix. 24-63. War against Bacchides, general of Demetrius I, Soter. In the subsequent war between Demetrius I and Alexander Balas, son of Antiochus IV, Epiphanes, both kings strove to gain over Jonathan to their respective sides by outbidding one another in their offers. Jonathan prefers to follow the fortunes of Alexander and when Demetrius is slain[6] and Alexander makes an alliance with Ptolemy Philometor he also makes a friend of Jonathan, x. 1-66. The war is continued under Demetrius II, Nicator, son of Demetrius I, and Jonathan routs Demetrius' general, Apollonius. But Ptolemy unexpectedly sides with Demetrius against his son-in-law Alexander who flees to Arabia where he is put to death; Ptolemy himself dying three days later, x. 67-xi. 18.

In the war which followed between Demetrius II, Nicator, and Trypho the general of Antiochus VI,[7] son of Alexander Balas, Demetrius allied himself with Jonathan but betrayed him, whereupon Antiochus Theos made overtures to Jonathan who defeated the troops of Demetrius at Hasor near the Sea of Galilee, xi. 19-74.[8] At the

[1] I. vii. 26-30 but *cp.* II. xiv. 18-25.

[2] I. vii. 31-50.

[3] I. viii. 1-32; *cp.* xii. 1-23; xiv. 16-26; Tertullian, *Apol.* xxvi; St. Jerome *on* Isa. i. 5, *P.L.* xxiv. 29.

[4] I. ix. 1-18.

[5] I. ix. 19-22.

[6] *Ant.* XIII. ii. 4.

[7] He reigned four years, *Ant.* XIII. vii. 1.

[8] B.C. 144.

same time Jonathan renewed the treaties formerly made by Judas Maccabæus with the Romans and Spartans, xii. 1-24, after which he once more routed the forces of Demetrius Nicator but was betrayed into the hands of Trypho at Ptolemais. He had been High Priest four years.[1]

(*c*) The Wars of Simon, B.C. 143-135.—Trypho[2] promptly slew Jonathan as also his ward Antiochus VI, Theos, and thus usurped "the crown of Asia." Demetrius II, Nicator, allied himself with Simon who proceeded to storm the citadel, xiii. 1-54, which had so long proved a thorn in the side of the people of Jerusalem. According to Josephus he levelled it to the ground.[3] The Parthians captured Demetrius and imprisoned him, xiv. 3,[4] but Palestine enjoyed peace under Simon on whom the author pronounces a great encomium, xiv. 27-46. Simon was declared king and priest, 35, and the Romans wrote him a letter of friendship; he also renewed the league with the Spartans, xiv. 19-23.

When yet another claimant to the throne of Asia appeared in the person of Antiochus VII, Sidetes, son of Demetrius I, he entered into alliance with Simon, and the usurper Trypho was put to flight and slain.[5] Though the Romans asserted their friendship with Simon Antiochus broke his covenant with him, xv. 27, and sent Cendebeus against him, but Simon defeated him.[6] Treachery however once more did its work and Ptolemy, of the priestly stock, betrayed Simon and his sons at the fortress of Docus in Transjordania. Simon was put to death but his son, John (Hyrcanus) escaped, xv-xvi.[7]

The key to many of the campaigns[8] undertaken by the Syrians against the Jews lies in the existence of a Syrian garrison in Jerusalem. This was first established by

[1] *Ant.* XIII. vi. 6.

[2] Josephus speaks of him as Diodotus, an Apamenian, *Ant.* XIII. v. 1.

[3] *Ant.* XIII. vi. 7; this was in the year 172 or B.C. 142; 1 Macc. xiii. 43-54.

[4] *Ant.* XIII. v. 11.

[5] *Ant.* XIII. vii. 2.

[6] 1 Macc. xv. 38-xvi. 10.

[7] *Ant.* XIII. vii. 4.

[8] For studies of these campaigns see Abel, O.P., in *R.B.* 1923-1926; also *Campaigns in Palestine from Alexander the Great*, the *Schweich Lectures* for 1922, published in 1927; R. Dussaud, *Topographie de la Syrie Antique et Mediévale*, 1927.

Antiochus IV, Epiphanes, I. i. 35; Philip seems to have been its first governor, II. v. 22 and viii. 8; it was a source of annoyance to the Jews all through this period, iv. 41. Judas assaulted it in vain, I. vi. 18-32. It was strongly fortified by Bacchides, ix. 52-53, who put Jewish hostages in it; these were afterwards released, x. 6, 9, after the death of Judas. Demetrius I attempted, x. 32, to bribe the Jews by offering to evacuate the citadel, an offer which, needless to say, he did not carry into execution. The Maccabees stormed it, xi. 20-23, but did not succeed in taking it. Jonathan afterwards asked Demetrius, xi. 41, to remove the garrison, the king consented, but, as usual, did not observe his promise, xi. 53. Jonathan thereupon isolated the fortress from the rest of the city, xii. 36; afterwards we find the garrison sending urgent messages to Trypho, xiii. 21-22, to come to their relief, and after Simon's alliance with Demetrius we find the garrison in great straits, xiii. 49, so that they sue for peace and Simon casts them out and purifies the castle amid great rejoicings.

Another frequent source of difficulty in reading the story of these wars lies in the number of *generals* engaged.

1. *Apollonius*, I. iii. 10-11, attacks Judas from Samaria, and is slain.

2. *Apollonius*, I. x. 67-83, general of Demetrius II; he attack Jonathan and Simon and is defeated.

3. *Bacchides*, I. vii. 8, a general of Demetrius I; he retires after devastating the territory round Jerusalem, vii. 20; after the death of Nicanor, *q.v.* he reappears and slays Judas Maccabæus, I. ix. 15; he plots against Jonathan, ix. 25-48, who defeats him; Bacchides, however, holds Jerusalem and the surrounding district; finally he is routed by Jonathan and concludes a peace with him, ix. 70-73.

4. *Gorgias*, termed "the Governor of Idumæa," II. xii. 32; is sent against Judas by Lysias the regent, I. iii. 38, is defeated and the host flees to Idumæa, iv. 15; later he routs some of Judas' soldiers near Jamnia, v. 56-60.

5. *Lysias*, I. iii. 32, is left by Antiochus Epiphanes as governor during the latter's absence in Persia, is also appointed regent for Antiochus V. He sends Ptolemy, Nicanor and Gorgias to attack the Jews, iii. 38; on their defeat, he gathers an army and marches from Bethoron but is routed, iv. 29-35; he plans another invasion, iv. 35, apparently described in II. xiii, where operations are put a stop to by the rebellion of Philip in Antioch; Lysias therefore makes peace with the Jews, II. xiii. 26, but, with his ward Antiochus V, is eventually slain by Demetrius I, I. vii. 1-3.

6. *Nicanor*, is first sent against the Jews by Lysias, I. iii. 38, II. viii. 9; after the murder of Lysias he seems to have adhered to

Demetrius I, who sent him, I. vii. 26, II. xiv. 12, to attack Judas; with him he feigns friendship, I. vii. 27-31 (*cf.* however, II. xiv. 18-28), but is defeated by him at Capharsalama, vii. 33; he still holds the citadel in Jerusalem but is ultimately slain in an engagement near Bethoron, vii. 39, 43, *cf.* II. xv. 28.

7. *Seron*, called "Captain of the army of Syria," I. iii. 13; is routed by Judas near Bethoron, iii. 24.

8. *Timotheus*, "Captain of the Ammonites," I. v. 6; is put to flight by Judas near Bosor across Jordan; gathers another army at Raphon, v. 37, but is again defeated and slain, II. x. 37.

9. *Timotheus*, II. xii, another general of Antiochus V; is defeated, but his life is spared, II. xii. 24.

10. *Trypho*, had belonged to the court of Alexander Balas, I. xi. 39, he took advantage of the disaffection arising from Demetrius II having disbanded his army, and brought from Arabia Antiochus VI son of Alexander, xi. 54. He made friends with Jonathan whom, however, he afterwards captured through treachery, xii. 5, 47, and ultimately put to death, xiii. 23; after this murder he also put to death his ward Antiochus VI, xiii. 31. He usurped the throne, xiii. 32, but on the arrival of Antiochus VII, son of Demetrius I, Trypho was deserted, xv. 10, and fled into exile, xv. 37.

V. The Historical Value of 1-2 Maccabees.

As already stated, these two books are practically our only source of knowledge of the period. But they are conceived in a quite different spirit. While 1 *Maccabees* is a history pure and simple, 2 *Maccabees* is an epitome of five books by a certain Jason, and it is clear that this epitome was undertaken for some set purpose. It is not history in the same sense as 1 *Maccabees*, and this must always be borne in mind when comparing the treatment of the same events in the two books. The author of the first had abundant and different sources for his work, note the number of documents he cites, also his scrupulous care in giving dates whenever possible; we feel that we are dealing with an historian who has access to thoroughly reliable documents and who gives them faithfully. The perspective of the compiler of 2 *Maccabees* is quite different; his work is the religious history of the period, we have already compared his treatment of the events to that adopted by the Chronicler as contrasted with the methods of the compiler of 3-4 *Kings*. As an instance of this we might refer to the three accounts of the death of Antiochus IV given in 1 Macc. vi. 1-16, 2 Macc. i. 11-16 (the second letter prefixed

to the book), and ix. 1-27.[1] The campaign of Lysias, I. iv. 26-35, is referred to the year previous to the death of Antiochus IV, iv. 52, and vi. 1; apparently the same campaign is referred in II. xi. 1-14, to Antiochus V, *cf.* ix. 25. Again, the campaigns for the deliverance of the Jews throughout the land are in I. v, assigned to the period between the Feast of the Dedication and the Declaration of Religious Liberty, iv. 59-vi. 59; in II. x-xii these events are placed before and after the declaration of religious liberty, xi. 13-14. Lastly, note the apparent discrepancy between I. vii. 1 and II. xiv. 1.[2]

VI. The Date of Composition of the Two Books.

1 *Maccabees* probably dates from about the beginning of the first century B.C.; thus in xiii. 30 the sepulchre of Jonathan is spoken of as being at Modin "until this day," presumably some time after it was erected in B.C. 143. Again, in chap. viii, the picture of the Romans is not such as a Jew would have drawn about 70, when the Romans were becoming aggressive in the east; Pompey captured the Holy City in 64 B.C. Lastly, in xvi. 23-24, we are told that the deeds of John Hyrcanus, 135-106 B.C., "are written in the book of the days of his High Priesthood, from the time he became High Priest after his father." It is natural to conclude from this that the author referred to a complete collection of his "Acts" published after his death. Hence we have the period between 100 and 70 B.C. as probably marking the composition of 1 *Maccabees*.

2 *Maccabees* may be referred to about the close of the first century B.C. The work is an epitome of five books by Jason; these must have been written after the Hasmonean house had become firmly established, or after the opening of the first century. The epitome will, of course, date later, but we find it referred to in Heb. xi. 35, *cf.* 2 Macc. vi. 19, 28. Philo, too, *c.* B.C. 20-A.D. 50, apparently bases portions of his treatise *Quod omnis probus liber* on chaps. vi-vii.

[1] The note in the Douay version of 2 Macc. i. 11-16, refers this second account to Antiochus Sidetes or VII, but this identification can hardly be supported.

[2] But see on these apparent discrepancies Knabenbauer, S.J., *Comment. in Libros Macchabæorum.* It must be borne in mind that Jason himself, II. ii. 24, need not have been inspired.

VII. The Text, and Notes on Some Passages.

The books of *Maccabees* were neither translated nor corrected by St. Jerome as they did not belong to the Hebrew Canon. Hence the Vulgate version represents the Old-Latin text which was current before his time. The Greek text exists in several MSS., but not, so far as we know, in any MS. which exactly corresponds to the Vulgate version. Thus the absence of the Divine Name in the Greek is not borne out in the Latin which constantly inserts it. The existing Latin text is thus valuable as bearing witness to a text differing from the Greek MSS. at our disposal.

I. x. 30. The three cities should rather be the three toparchies, *Ant.* XIII. ii. 3 ; *cp.* xi. 28 where they are explained by Josephus as Samaria, Peræa, and Galilee, *Ant.* XIII. iv. 9, also xi. 34, 57. In xi. 34 Lydia is a misprint in the Douay version for Lydda.

I. xi. 14. The account given in *Ant.* XIII. ix. 7-8 differs very considerably.

I. xi. 15. Josephus here adds an amusing incident about Ptolemy's elephant, *Ant.* XIII. iv. 8. Similarly, to xi. 44-51 a vivid account of the firing of the city is added in *Ant.* XIII. v. 3.

I. xi. 53. This gold buckle should probably be a gold button, *cf.* x. 89 and *Ant.* XIII. iv. 4, v. 4.

I. xi. 59. "The borders of Tyre" should be "the ladder of Tyre" as in R.V. and *Ant.* XIII. v. 4.

I. xii. 31. The "Zabadians" are given as "Nabateans," *Ant.* XIII. v. 10.

I. xii. 39. The whole episode is told much more clearly in *Ant.* XIII. v. 11, vi. 1.

I. xiii. 3-6. Simon's speech is, as usual, much amplified by Josephus, *Ant.* XIII. vi. 5, unless as is quite possible, he had other sources. For Josephus certainly has some remarkable changes in the order of events if, as is commonly maintained, he derived all his information from 1 *Maccabees.* Thus he makes Alcimus die previous to the treaty with the Romans, *Ant.* XII. x. 6, and consequently makes Bacchides come alone, xi. 1, in contrast with 1 Macc. viii-ix. He also states that Judas was made High Priest by the people on the death of Alcimus, *Ant.* XII. x. 6, xi. 2.

One or two passages in the Latin and in the Douay version are misleading. In 2 Macc. v. 23 Gazarim in the Douay is a misprint for Garizim as in the Latin and Greek ; in viii. 23 the words "by Esdras" have somehow slipped into the Latin, at any rate they find no support in the Greek ; in v. 27 the ambiguous "who was the tenth" should probably be understood as meaning "with ten others," that is that Judas and his companions were ten in all.

VIII. The Place of 1-2 Maccabees in the Canon.

Since the Reformation these books have always been considered by Protestants as forming no part of Scripture; this view is based on the fact that they were not in the Hebrew Canon. But the Church has always regarded the two books as canonical, *cf.* the decrees regarding the canon of the Old Testament, also the table of early quotations of the Deuterocanonical books.[1]

IX. The Theological Teaching.

The theological standpoint of 1 *Maccabees* is of great interest as indicating the state of mind of the Jews after the Restoration and before the advent of our Lord. In the Greek text, except in iii. 18 where it has been apparently inserted in two MSS., the name of God never occurs. It would almost seem as though the author went out of his way to avoid it, for he constantly uses the expression "heaven" instead, even where we should naturally expect him to speak of Divine Providence, iii. 60, iv. 10, ix. 46, xii. 15, xvi. 3, etc. Yet the author is a devout Jew; he glories in the Temple; he sees in the victories of the Maccabees a triumph of righteousness over iniquity; he reverences the sacred books, i. 59-60, iii. 48, xii. 9; the feasts and solemnities are a reality for him, i. 47, x. 34, xii. 9, etc. We see his sense of the Theocracy in such an expression as "Blessed art Thou, O Saviour of Israel!" iv. 30, perhaps the only occasion on which he speaks as a Jew of the days of the Prophets would have done. This peculiar reticence stands out all the more clearly when we turn to the second book the compiler of which, though writing in Greek, and apparently a Greek himself, yet uses the theological language of the Prophets. It has been too hastily concluded that the influence of the Scribes had already made itself felt and that the Jewish religion had degenerated into pure formalism, too sweeping a conclusion and negatived by the deep piety of the author of the first book as well as by that of the compiler of the second. We have a similar feature in *Esther*, *q.v.*

In 2 *Maccabees* we find ourselves in a different atmosphere.

[1] See St. Cyprian, *Ep.* lv. 5, St. Augustine, *Civ. Dei*, XVIII. xxxvi; and vol. i. (1926), pp. 129-153.

We have already pointed out the spirit of prayer and faith which animates it, the lively sense of the ever-present God, *e.g.* ix. 5, and of His providential interpositions. But there is also positive teaching on certain doctrinal points: the ultimate resurrection of the body is emphasized, vii. 9, 11, 14, 23, 36, xii. 43-45, also the creation of all things out of nothing, vii. 11, 22-23, 28, xiii. 14. It is remarkable that not a word about the resurrection is said in the case of Eleasar, vi. 18-31; and though the self-murder of Razias is narrated, not a word is said either for or against such an act, xiv. 37-46. The most famous testimony of course is that to the value of prayer for the dead. The version of this, xii. 45-46, with which we are familiar is taken from the Old-Latin which textually has quite as much if not more authority than any Greek MS. we possess. The Greek runs somewhat differently: "And if he did it looking unto an honourable memorial of gratitude laid up for them that die in godliness, holy and godly was the thought. Wherefore he made the propitiation for them that had died, that they might be released from their sin," the Revised Version.

X. Chronological Table.

		Seleucid Era.		*B.C.*	
I Macc.	i. 11,	137	=	175.	Antiochus IV reigns.
,,	i. 21,	143	=	169.	He ravages Egypt.
,,	i. 57,	145	=	167.	The "Abomination of Desolation" is set up.
,,	ii. 70,	146	=	166.	Death of Mathathias.
,,	iii. 37,	147	=	165.	Antiochus IV goes to Persia.
,,	iv. 52,	148	=	164.	The Dedication.
,,	vi. 16,	149	=	163.	Death of Antiochus IV.
,,	vi. 20,	150	=	162.	Judas assaults the castle.
,,	vii. 1,	151	=	161.	Demetrius I reigns.
,,	ix. 3,	152	=	160.	Campaign of Bacchides.
,,	ix. 54,	153	=	159.	Alcimus dies.
,,	x. 1,	160	=	152.	Alexander Balas seizes throne.
,,	x. 21,	160	=	152.	Jonathan made High Priest.
,,	x. 57,	162	=	150.	Ptolemy comes to Ptolemais.
,,	x. 67,	165	=	147.	Demetrius II arrives.
,,	xi. 19,	167	=	145.	He gains the throne.
,,	xiii. 51,	171	=	141.	The castle seized.
,,	xiv. 1,	172	=	140.	Demetrius II attacks Trypho.
,,	xiv. 27,	172	=	140.	Roman decree in favour of Simon.
,,	xv. 10,	174	=	138.	Antiochus VII appears.

These dates are given by the author, and they indicate the historical spirit in which he worked. The Seleucid era began on October 1, 312 B.C., with the accession of Seleucus I.[1] According to the ordinary mode of reckoning, his first year and the first year of the era thus established, would be B.C. 312-311. But the author of 1 *Maccabees* was a Hebrew, and he therefore reckoned the year, not from the October when Seleucus came to the throne, but from the Nisan or April preceding. Hence there is a certain discrepancy in the dates; for example in i. 10, where the accession of Antiochus IV is given, "the hundred and thirty-seventh year of the kingdom of the Greeks" will fall between the October of 176 and the October of 175 B.C.; but the author, who reckons months by the Jewish method, i. 57, iv. 52, etc., regards the Seleucid era as beginning in the preceding Nisan or April, or six months too soon. A comparison between 2 Macc. xi. 21, xiii. 1, and 1 Macc. vi. 16; also between 2 Macc. xiv. 4, and 1 Macc. vii. 1-5, will show that the compiler of the second book is a year later in his dates and thus presumably followed the Greek rather than the Hebrew method of computation.

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[1] *Cf.* Josephus, *Wars*, I. ii. 2.

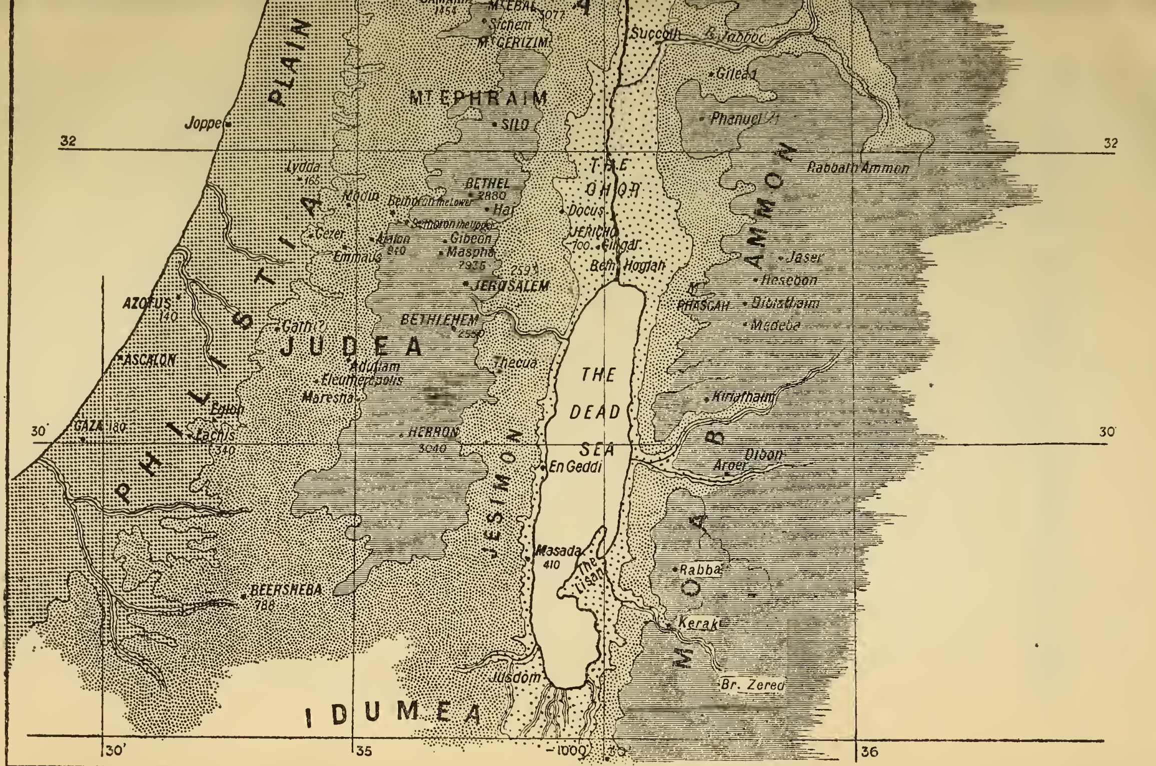
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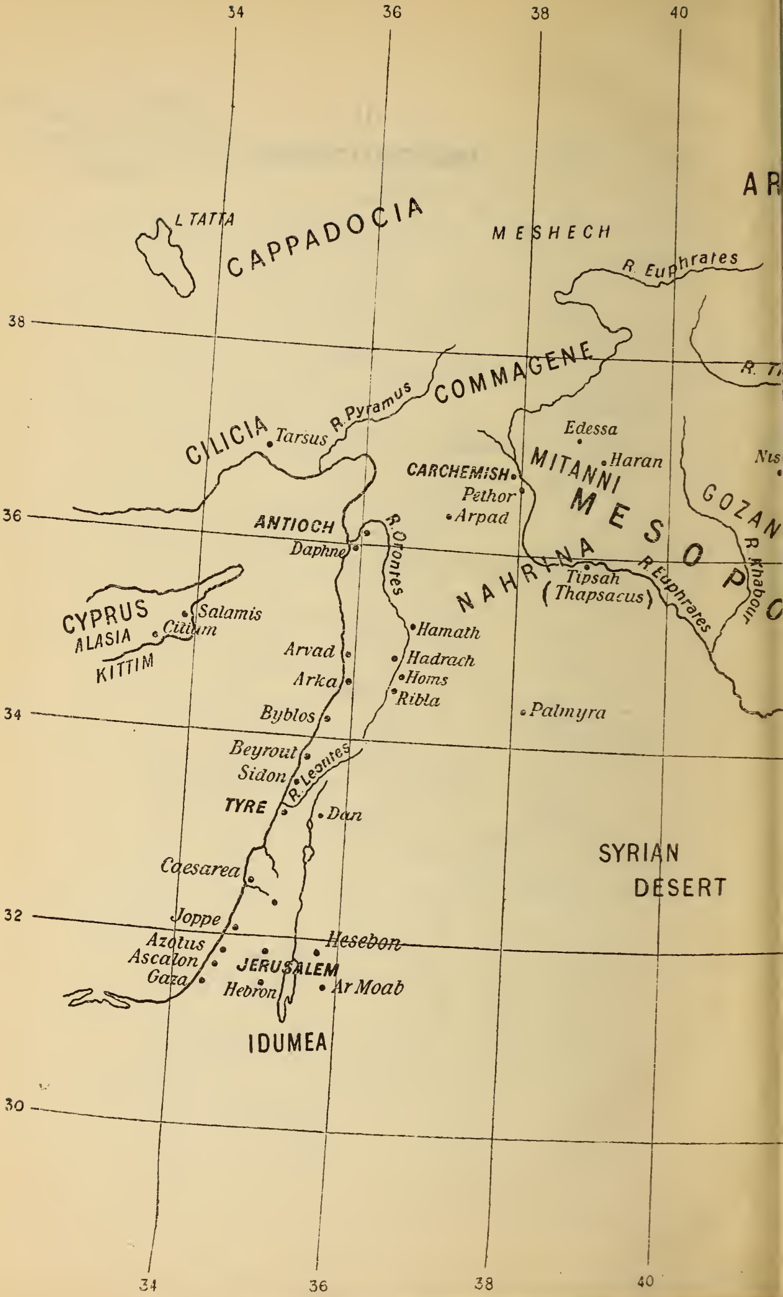
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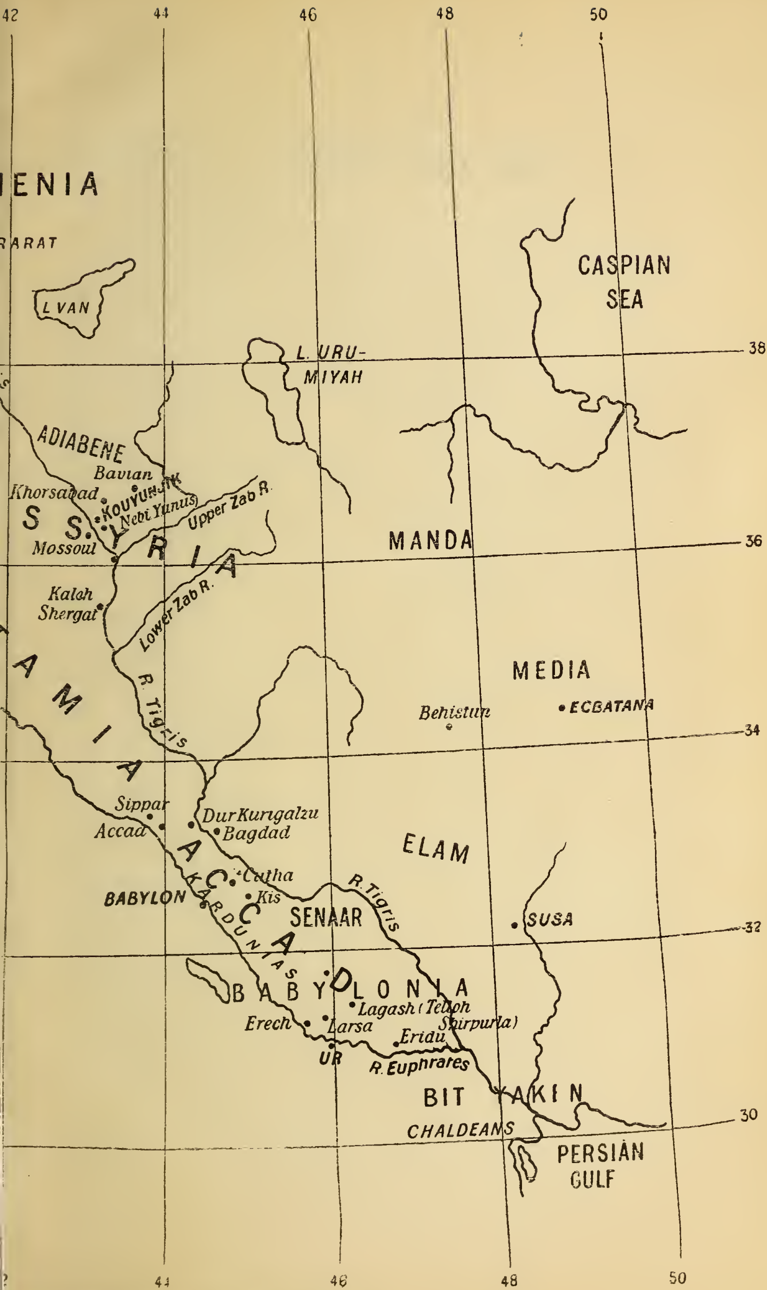
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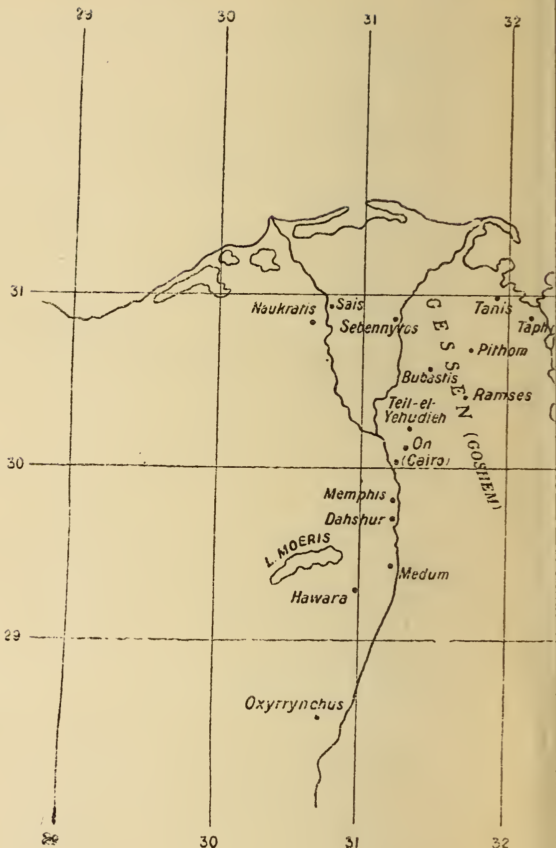
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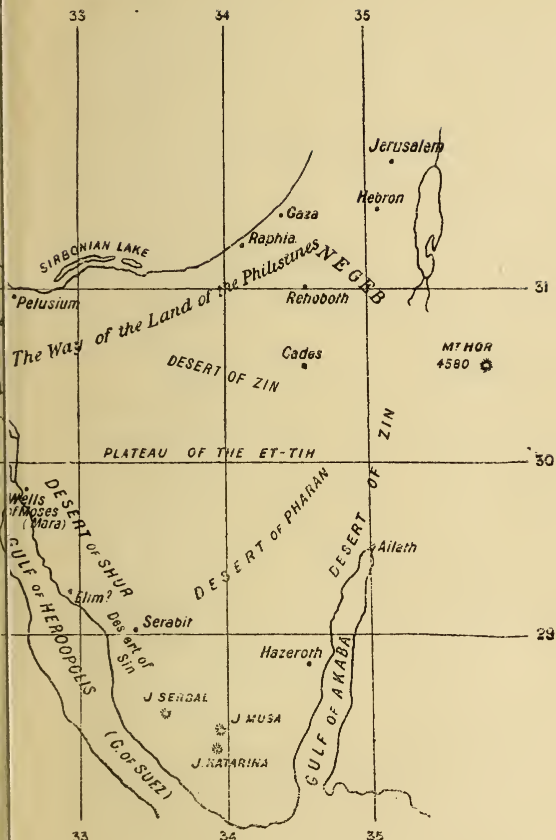
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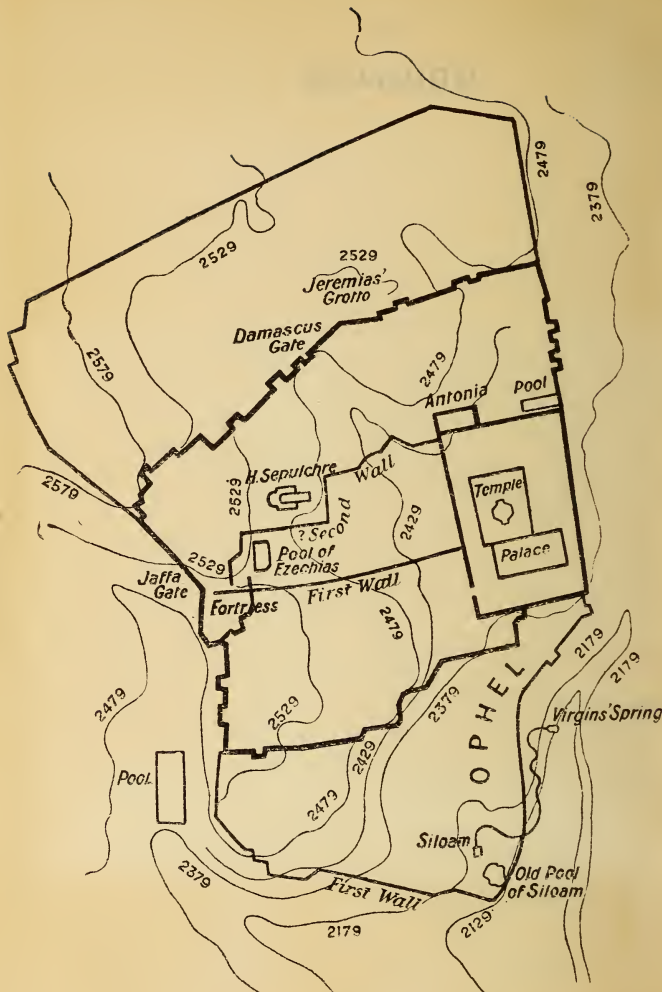
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2479
2379
Virgins' Spring
2529
2429
Pool
2479
Siloam
2379
Old Pool of Siloam
First Wall
2179
2129

JERUSALEM